



76429

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

SESSIONS

MDCCCLXXVI-LXXVII.—MDCCCLXXVII-LXXVIII.



VOL. XII.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY NEILL AND COMPANY.

MDCCCLXXVIII.

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† Copied by permission of the family from the portrait by George Reid, R.S.A.

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OFFICE-BEARERS, 1877-78.

NOVEMBER 30, 1877.

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

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THE RHIND LECTURESHIP.

*(Instituted 1874, in terms of a bequest for its endowment by the late
ALEXANDER HENRY RHIND, of Sibster, Hon. Mem S.A. Scot.)*

RHIND LECTURER IN ARCHÆOLOGY,—ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D.

L A W S

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

INSTITUTED NOVEMBER 1780.

The purpose of the Society shall be the promotion of ARCHÆOLOGY, especially as connected with the ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF SCOTLAND.

I. MEMBERS.

1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Fellows, and of Corresponding and Lady Associates.
2. The number of the Ordinary Fellows shall be unlimited.
3. Candidates for admission as Ordinary Fellows must sign the Form of Application prescribed by the Council, and must be recommended by one Ordinary Fellow and two Members of the Council.
4. The Secretary shall cause the names of the Candidates and of their Proposers to be inserted in the billet calling the Meeting at which they are to be balloted for. The Ballot may be taken for all the Candidates named in the billet at once ; but if three or more black balls appear, the Chairman shall cause the Candidates to be balloted for singly. No Candidate shall be admitted unless by the votes of two-thirds of the Fellows present.

5. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed twenty-five ; and shall consist of men eminent in Archæological Science or Historical Literature, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

6. All recommendations of Honorary Fellows must be made through the Council ; and they shall be balloted for in the same way as Ordinary Fellows.

7. Corresponding Associates must be recommended and balloted for in the same way as Ordinary Fellows, and they shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

8. The number of Lady Associates shall not exceed twenty-five. They shall be elected by the Council, and shall not be liable for any fees of admission or annual contributions.

9. Before the name of any person can be recorded as an Ordinary Fellow, he shall pay Two Guineas of entrance fees to the funds of the Society, and One Guinea for the current year's subscription. Or he may compound for all future contributions, including entrance fees, by the payment of Twenty Guineas at the time of his admission ; or of Fifteen Guineas after having paid five annual contributions ; or of Ten Guineas after having paid ten annual contributions.

10. If any Ordinary Fellow who has not compounded shall fail to pay his annual contribution of One Guinea for three successive years, due application having been made for payment, the Treasurer shall report the same to the Council, by whose authority the name of the defaulter may be erased from the list of Fellows.

11. Every Fellow not being in arrears of his annual subscription shall be entitled to receive the printed Proceedings of the Society from the date of his election, together with such special issues of Chartularies, or other occasional Volumes, as may be provided for gratuitous distribution from time to time under authority of the Council. Associates shall have the privilege of purchasing the Society's publications at the rates fixed by the Council for supplying back numbers to the Fellows.

12. None but Ordinary Fellows shall hold any office or vote in the business of the Society.

II. OFFICE-BEARERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall consist of a President, who continues in office for three years ; three Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries for general purposes, and two Secretaries for Foreign Correspondence, a Treasurer, two Curators of the Museum, a Curator of Coins, and a Librarian, who shall be elected for one year ; all of whom may be re-elected at the Annual General Meeting, except the first Vice-President, who shall go out by rotation, and shall not be again eligible till he has been one year out of office.

2. The Council shall consist of the Office-Bearers and seven Ordinary Fellows, besides two annually nominated from the Board of Manufactures. Of these seven, two shall retire annually by rotation, and shall not be again eligible till they have been one year out of office. Any two Office-Bearers and three of the Ordinary Council shall be a quorum.

3. The Council shall have the direction of the affairs and the custody of the effects of the Society ; and shall report to the Annual General Meeting the state of the Society's funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year.

4. The Council may appoint committees or individuals to take charge of particular departments of the Society's business.

5. The Office-Bearers shall be elected annually at the General Meeting.

6. The Secretaries for general purposes shall record all the proceedings of meetings, whether of the Society or Council ; and conduct such correspondence as may be authorised by the Society or Council, except the Foreign Correspondence, which is to be carried on, under the same authority, by the secretaries appointed for that particular purpose.

7. The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all monies due to or by the Society, and shall lay a state of the funds before the Council previous to the Annual General Meeting.

8. The duty of the Curators of the Museum shall be to exercise a general supervision over it and the Society's Collections.

9. The Council shall meet during the session as often as is requisite for the due despatch of business ; and the Secretaries shall have power to call Meetings of the Council as often as they see cause.

III. MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. One General Meeting shall take place every year on St Andrew's day, the 30th of November, or on the following day if the 30th be a Sunday.
2. The Council shall have power to call Extraordinary General Meetings when they see cause.
3. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Monday of each month, at Eight o'clock P.M. from December to April inclusive, and in May and June at Three P.M. The Council may give notice of a proposal to change the hour and day of meeting if they see cause.

IV. BYE-LAWS.

1. All Bye-Laws formerly made are hereby repealed.
2. Every proposal for altering the Laws as already established must be made through the Council ; and if agreed to by the Council, the Secretary shall cause intimation thereof to be made to all the Fellows at least three months before the General Meeting at which it is to be determined on.

LIST OF THE FELLOWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1878.

PATRON.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

1853. *ABBOTT, FRANCIS, Moray Place.
1871. ABBOTT, JOHN T., Chelsworth House, Darlington.
1853. *ABERDEIN, FRANCIS, Keithock House, Brechin.
1858. *ADAM, ROBERT, City Accountant, Council Chambers.
1877. AINSLIE, DAVID, of Costerton, Blackshiels.
1878. AITKEN, THOMAS, M.D., District Asylum, Inverness.
1864. ALEXANDER, Major-General SIR JAMES EDWARD, Knt., of Westerton,
Bridge of Allan.
1846. *ALEXANDER, Rev. WILLIAM LINDSAY, D.D., Pinkie Burn, Musselburgh.
1875. ALLAN, Major-General ALEXANDER STEWART, Skene Lodge, Richmond,
Surrey.
1865. ANDERSON, ARTHUR, M.D., C.B., Inspector-General of Hospitals, Pit-
lochrie.
1864. ANDERSON, ARCHIBALD, Advocate, 22 Alva Street.
1876. ANDERSON, J. STILL, Dalhousie Mains, Dalkeith.
1871. ANDERSON, ROBERT, Architect, A.R.S.A., 44 Northumberland Street.
1865. ANDERSON, THOMAS S., Lindores Abbey, Fifeshire.
1863. *APPLETON, JOHN REED, Western Hill, Durham.

An asterisk (*) denotes Members who have compounded for their Annual Contributions.

1870. ARCHER, THOMAS C., Director, Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art.
1850. *ARGYLE, His Grace The Duke of, K.T.
1878. ARMSTRONG, ROBERT BRUCE, 106 Princes Street.
1861. BAIKIE, ROBERT, M.D., 55 Melville Street.
1877. BAILEY, J. LAMBERT, Solicitor, Ardrossan.
1871. BAILLIE, JAMES W., of Culterallers, 2 Allandale Villas, Croydon.
1868. BAIN, JOSEPH, 5 Delamere Crescent, London.
1838. *BALFOUR, Col. DAVID, of Balfour and Trenaby, Orkney.
1863. BALFOUR, JOHN M., of Pilrig, W.S.
1873. BALFOUR, JOHN, of Balbirnie, Markinch, Fife.
1876. BALLANTINE, ALEXANDER, 42 George Street.
1877. BANNERMAN, Rev. D. DOUGLAS, M.A., F.C. Manse, Dalkeith.
1877. *BANNERMAN, H. CAMPBELL, M.P., 6 Grosvenor Place, London.
1866. BARNWELL, Rev. EDWARD LOWRY, M.A., Melksham, Wilts.
1871. BARRACK, WILLIAM, Principal, Dollar Institution.
1874. BEATTIE, JAMES A., C.E., 6 East Craibston Street, Aberdeen.
1877. BEAUMONT, CHARLES G., M.B., Arundel House, Lee, Kent.
1863. BECK, Rev. JAMES, A.M., Rector of Parham, Sussex.
1872. BEER, JOHN T., Threapland House, Fulneck, Leeds.
1877. BEGG, ROBERT BURNS, Solicitor, Kinross.
1875. BEITH, DONALD, W.S., 43 Castle Street.
1875. BELL, CHARLES, 4 Danube Street.
1877. BELL, ROBERT CRAIGIE, W.S., 1 Clifton Terrace.
1877. BELL, WILLIAM, of Gribdæ, Kirkcudbright.
1873. *BEVERIDGE, JAMES A., 9 Belgrave Crescent.
1877. BILTON, LEWIS, W.S., 21 Hill Street.
1878. BIRRELL, JAMES, Uttershill, Penicuik.
1847. *BLACKIE, WALTER G., Ph.D., Publisher, Glasgow.
1876. BONNAR, THOMAS, 77 George Street.
1870. BOYD, Rev. WILLIAM, St John's Manse, Forest Hill, London.
1873. *BOYD, WILLIAM, M.A., Solicitor, Peterhead.
1865. BRAIKENRIDGE, Rev. GEORGE WEARE, Clevedon, Somerset.
1869. BREWSTER, Rev. DAVID, Kilmeny, Fife.
1857. *BRODIE, THOMAS DAWSON, W.S., 9 Ainslie Place.
1875. BRODIE, WILLIAM, R.S.A., St Helens, Cambridge Street.
1877. BROWN, ARCHIBALD, Principal Clerk of Session, 12 Oxford Terrace.
1849. *BROWN, A. J. DENNISTON, Balloch Castle, Dumbarton.
1871. BROWN, JOHN TAYLOR, Gibraltar House, St Leonards.
1878. BROWN-MORISON JOHN B., of Finderlie, Murie House, Errol.

1865. BROWN, WILLIAM, F.R.C.S.E., 25 Dublin Street.
1863. BRUCE, HENRY, of Ederline, 18 Atholl Crescent.
1861. BRUCE, WILLIAM, M.D., R.N., Dunimarle, Culross.
1869. BRYDON, JAMES, M.D., Hawick.
1845. *BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY, His Grace The Duke of, K.G.
1857. *BUIST, ANDREW WALKER, of Berryhill, Newburgh, Fifeshire.
1863. BURNETT, GEORGE, Advocate, Lyon King at Arms.
1874. BURNS, EDWARD, 3 London Street.
1858. *BURTON, JOHN HILL, LL.D., Advocate, Craig House, Morningside.
1867. *BUTE, The Most Honourable the Marquess of.
1847. *CAMPBELL, Sir ALEXANDER, of Barcaldine, Bart.
1865. CAMPBELL, Rev. JAMES, D.D., The Manse, Balmerino, Fifeshire.
1877. *CAMPBELL, JAMES, of Tillychewan.
1874. *CAMPBELL, JAMES A., Stracathro, Brechin.
1850. *CAMPBELL, Rev. JOHN A. L., Helpston, Northamptonshire.
1878. CAMPBELL, WILLIAM, M.D., Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, H.M. Indian Army, Burnside, Largs.
1862. CARFRAE, ROBERT, 77 George Street,—*Curator of Museum.*
1867. CARLYLE, THOMAS J., Templehill, Ecclefechan.
1869. *CARMICHAEL, Sir W. GIBSON, Bart., Castlecraig, Dolphinton.
1871. CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS LESLIE MELVILLE, Melville House, Ladybank, Fife.
1872. CASSIE, JAMES, A.R.S.A., 45 Frederick Street.
1874. *CHALMERS, DAVID, Redhall, Slateford.
1865. *CHALMERS, JAMES, Westburn, Aberdeen.
1869. CHALMERS, PATRICK HENDERSON, Advocate, 13 Union Terrace, Aberdeen.
1869. CHALMERS, JOHN, Castle Bank, Merchiston.
1867. *CHAMBERS, WILLIAM, LL.D., of Glenormiston.
1877. CHAPMAN, THOMAS, jun., 7 Lauriston Gardens.
1876. CHISHOLM, JAMES, 13 Salisbury Road.
1853. *CHRISTISON, Sir ROBERT, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica, University of Edinburgh.
1871. CLARK, Sir JOHN F., Bart., of Tillypronie, Aberdeenshire.
1875. CLARK, JOHN GILCHRIST, of Speddoch, Dabton, Thornhill, Dumfries.
1867. *CLARK, ROBERT, 42 Hanover Street.
1874. CLARKE, WILLIAM BRUCE, B.A., St Bartholomew's Hospital, London.
1878. COATS, THOMAS, of Ferguslie, Paisley.

1870. COGHILL, J. G. SINCLAIR, M.D., St Catherine's House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight.
1861. CONSTABLE, THOMAS, Thistle Street.
1862. COOK, JOHN, W.S., Great King Street.
1878. COOPER, Rev. JAMES, M.A., Broughty Ferry.
1876. COOPER, W. S., Advocate, 1 Alva Street.
1867. COPLAND, JAMES, Assistant Curator, Historical Department, General Register House.
1874. CORRIE, ADAM J., M.A., Senwick, Kirkcudbrightshire.
1851. *COULTHART, JOHN ROSS, of Coulthart and Collyn, Ashton-under-Line.
1849. *COWAN, CHARLES, of Valleyfield, West Register Street.
1865. COWAN, JAMES, M.P., West Register Street.
1876. COX, JAMES C., of Beechwood, Lochee, Forfarshire.
1877. COX, ROBERT, Gorgie.
1826. *CRAIG, JAMES T. GIBSON, 24 York Place.
1878. CRAIG, WILLIAM, Burnfoot, Lochwinnoch.
1875. CRANSTOUN, G. C. TROTTER, of Dewar, Harvieston, Gorebridge.
1870. CRAVEN, Rev. JAMES BROWN, St Olaf's Church, Kirkwall.
1855. *CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, Right Hon. The Earl of.
1861. *CRAWFURD, THOMAS MACKNIGHT, of Cartburn, Lauriston Castle.
1876. CRICHTON, JAMES, 13 St Bernard's Crescent.
1861. CRICHTON, MICHAEL H., 18 Princes Street.
1878. CROAL, THOMAS A., 16 London Street.
1867. *CUMING, H. SYER, 63 Kennington Park Road, Surrey.
1873. CUNNINGHAM, JAMES, W.S., 50 Queen Street.
1867. CURLE, ALEXANDER, of Morriston, Melrose.
1875. CURRIEHILL, Hon. Lord, 6 Randolph Crescent.
1857. *DALRYMPLE, CHARLES E., Kinnellar Lodge, Blackburn, Aberdeenshire.
1866. DAVIDSON, C. B., Advocate, 2 Rotunda Place, Aberdeen.
1872. DAVIDSON, HUGH, Procurator-Fiscal, Braedale, Lanark.
1865. DAWSON, ADAM, of Bonnytown, Linlithgow.
1869. DAWSON, JOHN R., Westfield House, Wester Balada, Kinross.
1862. DICKSON, DAVID, Osborne Bank, Spylaw Road.
1876. DICKSON, ROBERT, Surgeon, Carnoustie, Forfarshire.
1870. DICKSON, THOMAS, Curator of the Historical Department H.M. General Register House.
1872. DICKSON, THOMAS, 6 Grosvenor Crescent.
1870. DICKSON, WALTER, M.D., 3 Royal Circus.
1844. *DICKSON, WILLIAM, Accountant, 10 Royal Circus.

1871. DISHINGTON, THOMAS, Lark Villa, Laverock Bank, Trinity.
 1877. DOBIE, JOHN SHEDDEN, of Grangevale, Beith.
 1867. *DONALDSON, JAMES, LL.D., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh.
 1861. DOUGLAS, DAVID, 9 Castle Street,—*Treasurer*.
 1878. DOUGLAS, ROBERT, Frankfield, Kirkcaldy.
 1878. DOUGLAS, W. FETTES, R.S.A., 10 Magdala Place,—*Curator of Museum*.
 1874. DOWELL, ALEXANDER, 13 Palmerston Place.
 1874. DRENNAN, Rev HUGH, Shoeburyness, Southend, Essex.
 1878. DRUMMOND, WILLIAM, 4 Learmonth Terrace.
 1849. *DRYSDALE, WILLIAM, Assistant Clerk of Session, 3 Hart Street.
 1872. DUDGEON, PATRICK, of Cargen, Dumfries.
 1872. DUKE, Rev. WILLIAM, M.A., St. Vigeans, Arbroath.
 1867. *DUFF, M. E. GRANT, of Eden, M.P., York House, Twickenham.
 1878. DUNBAR, ARCHIBALD HAMILTON, younger of Northfield, 91 Victoria Street, London.
 1874. DUNCAN, Rev. JOHN, Abdie, Newburgh, Fife.
 1850. *DUNCAN, JAMES MATTHEWS, M.D., 71 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London.
 1870. DUNCAN, Rev. JOHN, D.D., Scoonie, Leven, Fife.
 1876. DUNCAN, JOHN, M.D., 8 Ainslie Place.
 1848. *DUNCAN, WILLIAM J., Manager of the National Bank of Scotland.
 1877. *DUNDAS, RALPH, C. S., 16 St Andrew Square.
 1850. *DUNDAS, WILLIAM PITT, C.B., Advocate, Registrar-General of Scotland.
 1874. DUNLOP, Rev. JAMES MERCER, Charleswood, Pollokshaws.
 1875. DUNS, JOHN, D.D., Professor of Natural Science, Free Church College.
 1873. DUTHIE, ALEXANDER, of Ruthrieston, 6 Great King Street.
1871. EDMONDSTON, ALEXANDER, 14 Mansionhouse Road.
 1853. *ELCHO, Right Hon. Lord, M.P., Amisfield, Haddingtonshire.
 1862. ELLIOT, Sir WALTER, K.C.S.I., of Wolfelee, Roxburghshire.
 1866. ELLISON, RALPH CARR, Dunstan Hill, Gateshead.
1874. FAIRWEATHER, ALEXANDER, Newport, Dundee.
 1856. *FARQUHARSON, ROBERT, of Haughton, Alford, Aberdeenshire.
 1875. FERGUSON, Sir JAMES R., of Spittlehaugh, West Linton.
 1875. FERGUSON, ROBERT, M.P., Morton, Carlisle.
 1848. *FERGUSON, WALTER, 36 George Street.
 1872. FERGUSON, WILLIAM, of Kinmundy, Aberdeenshire.
 1878. FERGUSSON, JAMES, D.C.L., 20 Langham Place, London.
 1873. FINDLAY, JOHN RITCHIE, 3 Rothesay Terrace.

1875. FISHER, EDWARD, jun., Blackmore Hall, Sidmouth, South Devon.
 1873. FLANDRE, CHARLES DE, 15 Dundas Street.
 1863. *FLOCKHART, HENRY, 29 Inverleith Row.
 1862. FORBES, WILLIAM, of Medwyn, 17 Ainslie Place,—*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*.
 1875. FOOTE, ALEXANDER, Rosehill, Brechin.
 1865. *FRANKS, AUGUSTUS W., M.A., British Museum, London.
 1862. FRASER, ALEXANDER, Canonmills Lodge, Canonmills.
 1857. *FRASER, PATRICK ALLAN, of Hospital Field, Arbroath.
 1864. FRASER, PATRICK, LL.D., Sheriff of Renfrew and Bute, Moray Place.
 1875. FRASER, THOMAS, C.E., Burgh Engineer.
 1851. *FRASER, WILLIAM, S.S.C., Assistant-Keeper of Register of Sasines.
 1864. FREER, ALLAN, Banker, Melrose.
1873. GARDINER, JAMES, S.S.C., 30 East Claremont Street.
 1870. GEIKIE, ARCHIBALD, LL.D., Professor of Geology, University of Edinburgh, Director of Geological Survey.
 1865. GIBB, ANDREW, 40 Victoria Street, Aberdeen.
 1877. GIBB, JOHN S., 8 Buccleuch Place.
 1876. GIBSON, ALEXANDER, Advocate, 12 Northumberland Street.
 1867. GILLESPIE, DAVID, Mountquhanie, Fifehire.
 1861. *GILLMAN, ANDREW, S.S.C., Westminster.
 1870. *GLASGOW, Right Hon. The Earl of.
 1860. *GORDON, Right Hon. Lord, 2 Randolph Crescent.
 1876. GORDON, Rev. ROBERT, of Free Buccleuch Church, 6 Mayfield Street.
 1872. GORDON, WILLIAM, M.D., 20 Stafford Street.
 1869. GOUDIE, GILBERT, National Bank of Scotland.
 1878. GOW, JAMES M., Union Bank, George Street.
 1851. *GRAHAM, WILLIAM, LL.D., 20 Dean Terrace.
 1878. GRANT, JAMES, M.A., 8 London Street.
 1877. GRAY, ROBERT, 13 Inverleith Row.
 1870. GREENBURY, Rev. THOMAS, Ilkley, Leeds.
 1866. *GREENSHIELDS, JOHN B., Advocate, younger of Kerse, Leshmahagow.
 1872. GRIEVE, DAVID, Hobart House, Eskbank.
 1863. GRIGOR, JOHN, M.D., Nairn.
 1835. *GROAT, ALEX. G., of Newhall, 12 Hart Street.
 1878. GROSART, Rev. ALEX. BALLOCH, LL.D., Park View, Blackburn.
 1871. GRUB, Rev. GEORGE, Castlehill House, Dundee.
 1878. GUTHRIE, Rev. D. K., F.C. Manse, Liberton.
 1874. GUTHRIE, Rev. ROGER R. LINGARD, Taybank House, Dundee.

1861. HADDINGTON, Right Hon. The Earl of.
 1846. *HAILSTONE, EDWARD, of Walton Hall, Wakefield.
 1876. HALLEN, Rev. ARTHUR WASHINGTON, M.A., The Parsonage, Alloa.
 1833. *HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, LL.B., W.S., The Elms, Morningside.
 1876. HAMILTON, JOHN ALEXANDER, 8 Mayfield Street, Newington.
 1875. HAMILTON, JOHN G. C., of Dalzell, Motherwell.
 1867. HARRIS, ALEXANDER, City Chambers.
 1875. HAY, GEORGE, R.S.A., 9 Castle Terrace.
 1874. HAY, J. T., of Whitmuir, 13 N. Manor Place.
 1865. *HAY, ROBERT J. A., of Nunraw, Prestonkirk.
 1871. HEITON, ANDREW, Architect, Darnick Villa, Perth.
 1871. HENDERSON, CHARLES JAMES, of Glassingall, 39 Royal Terrace.
 1872. *HENDERSON, JOHN, of Westbank, Partick.
 1873. *HERDMAN, ROBERT, R.S.A., 12 Bruntsfield Crescent.
 1873. *HEUGH, JOHN, of Holmewood, 103 Cannon Street, London.
 1860. HOME, DAVID MILNE, LL.D., of Milngraden, Coldstream.
 1867. HOME, GEORGE H. MONRO BINNING, Argaty, Doune.
 1874. *HOPE, HENRY W., of Luffness, Drem, Haddingtonshire.
 1877. HORNE, Rev. R. K. D., The Manse, Corstorphine.
 1874. *HORNIMAN, FREDERICK JOHN, Surrey House, Forest Hill, London.
 1861. *HOWE, ALEXANDER, W.S., 17 Moray Place.
 1872. HUNTER, Capt. CHARLES, Pläs Cöck, Anglesea.
 1867. HUNTER, WILLIAM, Westbank House, Portobello.
 1871. HUTCHISON, JOHN, R.S.A., 3 Thomas Street.
 1860. HUTCHISON, ROBERT, of Carlowrie, Kirkliston.
 1872. HYSLOP, JAMES M'ADAM, M.D., 22 Palmerston Place.
1866. IRVINE, JAMES T., Architect, 3 Victoria Terrace, Rochester, Kent.
1851. *JACKSON, EDWARD JAMES, B.A. Oxon., 6 Coates Crescent.
 1867. JAMES, Rev. JOHN, Morley, near Leeds.
 1859. JAMIESON, GEORGE A., Accountant, St Andrew Square.
 1871. JAMIESON, JAMES AULDJO, W.S., 14 Buckingham Terrace.
 1877. JEFFREY, JOHN, of Balsusney, Largo.
 1849. *JOHNSTONE, THOMAS B., 4 St Andrew Square.
 1877. JOLLY, WILLIAM, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Inverness.
 1864. JONES, MORRIS CHARLES, 24 Abercromby Square, Liverpool.
1865. KAYE, ROBERT, Fountain Bank, Partick, Glasgow.
 1870. KELTIE, JOHN, S., 52 Hargrave Park Road, Junction Road, London.

1877. KENNEDY, HUGH, Redclyffe, Partick Hill, Glasgow.
 1848. *KERR, ANDREW, Architect, 3 Findhorn Place.
 1873. KERR, PETER, Bonnybank House, Dundee.
 1878. KERR, WILLIAM, Solicitor, Nethergate House, Dundee.
 1874. KING, REV. EDWARD, B.A., Launceston.
 1878. KING, JAMES, of Leverholme, 12 Claremont Terrace, Glasgow.
 1861. KING, LT.-COL. WILLIAM ROSS, of Tertowie, Aberdeenshire.
1866. LAIDLAY, J. W., of Seacliff, North Berwick.
 1856. *LAING, ALEXANDER, LL.D., Newburgh, Fife.
 1824. *LAING, DAVID, LL.D., Signet Library,—*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence*.
 1864. *LAING, SAMUEL, M.P., 1 Eastern Terrace, Brighton.
 1878. *LAMB, ALEXANDER CRAWFORD, 8 Garland Place, Dundee.
 1871. *LEISHMAN, REV. THOMAS, D.D., Linton, Kelso.
 1873. *LEITH, ALEXANDER, Esq., of Freefield, Inverkindie.
 1857. *LESLIE, CHARLES STEPHEN, of Balquhain.
 1873. LINDSAY, REV. THOMAS M., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow.
 1877. LINTON, HERCULES, 2 Thornley Terrace, Dundee.
 1878. LIVINGSTON, JOSIAH, 4 Minto Street.
 1877. LONG, WILLIAM, M.A., West Hay, Wrington, Somerset.
 1870. LOTHIAN, The Most Honourable The Marquess of, Newbattle Abbey,—*President*.
 1873. *LUMSDEN, HUGH GORDON, of Clova, Aberdeenshire.
 1873. LUMSDEN, LT.-COL. HENRY WILLIAM, 16 Onslow Gardens, London.
 1865. LYELL, DAVID, 39 Castle Street.
1875. MACADAM, STEVENSON, Ph.D., Lecturer on Chemistry, Surgeons' Hall.
 1877. MACBEATH, JAMES MAINLAND, Kirkwall.
 1856. *M'BURNEY, ISAIAH, LL.D., Athole Academy, Isle of Man.
 1873. M'COMBIE, WILLIAM, of Easter Skene, Aberdeenshire.
 1873. M'DIARMID, WILLIAM R., 8 Palmerston Place.
 1874. MACDONALD, JAMES, LL.D., Rector of Ayr Academy.
 1875. *MACDONALD, JAMES, 17 Russell Square, London.
 1877. MACDONALD, WILLIAM, M.A., Arnold House, Mayfield Street.
 1872. M'DOWALL, THOMAS, W., M.D., Northumberland County Asylum, Morpeth.
 1877. M'GAVIN, JOHN, 19 Elmbank Place, Glasgow.
 1862. MACGIBBON, DAVID, Architect, 89 George Street.

1878. MACGILLIVRAY, WILLIAM, W.S., 3 Belford Park.
1849. *MACGREGOR, ALEXANDER BENNET, LL.D., of Cairnoch, Glasgow.
1859. MACGREGOR DONALD R., 55 Bernard Street, Leith.
1876. *MACKAY, ÆNEAS J. J., Professor of History, University of Edinburgh.
1877. MACKAY, ALEXANDER, Trowbridge, Wilts.
1872. MACKAY, F. A., Royal Bank House.
1852. *MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER KINCAID, 19 Grosvenor Crescent.
1877. *MACKENZIE, Capt. COLIN, Scatwell, Urray, Beaully.
1872. MACKENZIE, Rev. JAMES B., Kenmore, Aberfeldy.
1844. *MACKENZIE, JOHN WHITEFOORD, W.S., 16 Royal Circus.
1844. *MACKENZIE, KEITH STEWART, of Seaforth, 141 Westbourne Terrace,
London.
1870. MACKENZIE, THOMAS, Sheriff-Substitute, Dornoch.
1873. M'KERLIE, P. H., 26 Pembridge Villas, Bayswater, London.
1876. M'KIE, THOMAS, Advocate, 1 Gloucester Place.
1841. *MACKNIGHT, JAMES, W.S., 2 Rothesay Place.
1864. *MACKINTOSH, CHARLES FRASER, of Drummond, Inverness-shire.
1865. MACKISON, WILLIAM, Architect, 8 Constitution Terrace, Dundee.
1878. MACLAGAN, ROBERT CRAIG, M.D., 5 Coates Crescent.
1864. M'LAREN, DUNCAN, M.P., Newington House.
1877. MACLAREN, JOHN, 138 Princes Street.
1856. *M'LAUCHLAN, Rev. THOMAS, LL.D., St Columba Free Church, Edin-
burgh.
1875. MACMATH, WILLIAM, 16 St Andrew Square.
1855. *MACNAB, JOHN, Findlater Lodge, Trinity.
1874. M'NEIL, MALCOLM, 5 North Manor Place.
1878. MACPHERSON, NORMAN, LL.D., Professor of Scots Law, University of
Edinburgh.
1877. MAITLAND, G. KEITH, 20 Stafford Street.
1878. *MAKELLAR, Rev. WILLIAM, 8 Charlotte Square.
1872. MARSHALL, DAVID, Loch Leven Place, Kinross.
1873. MARTIN, WILLIAM, M.D., Haddington.
1861. MARWICK, JAMES DAVID, City Clerk, City Chambers, Glasgow.
1858. *MATHESON, Sir JAMES, of the Lewes and Achany, Bart., M.P.
1871. MAXWELL, ALEXANDER, Merchant, 59 Magdalen Crescent, Dundee.
1873. MELVIN, JAMES, Bonnington, Ratho.
1853. *MERCER, GRAEME R., of Gorthy.
1878. MERCER, WILLIAM LINDSAY, of Huntingtower.
1876. MILLAR, WILLIAM WHITE, S.S.C., 16 Regent Terrace.
1878. MILLER, GEORGE ANDERSON, W.S., Knowehead, Perth.

1860. *MILLER, JOHN, of Leithen, M.P., Peeblesshire.
 1866. MILLER, PETER, Surgeon, Bellevue Terrace.
 1851. *MILLER, SAMUEL CHRISTIE, of Craigentinny, 21 St James's Place, London.
 1872. MILLIDGE, J. J., 9 East Claremont Street.
 1859. MILN, JAMES, Carnac, Brittany.
 1867. MITCHELL, ARTHUR, M.D., LL.D., Commissioner in Lunacy, 34 Drummond Place,—*Secretary*.
 1866. MITCHELL, HOUSTON, 45 Albany Street.
 1878. MITCHELL, J. FORBES, of Thainston, Kintore.
 1851. *MONTEITH, ROBERT I. J., of Carstairs, Lanarkshire.
 1851. *MONTGOMERY, Sir GRAHAM G., Bart., M.P., Stobo Castle, Peeblesshire.
 1867. *MORAY, CHARLES HOME DRUMMOND, of Abercairny, Perthshire.
 1877. *MORAY, HENRY E. S. H. DRUMMOND, M.P., of Blair-Drummond, Perthshire.
 1867. MORRICE, ARTHUR D., Advocate, 34 Marischall Street, Aberdeen.
 1856. *MOSSMAN, ADAM, Princes Street.
 1877. MUDIE, JAMES, Rowanbank, Broughty Ferry.
 1860. MUIR, WILLIAM, 7 Wellington Place, Leith.
 1877. MUIRHEAD, ANDREW, 56 Castle Street.
 1872. MUIRHEAD, J. J., Viewpark, Marchmont Terrace.
 1874. MUNRO, CHARLES, 18 George Street.
 1878. MURRAY, DAVID, M.A., 169 West George Street, Glasgow.
 1853. *MURRAY, THOMAS GRAHAM, W.S., 11 Randolph Crescent.
 1867. *MURRIE, JOHN, National Bank, Stirling.
 1863. *MYLNE, ROBERT WILLIAM, Architect, Whitehall Place, London.
 1864. NEILSON, JOHN, W.S., 23 East Claremont Street.
 1860. NEISH, JAMES, of the Laws, near Dundee.
 1876. *NEPEAN, Sir MOLYNEAUX, Bart., Loders Court, Dorset.
 1878. NICHOL, JOHN, LL.D., Professor of English Language and Literature, University of Glasgow.
 1861. *NICOL, ERSKINE, R.S.A., 24 Dawson Place, Bayswater, London.
 1875. NICOL, GEORGE H., Tay Beach Cottage, West Ferry, Dundee.
 1875. NICOLSON, ALEXANDER, Sheriff-Substitute, Kirkcudbrightshire.
 1877. NIVEN, ALEXANDER T., C.A., 6 Abbotsford Crescent.
 1851. *NIVEN, JOHN, M.D., 110 Lauriston Place.
 1867. NORTHUMBERLAND, His Grace The Duke of.
 1877. OGILVIE, WILLIAM M., Lochee, Dundee.
 1877. OMOND, GEORGE W. T., M.A., Advocate, 21 Castle Street.

1832. *OMOND, Rev. JOHN REID, Monzie, Crieff.
1862. PATERSON, GEORGE A., M.D., 15 North Merchiston Place.
1859. PATON, JOHN, 16 Meadow Place.
1859. PATON, Sir JOSEPH NOEL, R.S.A., Knt., LL.D., 33 George Square.
1869. PATON, WALLER HUGH, R.S.A., 14 George Square.
1870. *PATRICK, R. W. COCHRAN, LL.B. Oxon., Woodside, Beith, Ayrshire.
1871. PAUL, GEORGE M., W.S., 16 St Andrew Square.
1874. PAXTON, WILLIAM, 11 Lauder Road.
1862. PEDDIE, JOHN DICK, R.S.A., Architect, 3 South Charlotte Street.
1855. *PENDER, JOHN, M.P., Mount Street, Manchester.
1874. PETER, Rev. JAMES, Deer, Aberdeenshire.
1878. PETERS, Rev. W., M.A., The Manse, Kinross.
1872. POLLOCK, HUGH, Donnybrook House, Cork.
1872. PRENTICE, EDWARD ALEXANDER, Montreal.
1878. PREVOST, Col. T. W., 25 Moray Place.
1860. PRIMROSE, Hon. BOUVERIE F., C.B., 22 Moray Place.
1878. PRINGLE, JOHN, M.D., 27 Rutland Square.
1878. PRYDE, DAVID, LL.D., 10 Fettes Row.
- 1865.* RAINY, ROBERT, D.D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh.
1873. RAMPINI, CHARLES, Sheriff-Substitute, Lerwick.
1864. *RAMSAY, Major JOHN, of Straloch and Barra, Aberdeenshire.
1874. RATTRAY, JAMES CLERK, M.D., 15 Chalmers Crescent.
1860. REID, JAMES, Secretary, Commercial Bank of Scotland.
1866. REID, WILLIAM, W.S., 21 Charlotte Square.
1849. *RHIND, DAVID, Architect, 54 Great King Street.
1875. RINTOUL, Major ROBERT, Kinross House, Carlyle Square, London.
1877. RINTOUL, Major ROBERT, of Lahill, Largo.
1878. RIVETT-CARNAC, J. H., C.I.E., Ghazipur.
1861. ROBERTSON, ANDREW, M.D., Hopewell, Tarland, Aberdeenshire.
1865. ROBINSON, JOHN RYLEX, LL.D., Dewsbury.
1871. *RODGER, JOHN F., 1 Royal Circus.
1854. *ROGER, JAMES C., Strathmore Cottage, Lower Sydenham, Kent.
1850. *ROGERS, Rev. CHARLES, LL.D., Grampian Lodge, Westwood Park,
Forest Hill, London.
1871. ROLLO, Right Hon. Lord, Duncrub House, Dunning.
1874. ROMANES, ROBERT, Harryburn, Lauder.
1872. *ROSEBERRY, Right Hon. The Earl of.
1867. ROSEHILL, Right Hon. Lord, St George's Square, London.

1876. ROSS, ALEXANDER, Architect, Riverfield, Inverness.
 1876. ROSS, JOHN M., LL.D., 30 Great King Street.
 1867. ROSS, Rev. WILLIAM, Rothesay.
 1869. ROSSLYN, Right Hon. The Earl of.
1877. SANDERSON, JAMES, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Madras Army,
 41 Manor Place.
1876. SCOTT, CHARLES, Advocate, 9 Drummond Place.
 1848. *SETON, GEORGE, Advocate, St Bennet's, Greenhill Gardens.
 1873. SEMPLE, DAVID, Writer, Paisley.
 1869. *SHAND, Hon. Lord, New Hailes.
 1864. SHAND, ROBERT, Teacher, 45 Mill Street, Perth.
 1873. SHIELDS, JOHN, 11 Melville Street, Perth.
 1878. SHIELL, JOHN, Solicitor, 19 Windsor Street, Dundee.
 1875. SIDEY, CHARLES, 21 Chester Street.
 1878. SIDEY, JAMES A., M.D., 20 Heriot Row.
 1860. SIM, GEORGE, 9 Lauriston Lane,—*Curator of Coins*.
 1865. SIM, WILLIAM, of Lunan Bank, 4 St Bernard's Crescent.
 1871. *SIMPSON, ALEX. R., M.D., Professor of Midwifery, University of Edinburgh, 52 Queen Street.
1870. SIMPSON, GEORGE BUCHAN, Seafield, Broughty Ferry.
 1878. SKEETE, HORACE, Solicitor, Perth.
 1833. *SKENE, WILLIAM FORBES, LL.D., W.S., Inverleith Row.
 1876. SKINNER, WILLIAM, W.S., City Clerk, 3 George Square.
 1877. SKIRVING, ADAM, of Croys.
 1870. SMALL, DAVID, Solicitor, Gray House, Dundee.
 1873. SMALL, JOHN, M.A., Librarian to the University, Edinburgh.
 1874. SMART, JOHN, R.S.A., 13 Brunswick Street, Hillside.
 1844. *SMITH, DAVID, W.S., 64 Princes Street.
 1877. SMITH, JAMES T., Duloch, Inverkeithing.
 1847. *SMITH, JOHN ALEXANDER, M.D., 10 Palmerston Place,—*Vice-President*.
 1874. SMITH, J. IRVINE, 21 Northumberland Street.
 1858. *SMITH, ROBERT M., Bellevue Crescent.
 1874. *SMITH, R. ANGUS, Ph.D., 27 York Place, Manchester.
 1867. SMITH, WILLIAM, Brunswick House, Morley, near Leeds.
 1866. SMYTHE, WILLIAM, of Methven, Methven Castle, Perthshire.
 1855. *SNODY, ANDREW, S.S.C., 26 Gayfield Square.
 1874. SOUTAR, THOMAS, Banker, Crieff.
 1864. SOUTAR, WILLIAM SHAW, Banker, Blairgowrie.
 1873. *SPOWART, THOMAS, of Broomhead, 7 Coates Crescent.

1872. *STAIR, Right Hon. the Earl of.
 1858. *STARKE, JAMES, Advocate, Troqueer Holm, Dumfries.
 1875. STARKE, JAMES GIBSON, Troqueer Holm, Dumfries.
 1874. STEEL, GAVIN, Balintore, Kirriemuir.
 1872. STEEL, NEIL, Merchant, Constitution Terrace, Dundee.
 1872. *STEVENSON, ALEXANDER SHANNAN, Tynemouth.
 1874. *STEVENSON, ARCHIBALD, 2 Wellington Terrace, South Shields.
 1875. STEVENSON, JOHN A., M.A., 37 Royal Terrace.
 1867. *STEVENSON, JOHN J., Architect, 3 Bayswater Hill, London.
 1855. *STEVENSON, THOMAS, C.E., 17 Heriot Row.
 1876. STEWART, REV. ALEXANDER, Manse of Ballachulish.
 1878. *STEWART, ALEXANDER BANNATYNE, Rawcliff Lodge, Langside, Glasgow.
 1874. STEWART, CHARLES, Sweethope, Musselburgh.
 1848. *STEWART, HOPE J., Spring Gardens, Musselburgh.
 1871. *STEWART, Major J. M. SHAW, R.E.
 1878. STEWART, JOHN H. J., Slodahill, Lockerbie.
 1876. STEWART, ROBERT BUCHANAN, Kellermont House, Glasgow.
 1867. *STRATHMORE, Right Hon. The Earl of, Glamis Castle, Forfarshire.
 1850. *STRUTHERS, REV. JOHN, LL.D., Minister of Prestonpans.
 1878. STURROCK, JOHN, Engineer-Surveyor, 3 Rostie Place, Dundee.
 1867. *SUTHERLAND, His Grace The Duke of, K.G.
 1876. SUTHERLAND, REV. GEORGE, Pulteneytown, Wick.
 1851. *SWINTON, ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, of Kimmerghame, LL.D., Advocate.
 1863. SWITHINBANK, GEORGE E., LL.D., Tynemouth Lodge, Anerley, S.E.
1873. TAYLOR, JAMES, D.D., Secretary, Board of Education for Scotland.
 1860. TAYLOR, JAMES, Starley Hall, Burntisland.
 1870. TEESDALE, REV. FREDERICK D., Gordon Villa, Inverness.
 1870. *TENNANT, CHARLES, of the Glen, Innerleithen.
 1870. THOMAS, Captain F. W. L., R.N., Rosepark, Trinity,—*Vice-President*.
 1874. THOMS, GEORGE HUNTER, Sheriff of Orkney, 52 Great King Street.
 1872. THOMSON, Sir C. WYVILLE, LL.D., Knt., Regius Professor of Natural History, University of Edinburgh.
 1867. THOMSON, LOCKHART, S.S.C., 114 George Street.
 1875. *THOMSON, ROBERT, Berwick-on-Tweed.
 1847. *THOMSON, THOMAS, W.S., 1 Thistle Court.
 1878. THOMSON, WILLIAM, 23 Great King Street.
 1862. *TREVELYAN, Sir WALTER C., Bart., Wallington, Newcastle.
 1865. TROUP, WILLIAM, Eastwell, Bridge of Allan.
 1877. TUKE, JOHN BATTY, M.D., 20 Charlotte Square.

1867. TULLIS, WILLIAM, Markinch, Fifeshire.
1869. *TURNBULL, JOHN, of Abbey St Bathans, W.S., 49 George Square.
1865. TURNER, WILLIAM, M.B., Professor of Anatomy, University of Edinburgh.
1878. URQUHART, JAMES, H.M. General Register House.
1862. *VEITCH, GEORGE SETON, Bank of Scotland, Paisley.
1873. VEITCH, JOHN, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic, University of Glasgow.
1877. VERNON, J. JOHN, Hawick.
1874. WALKER, ALEXANDER, 25 Dee Street, Aberdeen.
1874. WALKER, ALEXANDER, of Findynate, St Andrews.
1859. *WALKER, FOUNTAINE, Ness Castle, Inverness-shire.
1871. *WALKER, PETER GEDDES, 2 Airlie Place, Dundee.
1848. *WALKER, WILLIAM, F.R.C.S.E., 46 Northumberland Street.
1861. WALKER, WILLIAM STUART, of Bowland.
1876. WALLACE, ROBERT, D.D., 20 Northumberland Street.
1872. WARDEN, ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Marybank House, Broughty Ferry.
1849. *WARE, TITUS HIBBERT, Stamford Road, Bowdon, near Altrincham, Lancashire.
1876. WATERSTON, GEORGE Jun., 14 St John's Hill.
1870. WATSON, CHARLES, Writer, Dunse.
1873. WATSON, JOHN KIPPEN, 14 Blackford Road.
1875. WATSON, WILLIAM, 6 Douglas Crescent.
1871. *WATT, ARCHIBALD A., 42 Coates Gardens.
1856. *WEBSTER, JOHN, Advocate, 42 King Street, Aberdeen.
1877. WEIR, HUGH F., of Kirkhall, Ardrrossan.
1877. WELSH, JOHN, S.S.C., 13 Arniston Place.
1872. *WEMYSS AND MARCH, Right Hon. the Earl of.
1870. WHITE, JOHN, of Drumelzier and Netherurd, Noblehouse.
1869. WHITE, Captain T. P., R.E., Ordnance Survey.
1867. WHITE, ROBERT, Procurator-Fiscal, Forfar.
1870. *WHYTOCK, ALEXANDER, 7 George Street.
1871. WILLIAMS, WILLIAM EDWARD, Architect, Dooedale, Wallington, Surrey.
1871. WILSON, ANDREW, S.S.C., 4 York Place.
1870. WILSON, CHARLES E., LL.D., H.M. Inspector of Schools, 19 Palmerston Place.
1872. WILSON, GEORGE, S.S.C., 16 Minto Street.

1875. WILSON, WILLIAM, West Lodge, Pollockshields.
1860. WILSON, WILLIAM THORBURN, Burnside, Rutherglen.
1861. *WILSON, WILLIAM, of Banknock, Stirlingshire.
1852. *WISE, THOMAS A., M.D., Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, London.
1863. WISHART, EDWARD, 22 Baltic Street, Leith.
1870. WOOD, Rev. WALTER, F.C. Manse, Elie.
1875. WOODBURN, J. M.A., Drumgrange, Patna, Ayr.
1878. WOODWARD, Rev. JOHN, Union Place, Montrose.
1867. WRIGHT, ROBERT, D.D., Starley Burn House, Burntisland.
1871. WYLIE, ANDREW, Esq., Prinlaws, Leslie, Fife.
1866. YOUNG, ROBERT, Writer, Elgin.
1878. *YOUNGER, ROBERT, 15 Carlton Terrace.

LIST OF HONORARY MEMBERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1878.

[According to the *Laws*, the number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1853.

DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., Professor of English Literature, Toronto, Canada.

1855.

Major-General Sir HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., London.

1857.

WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., Dean of Armagh.

1860.

Right Hon. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

5 Dr RICHARD LEPSIUS, Berlin.

1861.

JAMES FARRER, of Ingleborough, Lancaster.

1862.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES.

Dr FERDINAND KELLER, Zurich.

The PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

1864.

- 10 ALEXANDER J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P., London.

1865.

SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Canons Ashby, Byfield, Northamptonshire.

1868.

THOMAS CARLYLE, Esq., Cheyne Row, Chelsea.

1869.

JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., C.B., D.C.L., Oxford.

M. FRANCISQUE MICHEL, Paris.

1871.

- 15 GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq., Professor of the English Language and Literature,
University of Copenhagen.

1874.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., High Elms, Kent.

J. J. A. WORSAAE, Councillor of State, Director of the Royal Museum of
Antiquities, Copenhagen, Inspector of the Archæological Monuments
of Denmark.

SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Public Record Office, Dublin.

JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., &c., Nash-mills, Hemel-Hempstead.

1875.

- 20 DR BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, Secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of
Archæology, &c., Stockholm.

1877.

Rev. H. O. COXE, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Hon. Canon of York.

Very Rev. A. P. STANLEY, Dean of Westminster.

LIST OF THE LADY ASSOCIATES
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND,
NOVEMBER 30, 1878.

[According to the Laws, the Number is limited to TWENTY-FIVE.]

1870.

The Lady JOHN SCOTT of Spottiswoode, Berwickshire.

1871.

Miss C. MACLAGAN, Ravenscroft, Stirling.

1873.

The Baroness BURDETT COUTTS.

1874.

Lady DUNBAR of Duffus, Elginshire.

Lady CLARK, Tillypronie, Aberdeenshire.

Miss MARGARET M. STOKES, Dublin.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

NINETY-SEVENTH SESSION, 1876-77.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, 30th November 1876.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Office-Bearers of the Society for the ensuing Session were
elected as follows :—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

ROBERT HORN, Esq., Dean of Faculty of Advocates.

Councillors.

JAMES T. GIBSON-CRAIG, Esq., } *Representing the Board*
FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq., } *of Trustees.*

Capt. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON, Esq.

JOHN R. FINDLAY, Esq.
 Professor JOHN DUNS, D.D.
 Rev. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D.
 Sir J. NOEL PATON, LL.D., Kt., R.S.A.
 Professor Sir C. WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D., Kt.

Secretaries.

JOHN STUART, LL.D., General Register House.
 ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D.
 DAVID LAING, Esq., LL.D., } *for Foreign Correspondence.*
 WILLIAM FORBES, Esq., }

Treasurer.

DAVID DOUGLAS, Esq.

Curators of the Museum.

JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A.
 ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE SIM, Esq.

Librarian.

JOHN TAYLOR BROWN, Esq.

Auditors.

JOHN F. RODGER, Esq., S.S.C.
 ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq.

Publishers.

MESSRS EDMONSTON and DOUGLAS.

Keeper of the Museum.—JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Assistant.—GEORGE HASTIE.

A ballot having then taken place, the following Gentlemen were duly admitted Fellows, viz. :—

JOHN S. GIBB, Esq., 8 Buccleuch Place.
 HERCULES LINTON, Esq., 2 Thornly Terrace, Dundee.
 WILLIAM LONG, Esq., M.A., West Hay, Somerset.

ALEXANDER MACKAY, Esq., Trowbridge, Wilts.

JAMES T. SMITH, Esq., Duloch, Inverkeithing.

There were also balloted for, and admitted as Corresponding Members,
viz. :—

GEORGE HAY, Esq., Arbroath, Author of “History of Arbroath.”

ALLAN MATHEWSON, Esq., Dundee.

The Secretary stated, that the Society had lost 15 Fellows by death during the past Session, that 28 new Fellows had been added, and that the number of Ordinary Fellows now on the roll is 434.

The following list gives the names of the deceased Fellows and the dates of their election :—

	Elected
ARBUTHNOT, GEORGE CLERK, Esq.,	1859
BEGGIE, J. WARBURTON, M.D.,	1854
BRASH, RICHARD ROLT, Esq.,	1874
BRYCE, DAVID, R.S.A., Esq.,	1849
BURNETT, Sir JAMES HORN,	1860
DRUMMOND, GEORGE STIRLING HOME, Esq., of Blairdrummond,	1851
FARQUHARSON, FRANCIS, of Finzean, Esq.,	1858
HARVEY, Sir GEORGE, Pres. R.S.A.,	1849
JAMIESON, THOMAS HILL, Esq., Advocates' Library, . .	1873
LOVAT, Right Hon. Lord,	1866
MELDRUM, GEORGE, Esq., Free Church Offices,	1864
MUNDIE, JOHN, Esq. of Pitmuies,	1860
MURRAY, KENNETH, Esq. of Geanies,	1871
ORROCK, ALEXANDER, Junior, Esq.,	1873
ROBERTSON, JOHN, S.S.C., Esq.,	1862
STUART, Right Hon. Sir JOHN,	1845

Honorary Members.

Right Hon. the Earl of STANHOPE, D.C.L.,	1851
Chevalier G. H. PERTZ, LL.D., Berlin,	1868

The Secretary then read to the meeting the Annual Report of the Society to the Board of Trustees, approved by the Council, and ordered to be transmitted to the Lords of H.M. Treasury, as follows :—

ANNUAL REPORT of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Honourable the Board of Trustees for Manufactures for Scotland, for the year ending 30th September 1876.

The Museum has been open to the public throughout the year as formerly, with the exception of the month of November, when it was closed as usual for cleaning and re-arrangement.

The following table shows the number of visitors for each month, distinguishing between day visitors and visitors on the Saturday evenings:—

1875-76.	Day Visitors.	Sat. Evenings.	Total.
October	5,893	887	6,780
December	7,199	1,216	8,415
January	18,849	791	19,640
February	3,506	589	4,095
March	3,922	831	4,753
April	4,891	737	5,628
May	7,027	693	7,720
June	9,296	559	9,855
July	19,066	1,166	20,232
August	20,649	1,336	21,985
September	10,002	1,405	11,407
Total	110,300	10,210	120,510
Previous Year,	107,903	9,837	117,740
Increase, .	2,397	373	2,770

The Donations to the Museum during the year have amounted to 104 objects of antiquity, exclusive of the extensive collection from Wigtownshire, amounting to upwards of 300 specimens, chiefly in flint and bronze, presented by Rev. George Wilson, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.; and a fine collection of Greek Vases presented by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart. of Pollok and Keir, K.T., F.S.A. Scot.

The Donations to the Library have amounted to 87 volumes of books and pamphlets. The Society has received a legacy of L 250, bequeathed

by the late JOHN MUDIE of Pitmuies, Esq., one of its Fellows, to be expended in the purchase of books for the Library.

JOHN STUART, *Sec.*

The following notice of the Deceased Members was then read:—

I. HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY DECEASED.

Right Hon. PHILIP HENRY STANHOPE, LORD MAHON, D.C.L., succeeded, on his father's death, as fifth EARL STANHOPE. He was born in 1805, and held some public offices before succeeding to the earldom in 1855. His Lordship was elected President of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1846, and continued so for nearly thirty years, taking an active interest in its success and all its proceedings. In 1858 he was chosen Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen, having for many years distinguished himself as a historian—among other works, by his “History of the War of the Succession in Spain (1702–1714),” 1832, and “History of England from the Peace of Utrecht (1717) to the Peace of Versailles (1783),” 7 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1836–1853; and his “Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt,” 4 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1861. It is not necessary to enter upon his political or public career.

Sir JOHN, first LORD ROMILLY, and second son of the eminent statesman Sir Samuel Romilly, was born in 1802. He was called to the Bar in 1827. This eminent lawyer filled successively the offices of Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Master of the Rolls in 1851. He was created Baron Romilly in 1866. He will always be distinguished for having commenced and carried on for so many years the extensive and useful “Calendars of State Papers” to upwards of eighty volumes, besides those in press; and the equally great and important series of works illustrating the early History of Great Britain, entitled “*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*; or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. Published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.” This Series has reached to upwards of One Hundred and Thirty Volumes. London, 1858–1876, royal 8vo.

The Chevalier, Dr GEORGE-HENRI PERTZ, a native of Hanover. He was born in the year 1795; and obtained the title of Doctor in Philo-

sophy at the University of Göttingen. In 1820, when a Society was founded at Frankfort for elucidating the History of Germany, Dr Pertz was employed to examine the archives and libraries of Germany and Italy in collecting materials for this important work, of which he undertook the direction, under the auspices of that Society. For this purpose he may be said to have visited nearly all the chief cities of Europe; and the work referred to appeared in successive volumes in folio, printed at Hanover between the years 1826 and 1875, under this title: "*MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, inde ab anno Christi 500 usque ad annum 1500, auspiciis Societatis aperiendis fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Ævi: Vols. 1-12, SCRIPTORES; Vols. 13-15, LEGES; Vols. 16-23, SCRIPTORES ET DIPLOMATA.*" This, in every sense great work, was not his only contribution to German history and literature, and for many years he held the important office of chief keeper of the Royal Library at Berlin. He was reckoned one of the most learned men in Germany. He was twice married—his second wife, connecting him with this country, was a daughter of the late Leonard Horner, Esq.

II. FELLOWS OF THE SOCIETY DECEASED.

GEORGE CLERK ARBUTHNOT, Esq. of Mavisbank, Loanhead. He was the third son of Sir William Arbuthnot, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was created a baronet by George IV. in person, on the Royal Visit to Scotland, 24th August 1822. He remained several years in India, connected with a large mercantile establishment at Madras. On returning to his native place about the year 1852, he acquired the property of Mavisbank, in the parish of Lasswade, where he continued to reside, on the banks of the North Esk, one of the most picturesque localities in the county.

JAMES WARBURTON BEGBIE, M.D. He was a native of Edinburgh, and second son of Dr James Begbie; was born in November 1826; and, on completing his medical studies, he took his degree of M.D. in the University of Edinburgh in the year 1847. He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, in 1852. He speedily acquired extensive practice as a consulting physician, and his death at the age of fifty was universally regretted. A detailed sketch of

his life is given in the "Edinburgh Medical Journal," vol. xxi. part ii. pp. 950 and 957.

RICHARD ROLT BRASH, Esq., architect, Cork. He was distinguished for his researches connected with Irish archaeology, and contributed many articles to the Royal Irish Academy and other Societies.

DAVID BRYCE, Esq., architect, R.S.A. For several years he was a partner with Mr William Burn, architect, and became his successor when he had removed and settled in the Metropolis. Mr Bryce was elected a member of the Royal Scottish Academy in the year 1856; and on the death of Mr William Playfair and Mr Thomas Hamilton, the eminent architects, he speedily raised himself to very extensive professional employment connected with public buildings in Edinburgh and the baronial edifices of the Scottish gentry in various parts of the country. His last and greatest undertaking, that of the New Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, he did not live to see completed.

Sir JAMES HORN BURNETT of Leys, Bart., the representative of the ancient family of Burnett of Leys, in Aberdeenshire. Sir James was born in 1801; was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1824; and in 1856, on the death of his brother, Sir Alexander Burnett, having succeeded to the title, he gave up his residence in Edinburgh, and filled the office of Lieutenant and Sheriff-Principal of Kincardineshire.

GEORGE STIRLING HOME DRUMMOND of Blair-Drummond, Esq., was the elder son of Henry Home Drummond, Esq. of Blair-Drummond, LL.B., and great-grandson of Henry Home, Lord Kames. His father, who was educated at Oxford, passed Advocate in 1808, was long a member of the Society of Antiquaries; and by his marriage with the sister and, ultimately, the heiress of the Morays of Abercairny, Ardoch, &c., these valuable estates came into the possession of the Home-Drummond family.

FRANCIS FARQUHARSON of Finzean, Esq., was the son of Dr William Farquharson, a physician who settled in Edinburgh in 1785, and became one of the members of this Society in that year. He practised for many

years with success. His son, Francis, was educated also for the medical profession, taking his degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in the year 1823. He dropped, however, his title of doctor, having succeeded to the valuable estate of Finzean, in the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire, and having also relinquished his practice, he resided chiefly in the north.

Sir GEORGE HARVEY, P.R.S.A., a native of St Ninians, Stirlingshire, was born in the year 1805. Having adopted the profession of a painter in 1822, on the occasion of the first Exhibition of the Scottish Academy (founded in February 1827) he became an exhibitor, and was elected among the first Associates. Three years later, in 1829, he was chosen a member of the Academy, and took a continued and special interest in its success. When the chair became vacant by the decease of Sir John Watson Gordon in 1864, Mr Harvey was elected President of the Academy; and in 1867 he had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by the Queen. In 1872 Sir George printed a volume containing "Notes of the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy," of which a second edition appeared the following year.

THOMAS HILL JAMIESON, Esq., was originally employed in the library at Arbroath, from whence he came to Edinburgh to the office of Messrs W. and R. Chambers till 1868, when he became first assistant in the Advocates' Library. On Mr Halkett's death, two years later, he was appointed his successor as keeper of the library, a position which he did not long enjoy, as he was cut off in the prime of life in the beginning of this year. In the handsome republication (from the rare edition at London, printed by Richard Pynson, in 1508) of "The Ship of Fools," translated by Alexander Barclay from the Latin of Sebastian Brandt, Mr Jamieson acted as editor, prefixing a learned account of the Life and Writings of the Translator.

GEORGE MELDRUM, Esq., Free Church Offices, was a member of the Society of Accountants, Edinburgh, from 1854, and held the office of Depute-Clerk of the Free Church of Scotland. His attachment to that branch of the Church was evinced, according to a notice that has recently

appeared, in leaving a handsome bequest, chiefly in connexion with the Library of the New College, Edinburgh.

JOHN MUDIE of Pitmuies, Esq. He passed advocate in the year 1838. Not requiring to practise, he was led to take an interest in archaeological pursuits, from intimacy with his accomplished neighbour and friend, Patrick Chalmers, Esq. of Aldbar. His feelings in regard to this Society were manifested in his legacy to the Council for the purchase of books to be added to the Society's Library.

KENNETH MURRAY, of Geanies, Esq., Ross-shire, was well-known throughout the North for the leading part he took in the material improvement of the country, and especially in the extensive reclamations of waste lands on the Sutherland estates, which he initiated.

Mr ALEXANDER ORROCK, son of Mr Alexander Orrock, bookbinder in Edinburgh, was employed for some years as a junior assistant in the Signet Library. During this period he acquired a knowledge of books and turn for literary research. On his retiring from this situation to assist in carrying on his father's business, he continued to be employed in arranging and cataloging the libraries of some noblemen and others in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and in particular at Dalkeith, Newbattle, and also at Abbotsford. He also assisted the editor in completing the two volumes of "Lothian Papers" in 1875.

JOHN ROBERTSON, Esq., S.S.C., Portobello. He was a younger son of Mr Andrew Robertson, minister of Inverkeithing, in the Presbytery of Dunfermline. In 1830 his name appears in the list of Solicitors-at-Law; and his professional business in Edinburgh increasing, he became in 1850 a member of the "Society of Solicitors before the Supreme Courts;" but while his office was in Edinburgh, he was for many years a resident in Portobello.

Right Honourable Sir JOHN STUART. This eminent lawyer was the son of Dugald Stuart of Lochcarron, Ross-shire. He was born in 1793, and called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1819; appointed a

Queen's Counsel in 1839, and held the office of Vice-Chancellor from September 1852 till March 1871.

Among the Corresponding Members deceased, we have to mention EDWARD FRANCIS RIMBAULT, LL.D.; and for the following notice we are indebted to a communication by his friend, William Chappell, Esq., which appeared in the *Athenæum* for October 1876 (p. 473), who says, that his decease "leaves a void, not only in the musical world, but also in a considerable literary circle, and it is such a void as cannot easily be filled up. Dr Rimbault died in his own house, 29 St Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, on the morning of the 26th September, and was buried on the 30th in the Highgate Cemetery. He had completed his sixtieth year the preceding 13th of June." Dr Rimbault was possessed of a wonderful knowledge of early English music, whether printed or manuscript, and of the history of its professors. As secretary to the Percy and the Musical Antiquarian Societies, he acted as editor of many of their publications; he also contributed to the *Handel* and other Societies. He was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in May 24, 1847, with which he was so much gratified that, in publishing a curious little volume, entitled "A Little Book of Songs and Ballads," &c., he inscribed it as follows: "To the President and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, this trifle is respectfully inscribed, as a small acknowledgment of the honour conferred upon the Editor by electing him a Corresponding Member of their learned Body."

The decease of another Corresponding Member, who had been elected also in May 1847, is recently noticed:—WILLIAM DOWNING BRUCE, Esq., formerly connected with Culross, studied for the English Bar, and had a call, as counsel, 30th April 1853. His leisure hours he devoted to local and genealogical investigations. But such pursuits were relinquished, in 1869, on receiving an appointment as a District Judge in Jamaica, where he probably died.

MONDAY, 11th December 1876.

Dr JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

CHARLES G. BEAUMONT, Esq., 20 Stafford Street.

G. KEITH MAITLAND, Esq., 20 Stafford Street.

J. JOHN VERNON, Esq., Hawick.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Monumental Stone of Micaceous Schist, 2 feet 6 inches in length, having an Ogham Inscription cut along one edge. It was found in an ancient burying ground in St Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness, Shetland. (See the subsequent communication by Mr Goudie.)

(2.) By Rev. J. C. ROGER, Lerwick.

Monumental Stone of brown-coloured, fine-grained sandstone, 3 feet 8 inches in length, having an Ogham Inscription on one face; found in a moss in Lunnasting, Shetland. (See the subsequent communication by Mr Goudie.)

(3.) By the INDIA OFFICE, through Dr FORBES WATSON of the Indian Museum.

Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris. By the late James Wilkinson Breeks. 4to. London, 1873.

(4.) By the Author, R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Records of the Coinage of Scotland from the earliest period to the Union. Collected by R. W. Cochran Patrick, of Woodside, LL.B., &c. 2 vols. 4to. Edinburgh, 1876.

(5.) By the DUKE and DUCHESS OF SUTHERLAND.

The Earls of Cromartie: their Kindred, Country, and Correspondence. By William Fraser. With Illustrations. (Privately printed.) 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1876. 4to.

(6.) By the Author, JOHN EVANS, Esq., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Petit Album de l'Age du Bronze de la Grande Bretagne. Par John Evans, F.R.S., &c. London, 1876. 4to.

(7.) By the DEAN AND CURATORS OF THE FACULTY OF ADVOCATES.

Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates (A to Marx). 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1867-76. 4to.

(8.) By THOMAS COATS, Esq. of Ferguslie, through Edward Burns, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Catalogue of a series of Coins and Medals illustrative of Scottish Numismatics and History. Selected from the Cabinet of Thomas Coats, Esq. of Ferguslie, and exhibited at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Glasgow, September 1876. Described and annotated by Edward Burns, F.S.A. Scot. Privately printed, 1876. 8vo, large paper.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ANTIQUITIES NEAR LOCH ETIVE.—No. 5. PLAN OF DUN-MAC UISNEACHAN. By R. ANGUS SMITH, PH.D., F.R.S., &c. (PLATE I.)

When I last read a short paper on the fort of the Sons of Uisneach, I made an apology for bringing the subject so frequently before the Society, and expected not to repeat the offence. It was clear, however, that more was required to be done to give even an apparent finish to my work, and I now bring forward a plan of the surface, and a drawing from a photograph of the isolated hill itself, larger than previously given.

The surface is so unequal that I cannot give a good idea of it without a number of contour lines and such care in survey, that I do not think I can give it that time or attention necessary, even if I were accustomed to that class of work. Probably enough will be given on the Ordnance Survey map, which is not yet published.

I had done sufficient to prove that the Dun was not a Roman camp, and had no right to any Roman name, such as Berigionium sounds, although quite aware that an original Gaelic or other name might remain in a word which by some accident had a Roman termination appended. However, it was clear that no Roman occupation had taken place; there is nothing Roman in the character of the walls, and there has not been found anything Roman amongst the few trifling articles made by hands, neither can we tell of any Roman settlement near it.

The vitrified walls take us far back, but not beyond the early centuries of the Christian era necessarily, one having been mentioned in Brittany as having been built after the Romans had shown their skill there. To the earliest possible date we have no clue further than this, that it would appear as if it were in the time of iron as well as of bronze. Of the latest date we have a probable negative indication. Such forts would cease to be built when the country was laid bare of wood, and that certainly would be after the Roman occupation of the east of Scotland and possibly in the west much later. It is probable that they would cease in the east before the west, because new ideas came first there to break up

the life of the earliest times to which we can refer. The forts themselves were a fashion derived from the east, as was shown, and the later influx from the west, or Ireland, was accompanied by no such mode of building, although previously the eastern progress had gone so far as to inoculate the western Highlands with the habit, and slightly to touch the east or opposite coast of Ireland.

The vitrified forts are the work of a rude people learning to emerge from the ruder state of building loose stone walls, if we judge from this of the Usnachs.¹ When I say the forts of a rude people, it means, of course, men without much external civilisation. I have continued to disconnect more and more, as in my first paper, the style of the dwelling and the character of the inmate, except in some particulars, and one of these is that there is often not energy enough to make a better even when there is knowledge. We see also frequently that there is energy enough to make an imposing house and not character enough to live up to it. However the builders of vitrified forts have not shewn themselves advanced far in architecture. They could build dry walls with flat stones, so that the vitrified method was by no means the only one known; vitrified parts are found over the built portion. We do not know how much of the fort under notice was covered with dwellings, but the eastern part had many loose stones; these were taken down and used for building the houses now standing below. The most important portion of the fort was that on the highest point, BB (See Plate I.). Nature had provided a hollow between rocks to the north and south of this spot and partly to the west, whilst a thick wall of loose stones was made to the east. A good deal of this wall remains, and has been cut through. This had fallen partly down, and was raised up by using the material around, some of it consisting of vitrified masses which had broken down. It shows a second occupation.

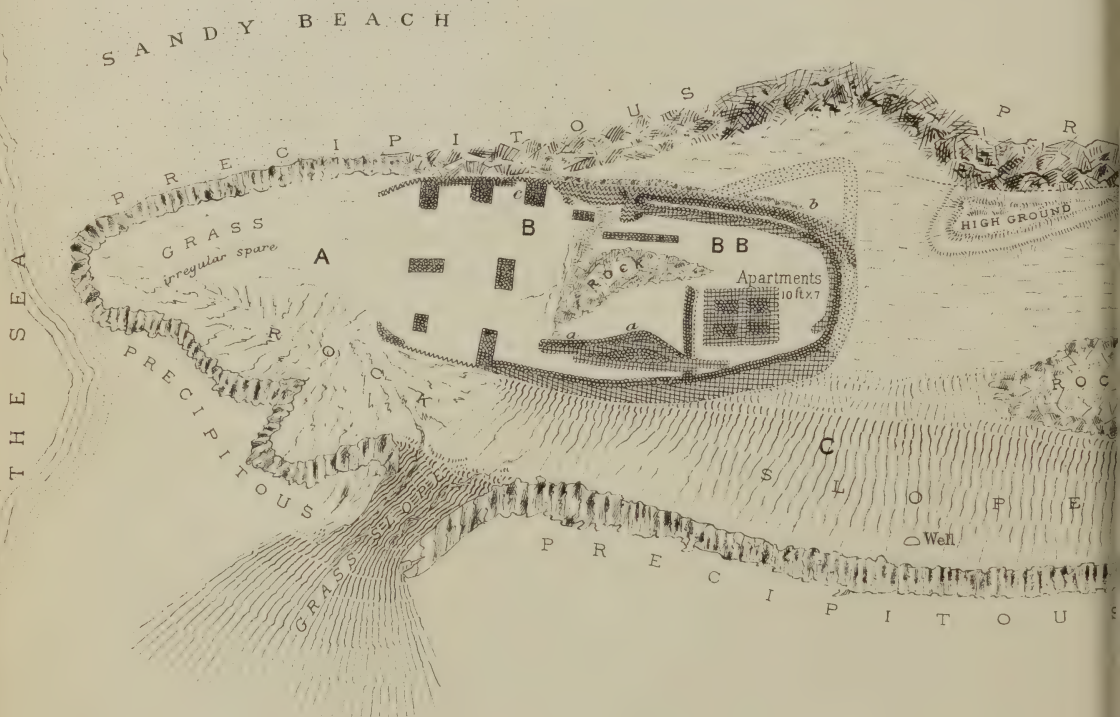
Near the middle of this were apartments built with walls about two feet thick. The drawing scarcely tells how broken down they are, and how difficult it is at times to follow them. Four, however, were made out fully without any doubt; they are not vitrified, but follow the rule in all these cases—a rule I mentioned before—not to vitrify internal walls. The stones chosen are flattish, and no mortar is used. South of these chambers

¹ I purposely spell the name a little differently here, so that it may be seen that there are various methods.

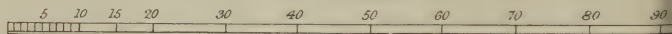
Nº I



Nº II

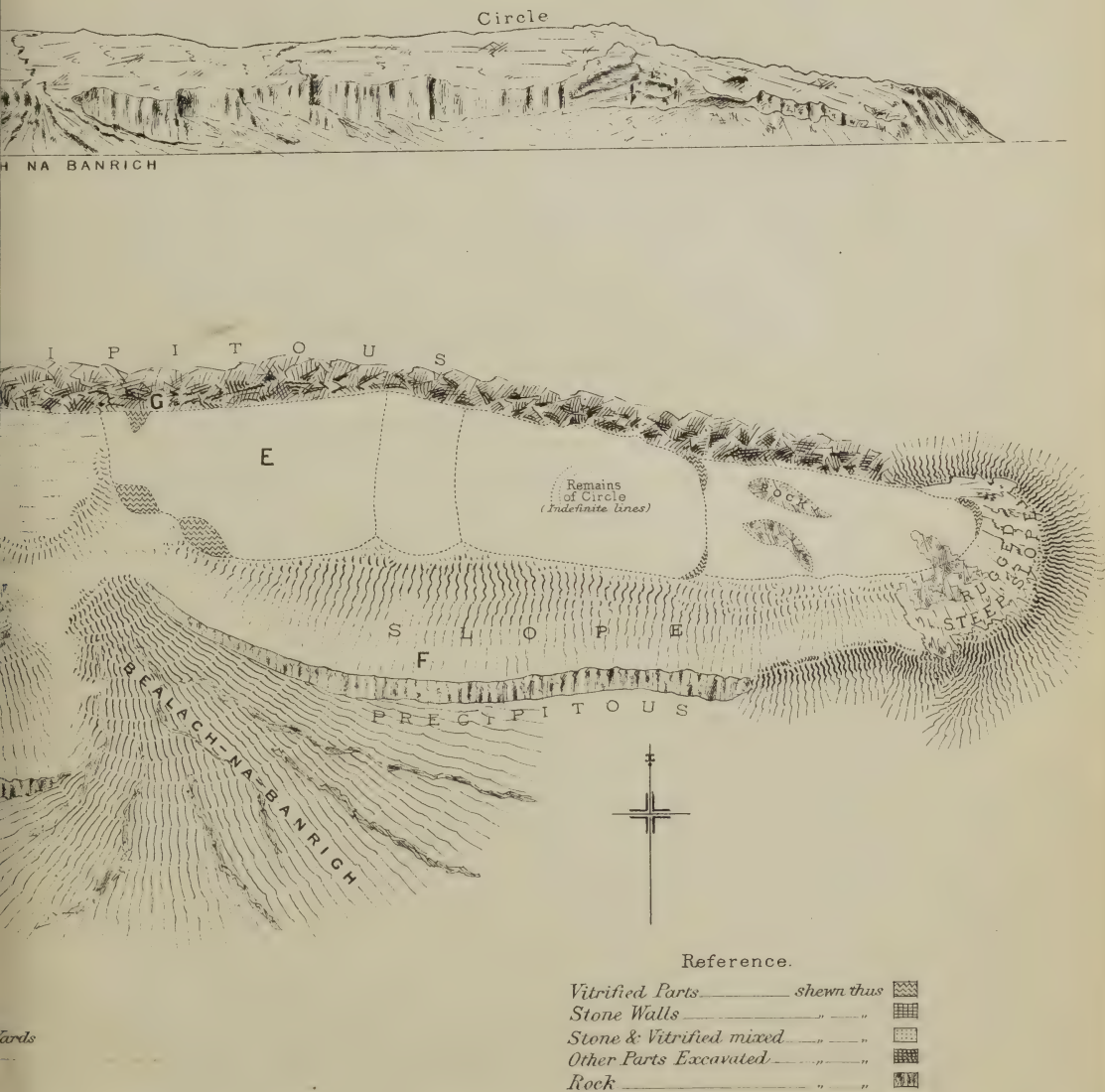


Scale



DUN MA

Nº I. ELEVATION



Engraved by W. & A. R. Johnston, Edinburgh.

are broken down walls with vitrified pieces lying irregularly as if some walls had early fallen ; a less careful class of men had made their habitations there for a time, living roughly, and leaving abundant evidence of their food in the bones of sheep, pigs, and cattle.

There is a long passage from the western side of this enclosure shewn at *a a*, and various confused evidences of other buildings. The passage is very narrow, and leads out to a fine open space at *A* looking out to the sea, well protected by precipitous sides and by vitrified walls in most parts, probably at all parts originally.

We may imagine the central rooms the apartments of the chief. Near the surface were found querns very rude, and on the north wall at *b* the bronze ornament mentioned in a previous paper. At the north-west was found part of an iron sword, at *c*.

A sloping road exists up the so-called Queen's entrance (*Bealach-na-Ban-Righ*). I suppose the whole to have been surrounded with a vitrified wall standing at the edge of the precipitous part. These walls have to a large extent fallen down the hill.

G is a large vitrified mass, not connected apparently with any building, and I have supposed it therefore to have been a tower. It is midway between the two elevations into which the summit is divided by a natural depression, although it does not itself stand in the most depressed part ; in reality it stands on a prominent part, by no means the highest, although the most central.

C is a varied green slope, on the edge of which near the precipice is a well, concerning which romantic stories have been told, which stories I was unfortunately compelled to prove to be without even a foundation. (See my second paper in Vol. IX.) *D* is varied, and gives a variety also of small knoll and dale with rock. At *E* there are indications of enclosures less formal than at *B*, *BB*. At one spot there seems to have been a stone circle. *F* is a steep green slope before the precipitous part begins.

In my unavoidable absence the principal measurements giving the outline were made by the Rev. John Sutherland, of Balcargine, for which I thank him, and without doubt the Society will feel obliged. It will be seen that the digging was not continued all round, but in places sufficiently numerous, I believe.

I send a few photographs, taken from different points, in order to show the style of building. The view is put by the side of the plan to show the relations of the parts, but is not so exact as the photograph from the same point.

After all, the main general observations regarding these forts are found in the small volume by their discoverer, John Williams, Esq., Edinburgh, 1777, and in the appended letter by the celebrated chemist, Dr Joseph Black, then Professor in Edinburgh University. The difficulty of cementation by heat I have never seen, and I believe it need not be much considered. Where basalt is abundant, and where so many mixtures of silica with bases are so readily found and made, abundance of fuel will do the rest.

So far my task has been to illustrate one fort only. I believe this is the first time that a regular dwelling has been found in a vitrified fort, or vitrified walls over built ones. Of course we can always turn aside every kind of evidence and speak of previous occupation as being wonderfully far back, and no man can give a reply; but I certainly find no evidence of anything existing in this fort to prove that it belongs to very remote antiquity. Every trifle that has been found points to times that need not have preceded European history, so far as the skill is concerned, and it is unscientific to imagine an age that is not demanded by the evidence. It would be equally inconclusive to feel certain that the objects and the walls are of equal date, but, taking the whole evidence together, I conclude that an equality of date is the probable one; and when I read Mr Anderson's researches in the Picts' towers, and the introduction of strong thick walls of stone built without mortar, I naturally think of them as built by people accustomed to thick walls, and either by imported advice or skill beginning a new system, seeing that wood was failing, and the old reckless use of it was impossible. That, of course, is a conjecture, and as such it must be left for the present. It is a reason for the Pictish towers following close on the vitrified.

Since I examined these remains I have looked at those in Rome, and it has surprised me much to find how much that great city in imperial times was built of rubble. Great buildings that astonished us, baths of Caracalla, palaces of the emperors, great arches high and wide, made of rubble, and the half spans still hanging with the rubble hardened into

one stone, almost like natural conglomerate; remains of former houses broken up, with remains of statues, and pieces of bricks, stones, marble, or otherwise, are all smashed up, and the older Rome forms the material for the newer. The buildings, to the very centre of the walls, are a type of the empire itself, where nations were crushed, annihilated, or converted into Romans, to all external appearance, until the outer form broke down, and the real material showed itself; we may thus make these walls a good lesson for the ethnologist.

The vitrified walls, like the Roman walls spoken of, are a kind of rubble work, and this kind of work has a dignity which seems not to have been given to it sufficiently. Now, in modern times, it is coming again into use, and we seem to be learning, as the Romans learned, that it is extremely expensive to build with quarried stone, or even with burnt clay or bricks, and some of our largest engineering works are being done with rubble and cement, or concrete. Some may think the use of rubble to have arisen from the habit first used of making a mound of earth as a protection, a habit common among the Zingari of Hungary at the present day, and seen abundantly in the raths of Ireland, forming walls of enclosure, as common, probably, as the walls to our farmsteads and gardens, and, as a culminating point, pointing to the earthworks or walls of the latest fortifications. We can see here the natural growth of ideas, and it needs no communication among nations to cause ideas to grow when the materials and the wants, as well as the machinery, are the same in each to an obvious extent. To determine the extent to which it is obvious is not easy, but we cannot doubt that the use of earthworks would occur readily to many. The use of cement, however, does not readily occur; the early Romans did not use it; it was used at the time when the greatest amount of building was required; we have not used it until lately, and when the demands upon us for building material put us in a position similar to that into which the Romans were driven when building increased.

If people were accustomed to build with loose stones, it would be a very natural wish to make them keep together; and if ever a beacon fire raged unusually and burned a part of the wall into one mass by melting, the invention would be made. Still it requires invention, or at least good observation, to see the value of such an accident; and who can say

if some wise stranger did not first find it out and show the example,—some wise man coming from the East, and having lingered with his tribe in Bohemia, where also they made a vitrified fort. If, however, we desire to account for that Bohemian fort, we might imagine some Caledonian regiments sent by the Romans over the Rhine, and driven farther than was agreeable to them, making use of their old and ready habits at home. On this point, however, the possibility of a Celtic and even a Gaelic tongue being used in Germany to a very late period in some parts might throw some light, but I shall not at present look into the evidence that some think good. The fact of the Boii going to Bohemia does not explain it, as we know of none of their forts at home.

I throw together a number of ideas, but cannot give time for full examination. I am more inclined to believe in the influx from time to time of new ideas by the immigration of strangers, whether wanderers or conquerors, than by invention. Marauding has always been a favourite pursuit, and it comes before merchandising. Some one probably came and showed that the Caterthun system of building with loose stones was a bad one, and showed how to build firmly, as on the Tap-o-Noth, and the invention seems to have spread from near that part. Had these new men come as great conquerors, they would have brought many people, and we should probably have had some indication of them; but if they came as wanderers, either marauding or selling, these might be few. I am more disposed to think of few dropping in at a time when there would be little to steal; besides, at a later time, we have new ideas coming into the east of Scotland, and resulting in the peculiar Scottish sculptures. It is too much to suppose all to have originated on the spot. It was shown that it was most natural for people from Europe to come to the east first, because of the distance of the western coast; and from the Mediterranean even, it was more natural for navigators who kept near to the land to find Kent than Cornwall. It was probably not until a longer familiarity with the seas that the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula found out that it was really shorter to go to Ireland than to the north of Britain, and probably, almost certainly, this would apply to Cornwall and Wales. Ireland, in the time of Tacitus, was apparently pretty well known, although that historian has not taken much trouble to describe it.

It is to be remarked that the peculiar advances in the north of Scot-

land came after the time of Pytheas, who leaves us an idea of great desolation and poverty; whereas in Tacitus we have iron chariots, which indicate many great strides in civilisation. In these very early times it is quite possible to believe the immigration to have taken place abundantly without our historical knowledge being affected, but it would in that case be of only two tribes, Celtic or Scandinavian, if language is to be our only guide. Small numbers would account for new ideas and habits without change of tongue.

I did at one time imagine that considerable numbers might have come and brought the face so peculiarly Scottish, seen in considerable perfection in the north-east, or at least from Aberdeenshire to Ayrshire, but now I am more inclined to look at the great extent to which that face is spread in Scotland, and especially to see it 'prominently in the Pictish districts. It may be an ancient Caledonian peculiarity; where obtained is another question.

There is, of course, a certain amount of fancy in these discussions; but there are a few more reasons which I hope to be able to make clearer for some of the ideas. At any rate, it is well to turn them over in many ways. I see fit to keep to my former opinions so far as the entrance of new ideas and habits from the east of Scotland, and add the strong connection of this with the peculiar physiognomy which characterises so much of Scotland that it may be called the Scottish. But the physiognomy question must be left for a while; whether I shall ever be able to give a good foundation for my present surmisings, arising from long interest in, but not close attention to, the difficult subject, must be left to the future. If the features referred to are Caledonian, they separate that tribe from the Irish Scot and the Cymric very distinctly. I hope I may be excused for giving this in such hurried sentences; it is a subject that deserves much more minute treatment, but one must only feel the way.

Numerous photographs are very much wanted to illustrate Scottish ethnography. One may see many varieties in our country villages, but there is one which a photograph only can explain, more frequently found in Scotland than elsewhere, and perhaps nowhere so decidedly.

II.

ON TWO MONUMENTAL STONES WITH OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN SHETLAND. BY GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq., F.S.A Scot..

The fact that Ogham-inscribed monuments have been found only in Celtic districts, or in districts where Celtic influences have at one time prevailed, invests with considerable interest the discovery of relics of this description in outlying districts where few Celtic traces now remain. Such is the case in the Shetland Islands, where the Pictish people and language have disappeared before the Scandinavian race and Teutonic dialect, which have held entire sway in the islands for more than a thousand years.

Only five specimens of Ogham-inscribed stones have hitherto been found on the mainland of Scotland. In Ireland and Wales they are much more common. The Scottish Oghams consist of the well-known Newton Stone; the Scoonie Stone, presented to the Museum in 1866; the stone from the churchyard of Aboyne, a cast of which was added to the collection in 1873 by the Marquis of Huntly; the stone in the Museum of the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin; and that at Logie-Elphinstone, Aberdeenshire.

In the year 1864 the Bressay Stone, a slab of chlorite slate richly sculptured in low relief, with an Ogham inscription on the edge, found in the island of that name in Shetland, was presented to the Museum by the late Rev. Dr Hamilton. In 1871 a smaller slab, bearing the incised outline of a cross, with an Ogham inscription, found in the Broch of Burrian, in the island of North Ronaldsey, in Orkney, was presented by Dr Traill of Woodwick; and, more recently, a fragment with two letters in the same character was found in the parish of Cunningsburg, in Shetland, by Mr Robert Cogle,—these discoveries thus adding Shetland and Orkney as a new province to the known domain of Ogham relics.

The Scottish Ogham monuments were thus in all eight in number—five from the mainland, one from Orkney, and two from Shetland—until the stones now exhibited were discovered in the summer of 1876.

The best known remains of antiquity in Shetland are the Standing Stones and sepulchral cairns, and the Brochs or circular towers of the Picts, which have appeared so frequently in the Proceedings of this Society, and have contributed so largely to the collection in the Museum. But there is another

class—the early ecclesiastical remains, which are also numerous, and not less interesting. In the island of Unst, twenty-four sites of churches are said to have been identified; ¹ and the other districts, if carefully examined, would probably show numbers in proportion, though in most cases the remains are in ruin or have entirely disappeared. Sir Henry Dryden, who has done so much for the antiquities of the North, has taken the measurements of a number of these remains in the northern districts; those elsewhere have been but little noticed.

On the west side of the southern promontory of the Shetland mainland, in the parish of Dunrossness, is the small isle of St Ninian's (locally termed St Ringan's), with the site of a chapel presumably dedicated to that saint, and which seems to have survived the Reformation, and to have been in existence within comparatively recent times.

If we except the account of the remarkable voyage of Nicolo Zeno, the Venetian, in the year 1380, the first detailed description of the Shetland Islands is given by Buchanan (1582), ² in which no mention is made of St Ninian's Isle. It appears, however, as "S. Tronons Yle" in Timothy Ponts' map, prepared about the year 1608, and published in the great atlas of the Blaeus of Amsterdam. ³ This may be read either as a misprint for St Ronon's Isle, or possibly as St Tronon's, seeing that, according to Bishop Forbes, St Ninian has been known in some northern districts of England as St Trinyon. ⁴

In addition to the figure of a house surmounted by a cross denoting a church, there is adjoining to it, on the map, the mark indicating a man-sion or hamlet, most probably the remains of what was originally a monastic residence, and latterly the dwelling of the resident priest up to the Reformation, but all which has now disappeared. ⁵

¹ Sir H. Dryden, Bart.—*Ruined Churches in Shetland*. Privately printed, 1868.

² *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, apud Alex. Arbuthnetum. Edin., 1582.

³ *Orbis Theatrum Terrarum*. Amsterdam, 1654.

⁴ *Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern*, p. 256.

⁵ I do not know to whom the island belonged prior to the middle of the seventeenth century. On 2d August 1667, the lands (18 merks) were wadsetted to Laurence Stewart of Bigtown by James Sinclair of Scalloway, with consent of Arthur Sinclair, his eldest son, and Grizel Sinclair, heiress of Houss (*Condescendence in Process*, *James Scott v. J. B. Stewart*, 1779). In 1709 the isle was conveyed by Charles Stewart of Bigtown to his son John Charles Stewart (*Register of Sasines, General Register House*). In 1732 the property devolved to Clementina Stewart, then a

The island is pretty accurately described by the Rev. Mr Brand, in the year 1701, as follows :—

“To the North West of the Ness lyes St Ninian’s Isle, very pleasant ; wherein there is a Chappel and ane Altar in it whereon some superstitious People do burn Candles to this day. Some take this Isle rather to be a kind of Peninsula, joyned to the Main by a Bank of Sand, by which in an Ebb People may go into the Isle, tho’ sometimes not without danger.”¹

The resemblance here to the Isle of Whithorn, the supposed site of the original Candida Casa of the Saint, is striking. It, too, at present a peninsula, is, I believe, insulated at certain tides ; suggesting the idea that the founders of St Ninian’s in Shetland were not unacquainted with the little isle in Galloway which was consecrated by the life and labours of the saint. Indeed, we know that he who was especially the Apostle of the Britons, and of the Southern Picts, was also revered as a father by the Celts of Ireland, to whom Whithorn was a favourite resort. And as on the mainland, close to the Isle of Whithorn, a splendid church and a priory were in the course of time erected, so we find that there was also on the adjoining mainland in Shetland, at a place bearing the suggestive name of Ireland,² very near to St Ninian’s Isle, a church of more than usual pretension, the walls and steeple of which were standing so late as 1711.³ There is reason to believe, on the authority of Brand (1701), that this was a church with a round tower, like the famous Church of Egilsey in Orkney ; but I have sought in vain for any vestige of it, though the spot on which it is believed to have stood has been pointed out to me by natives, whose account from tradition is entirely consistent with what we learn regarding it otherwise.

Brand’s description of St Ninian’s Isle is repeated by Martin (1703),⁴ and in Sir Robert Sibbald’s book, published in 1711,⁵ it is particularly minor, who, on her marriage in 1744 to John Bruce (Stewart), disposed the whole lands to him (*Henry Blair v. J. B. Stewart*, Nov. 18, 1783) ; and he, it is stated, demolished the remains of the chapel and built the retaining wall. It ceased to be inhabited about 160 years ago, when the peat fuel failed.

¹ Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth, and Caithness, &c. By the Rev. John Brand, 1701, p. 84.

² Perhaps, however, this name may be a modern form of *Eyrr-land*, a place adjoining a gravelly bank by the sea-shore.

³ Description of the Isles of Shetland. Sir R. Sibbald, 1711, p. 36.

⁴ Description of the Western Isles, &c. Martin, 1703. ⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

referred to in much the same way. Dr Arthur Edmondston, the historian of Shetland (1809), gives it a passing notice, with an allusion to a tradition as to the church having been erected by a Dutch captain in acknowledgment of preservation from a storm at sea¹—a tradition common to many similar sites in the islands, but which does not deserve serious notice. The isle is again referred to by Dr Hibbert (1822), who (quoting the Rev. Mr Low's MS. of 1770), states that—

“The lower storey of the kirk may be distinctly traced, which, having once been vaulted, is supposed to have served for a burying place.”

And lastly, Mr T. S. Muir, in his *Ecclesiological Sketch*, bewails the disappearance of these slight traces when he examined the site in 1862.²

In July last I visited the island, in company with the Rev. J. C. Roger, in the hope of being able to trace some portions of the foundation of the chapel, and possibly of finding some relic of early times. But scarcely a trace remained of the shrine of St Ninian. Time and, still more, the barbarous hand of man, had accomplished its demolition, almost every stone, not earthfast or beneath the surface, having been removed by a late proprietor, and built as a retaining wall close by, at the only point where the isle is accessible—the termination of the beach of sand which connects it with the mainland. Though the chapel has thus disappeared, and the island is now entirely devoted to grazing purposes, the site retains a traditional sacredness in the eyes of the natives of the neighbouring mainland district, to whose forefathers it has been for many ages the last resting place—interments having been discontinued only within the memory of the present generation.

All was desolation and silence except for the moaning of the waves, the screeching of sea-fowl, and the bellowing of cattle. The prediction popularly ascribed to St Columba, in reference to the future of his island sanctuary, seemed to be more literally fulfilled here than even in Iona :

The time shall come when lauding monks shall cease,
And lowing herds here occupy the place.

Indeed there was some difficulty in prosecuting a search on the site, the cattle contesting possession of the ground, and tossing the skulls and

¹ A View of the Ancient and Present State of the Zetland Islands, vol. ii. p. 116.

² Shetland. An Ecclesiological Sketch. Privately printed. 1862.

trampling the bones which are strewn about the sand-blown surface, or protrude from beneath. Some of the interments are evidently of great age; others are comparatively modern. Two tombstones now prostrate, bearing dates about forty years back, and two smaller stones with rudely cut initials, were apparently the only inscribed monuments remaining. But on a more careful search I found embedded in the sand a monument of the earliest times—the Ogham-inscribed stone now exhibited, and which I have the honour of presenting for acceptance by the Society. Two other stones, similarly inscribed, I soon after found. They were fragments, somewhat defaced by exposure, and have since disappeared, but I hope to be able to recover them. The stones originally composing the fabric of the church, and now forming the retaining-wall before referred to, were also examined, but no carving or lettering was found. The stones are naturally smoothfaced and in regular layers, and have been brought apparently from the cliffs opposite on the mainland.

The attention of Mr Roger having, by this discovery, been directed to the subject of such early inscribed relics, he has since kept his eyes open to purpose; and within a month after our visit to St Ninian's Isle, he found in a cottage in the parish of Lunnasting, 30 or 40 miles distant, a stone also bearing an inscription in Ogham characters, and which I have now the pleasure to present, in his name, for your acceptance. The inscription is in an admirable state of preservation; and it is remarkable that the stone, as stated by the former possessor, was found at a depth of 5 feet from the surface, in a moss at a distance of some miles from any known ruin.

We have thus, by these discoveries, an addition of two Ogham monuments (besides the two unrecovered fragments at St Ninian's) to the eight previously known to us as existing in Scotland. The St Ninian's

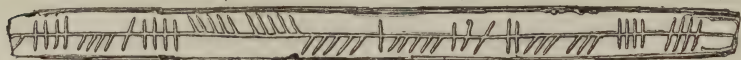


FIG. 1.—Edge of St Ninian's Stone.

stone is an oblong almost rectangular slab of sandstone 2 ft. 6½ in. long, by 10½ in. broad, and 2 in. in thickness. The inscription is perfectly distinct, but unfortunately imperfect at one end, where the stone appears to be fractured.

The Lunnasting stone is 3 ft. 8½ in. long, by about 13 in. in breadth, and 1½ in. in thickness, and is inscribed on the flat surface (see fig. 2.)

The St Ninian's stone is a carefully prepared slab, such as would not be much out of place in a modern churchyard; indeed, it is not improbable that its sides may have been sculptured, although by the scaling off of the surface, no positive traces of this have been left. The Lunnasting stone, though a fine clay-slate, smoothfaced, is very much in its natural state—a weird-like waif, most strikingly suggestive of a rude district and a remote age.

Through the kindness of Dr John Stuart, I have had the opportunity of submitting the inscriptions on both stones to Dr Ferguson of Dublin, the eminent Ogham scholar, who pronounces them most interesting specimens, and undoubtedly Celtic. Mr W. F. Skene, LL.D., has also favoured me with his views, which concur with those expressed by Dr Ferguson. I have further to express my indebtedness to Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., for kind suggestions, in reference to the reading, and, generally, to Mr Anderson, our curator, for his valuable aid, so readily accorded to every member of the Society in investigating questions of history or archæology.

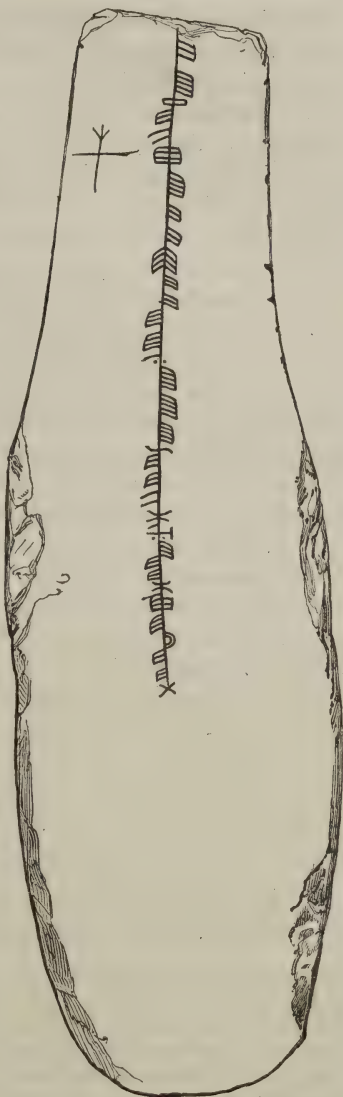


FIG. 2.—Lunnasting Stone—Face.

The characters on both stones present divergences from the usual types on the Irish and Welsh monuments. In the case of the St Ninian's stone, the inscription is on the edge; in the Lunnasting stone it is on the face; while most generally the *corner* of the stone is used as the *fleasgh* or stem-line. Again, in both stones there are letters formed by digits projected *obliquely* from the stem-line on either side, instead of, as more generally, at right angles to it; and in the Lunnasting stone, as in the Orkney one, the further ends of these strokes forming each separate letter are connected by a cross line (see fig. 2). The Lunnasting stone also bears combinations and markings which seem to be entirely new. Apart from the inscription proper, there is an incised marking, resembling, at first sight, a rudely-formed cross, the Runic character **Y** (M), or a masonic mark; but though this strange figure is probably of cardinal significance in the interpretation, we are as yet without the means of determining its character or value.

These peculiarities present obstacles to interpretation by any of the common keys,¹ as explained in the ancient Irish manuscripts, and would seem to suggest the inference that these Shetland monuments and the Orkney specimen before referred to are examples of a system or school of Ogham writing in the Northern Isles founded upon the original Irish models, but developing in the course of time independent characteristics of its own. Attributing, however, to the characters the powers of those most nearly resembling them according to the ordinary alphabet, the St Ninian's stone reads—

(* * * *) ESMEQQNANAMMOFFEST

and the Lunnasting stone—

EATUICHUEATTS: MAHEADTTANN: HCCFFSTFF: NCDTONS

The latter especially seems a strange and inexplicable aggregation of consonants; but while a satisfactory rendering of neither stone has yet

¹ Accounts and illustrations of the Ogham alphabet are given in the Book of Ballymote (written about 1370), the Book of Leinster, and the Book of Lecan; and fac-similes have been published by the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland. The Welsh Ogham monuments are figured in Hubner's recent work, "Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae," Berlin, 1876. The Irish monuments are described from time to time in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

been got, I trust that, ere long, through Dr Ferguson or others skilled in Celtic philology, we shall be in possession of an explanation of their meaning which will restore to us, in all likelihood, the long-lost names of two Céli-Dé ("Culdees") or Pictish saints, these monuments seldom containing more than the mere name and father's name of the person commemorated; as in the celebrated bi-lingual stone found at St Dogmael's, near Cardigan, to the inscription on which that on the St Ninian's stone bears a marked resemblance, and which reads—

Sagramni maqi Cunotami

with the equivalent in Roman characters

Sagrani Fili Cunotami

= Sagrani the son of Cunotam.¹

The presence in some forms of *meqq*, *meccu*, *maqi*, (= "son,") which we find here and on the Bressay and St Ninian's stones, is a striking peculiarity very frequent in these inscriptions.

While we are thus as yet without a satisfactory interpretation of their inscriptions, what may we venture to assume as the historical import of these Shetland and Orkney monuments? It may be concluded, I think

1st. That they are of Celtic origin.

2d. That they are Christian memorials.

3d. That their dates may be determined as prior to the Scandinavian occupation of the islands in the ninth century.

If these positions can be satisfactorily established, the stones have an important historical bearing; they stand before us as material and indubitable proofs of a fact, the probability of which could only be based previously upon inference and conjecture, viz., that the Irish monks penetrated to these Northern Isles in the early middle ages, and that Christianity, introduced by them, flourished among the Pictish inhabitants long before the overthrow of the latter in the 9th century by the Pagan Norsemen.

The introduction of Christianity in the Northern Isles is usually ascribed to the incident in the Bay of Osmundwall in Orkney, when,

¹ This stone is figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for April 1860, and in the "*Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*," supra cit. See also Mr Whitley Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 56.

in the year 1000, the Earl Sigurd was compelled by King Olaf Trygvissón, at the point of the sword, to abjure Thor and Odin, and with all his men to accept instead the Christian faith and baptism.¹ Indeed the chronicles of the Norsemen would almost imply that the islands were not only destitute of Christianity, but actually uninhabited, before their arrival. "In the days of Harold of the Fair Hair," according to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, "the Orkney Isles were settled," or colonized, "but previously they were a retreat of Vikings."² And the *Saga* of King Harold Harfagr, which describes more in detail the overthrow of those Vikings, wholly ignores in the same way the aboriginal inhabitants.

The existence of the Pictish islanders, whether eventually exterminated by, or amalgamated with, their Scandinavian conquerors, need not, however, be doubted. "The Orkney Islands were discovered *and conquered* (by Agricola), and Thule was seen," says Tacitus;³ according to Eutropius, they were added to the Roman Empire a short time before this (about the year A.D. 43), by the Emperor Claudius.⁴ "The Orkneys were steeped in Saxon gore, while Thule ran warm with the blood of Picts,"⁵ says Claudian,—whatever weight we may be disposed to attach to such testimony from classic authors. Coming down to the Middle Ages, were we, like Mr Fergusson, in his "Rude Stone Monuments," to follow Geoffrey of Monmouth (1147) as a trustworthy guide, we should accept the islands, on his authority, as not only inhabited,⁶ but as also Christianised (as undoubtedly they were), and as contributing at the early time of which we are speaking, the very flower of Christian chivalry—Sir Gawayn, Sir Gareth, Sir Gaherys and Sir Agravayne, sons of Lot, King of Orkney—to the brotherhood of the Round Table at Arthur's Court at Caerleon!⁷

But though all history were silent, and all romancing discarded, the

¹ See the account in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, and in the *Saga* of Olaf Trygvissón.

² *A dögun Harallds hins hárfagra bygðuz Orkneyjar, enn ádr var þar Víkinga-böli.*—*Orkneyinga Saga*.

³ *Insulas quas Orcades vocant invenit domuitque; dispecta est et Thule.*—Tacitus—"*Life of Agricola.*"

⁴ *Quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britanniam in Oceano positas Romano imperio addidit quæ appellantur Orcades.*—Eutropius, Lib. vii.

⁵ *Maduerunt Sazone fuso Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.*—Claud.

⁶ *Historia Britonum*, chap. ix., &c.

⁷ See *La Mort d'Arthur*, *passim*.

Pagan Picts of the Northern Isles have yet left enduring monuments behind them, whose evidence cannot be gainsaid,—the Brochs, monoliths, cairns, and megalithic circles, which, as Malcolm Laing observes, were grey with the moss of ages before the first Norwegian prow touched the shores of Orkney; and the Ogham-inscribed monuments discovered within the last few years establish the facts both of the existence and the Christianisation of those early tribes beyond a doubt.

A lingering belief has indeed come down the ages that the religion of the Cross flourished among the Picts until it was overwhelmed by the torrent of Gothic Paganism, which deluged the islands with the arrival of the Norsemen in the ninth century. It is stated by the Iceland chroniclers that books, bells, and crosiers, left by Irish missionaries, were found there and in Ferø by the first settlers; and the names of Papa and Papyli, still preserved in Iceland, Orkney, and Shetland, have been regarded (with good reason, as is now apparent) as referring to the retreats of those early Culdee saints.¹ Express reference to their contemporary existence with the Picts is made in a native document, the Diploma of the Genealogy of the Orkney Earls, prepared at Kirkwall, about the year 1453, for King Eric (the Pomeranian), by Thomas, the then "Bishop, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic see, of Orkney and Zetland." According to this document:—

"In the time of Harold the Hairy (*Comatus*) King of Norway, who was in possession of the entire kingdom, this land or country of the Isles of Orkney was inhabited and cultivated by two nations, namely, the Peti and the Pape (*inhabitata et culta duabus nationibus scilicet Peti et Pape*) which two nations were utterly uprooted and destroyed by the followers of the doughty Prince Rognald, who so pressed upon those nations of the Peti and Pape that none of their posterity remained. But true it is that the land was not then called Orkney, but the land of the Pets, as is clearly verified by a chronicle extant at this day, by the sea dividing Scotland and Orkney, which sea to this day is called the Petland Sea

¹ It may be presumed that in Shetland, before the devastation by the Northmen, the Culdees (*Céli-Dé*) were established at Papal in Unst, Papal in Yell, Papil in Burra; and at Papa Stour (Big), Papa Little, and Papa in the Bay of Scalloway. (See *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. xx.; and also paper by Captain Thomas, R.N., in the Proceedings, vol. xi. part ii.)

(*quod usque ad hodiernum diem mare Petlandicum appellatur*), as distinctly follows in these chronicles. King Harold the Hairy first landed in Shetland with his fleet, and thereafter in Orkney, and conferred the said Orkney and Shetland upon the before-named Prince Rognald the Stout, by whose followers the foresaid two nations were overthrown and destroyed, as our chronicles clearly show."¹

The *Pets* referred to in the foregoing are obviously the Picts. If there should be any doubt as to who the *Pape* were, it is set at rest by the Icelandic chroniclers. The *Landnámabók*, the colonization register of Iceland, states that—

"Before Iceland was colonised from Norway, men were living there whom the Northmen called Papas; they were Christians, and it is thought they came over the sea from the west."

Ari the Wise repeats the same story, and adds, "It was clear that they were Irishmen."²

This is affirmed further in an ancient document, the *Chronicon-Norvegie* (evidently the "Chronicle" referred to in the Diploma), which contains a remarkable account of both the Papas and the Picts.³

Apart, however, from a vague reference to Shetland by the Irish monk Dicuil (A.D. 825), we have only one recorded visit by these Christian missionaries, related by Adamnan, the biographer of St Columba. About

¹ Wallace's "Account of the Islands of Orkney," &c., 1700, p. 121.

² Orkneyinga Saga. Introduction, pp. xii. xiii.

³ The *Chronicon Norvegie* (of which the only known transcript, bearing to have been the property, in 1554, of Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney and Zetland, is preserved at Panmure House, in a hand apparently of the 15th century) is almost unknown in this country; but was printed by Professor Munch of Christiania, in his *Symbole ad Historiam Antiquiorum Rerum Norvegorum*, 1850. The following passage occurs in it, p. 6:—

De Orcadibus Insulis.

Istas insulas primitus Peti et Pape inhabitabant. Horum alteri scilicet Peti parvo superantes pigmeos statura in structuris urbium vespere et mane mira operantes meredie vero cunctis viribus prorsus destituti in subterraneis domunculis premitore latuerunt. Sed eo tempore non Orchades ymmo terra Petorum dicebantur, unde adhuc Petlandicum Mare ab incolis appellatur quod sejungit insulas a Scotia. . . . Qui populus unde illuc adventasset penitus ignoramus. Pape vero propter albas vestas quibus ut clerici induebantur vocati sunt, unde in theutonica lingua omnes clerici Pape dicuntur. Adhuc quedam insula Papey ab illis denominatur.

the year 580, Cormac, one of the followers of the saint, proceeds to the islands, protected by the influence of Columba with Bruidhe Mac Meilkon, King of the Northern Picts, at whose court at the castle on the Ness, a native chief or king (*regulus*) was present at the time of Columba's visit.¹ Unfortunately the account given of St Cormac's mission is very meagre. What he saw, what he did, and the results, are left unrecorded.

But the Ogham monuments which have been found lately in the islands, coupled with the local traditions, the historical indications referred to, and the early dedications still remaining to saints more Celtic than Scandinavian, while all other Celtic traces have been swept away, leave no doubt as to a Christianity existing in pre-Scandinavian times.

Oghams are, as we know, an occult form of monumental writing practised by the Celtic ecclesiastics of the early Middle Ages. We have seen that the Irish missionaries were no strangers to the Northern Isles in those early ages; and the conclusion is irresistible, both on philological and historic grounds, that these Orkney and Shetland stones are Celtic,—that is to say, the work either of the Irish missionary monks (the *Pape* before referred to), or of native Picts instructed by them. Such being the case, these monuments are necessarily Christian, as is attested further, in the cases where sculpturings occur, by their style of art, and the symbols which they bear. If, therefore, Celtic and Christian, we cannot suppose them to be earlier than the visit of the Celtic missionary Cormac, the contemporary of St Columba, about the year 580 A.D.; nor, unless a Christian remnant can have survived amid the exterminating paganism of the Norsemen, can they be assigned to a later date than the invasion of the latter in the year 872. Their age is thus, presumably, from one thousand to thirteen hundred years.

These Ogham monuments speak to us, therefore, with no uncertain sound, across a wide chasm of time. They are monuments of Celtic Shetland in that early period between the termination of the Roman occupation of Britain and the ascendancy of the Norsemen in Northern Europe; when Anglo-Saxons ruled in England, and Picts and Scots possessed divided sovereignties in Scotland, ere fused into one united nation by the powerful arm of Kenneth Macalpin. These stones also remind us forcibly of that long night of ignorance in which Europe lay, when Iona

¹ Adamnan, *Vita Sancti Columbae*, Lib. II. cap. xliii.

pierced the gloom by a light which, radiating from it, illumined far and near; when, as so eloquently told by the Count de Montalembert, the Monks of the West penetrated into the remotest regions of the barbarous north, preaching a higher life and a nobler faith.

In all the circumstances, there can be little doubt that this St Ninian's Isle in Shetland was a seat of those Christian heroes a thousand years ago, an isle of saints, a second Iona or Lindisfarn, a centre of light for the adjacent mainland and isles. But all is now gone, without a vestige except this Ogham monument, and the imperishable name of St Ninian, to tell us of their lives, their labours, and their deaths—

“ In Paradiso Ecclesiæ
Virtutum ex dulcedine
Spiramen dat aromatum
Ninianus cælestium.”

III.

NOTICE OF THE ANCIENT KIL OR BURYING-GROUND TERMED “CLADH
BHILE,” NEAR ELLARY, LOCH CAOLISPORT, SOUTH KNAPDALE.
By WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Esq., ARCHITECT, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.
(PLATES II., III., IV.)

In the autumn of 1875, while on a tour in Knapdale, I visited the ancient burying-ground known as “Cladh Bhile.” It is situated about midway down the western side of Loch Caolisport, at a height of over 200 feet above the sea-level, and nearly in the centre of the steep hill-slopes immediately abutting upon this portion of the loch, between the Eilean-na-Bruachain at Ellary, and the Rudh-an-Tubhaidh.¹

There are no ecclesiastical remains connected with it, nor tradition of any. Close to the shore, a couple of miles nearer the head of the loch, at Cove, lies an interesting group of ruins, comprising a little chapel dedicated to St Columba, and the cave with its rudely-built altar and crosses carved in the living rock, which gives its name to the locality.

¹ In the Ordnance Survey map, the remains of a fort are indicated on the crest of the hill immediately above this burying-ground, but no notice is taken of the site itself, not even the usual B.C.

In marked contrast to that upon the eastern side, the western shore of Loch Caolisport is exceedingly rugged, seamed by water-courses, and broken up by rocky brows running into the sea; so that, until quite recently, the various localities on its margin were accessible chiefly from the higher ground above, traversed by the road between Kilmory-Knap and Auchahoish. The purchase of the estate by D. Fox Tarrat, Esq., has entirely altered the case. The little onstead of Ellary has given place to a spacious mansion, a private road being conducted to it at great expense close to the water-side. I state this to show that, although distances are not great, there may be no immediate connection between remains like those at Cove and Cladh Bhile. Even now the latter site lies in a trackless and sequestered spot, in the heart of an extensive wood, and could not be found except by some one acquainted with the locality.

At the date of my visit, although the surface still lay in its natural state, I found the site itself cleared from the dense growth of copse and underwood previously encumbering it. Scattered here and there without order of any kind, lay the incised stones to which I have this evening the honour of directing your attention; and I trust that, although not numerous, their antique character may render them not uninteresting. They are in all twelve in number, and range from the magnificent pillar stone or erect slab, No. 1, *a* and *b*, down to the half quern-stone, No. 12. None remain *in situ*, or erect, but they lie half-buried in the soil, or tossed about among tree-roots and stones of irregular shape and various sizes, exhibiting no trace of human handiwork.

Beyond these remnants, the only other indication of this place having been used for the purpose of interment is the evidence that, to a quadrangular outline, measuring over the boundary 120 feet from east to west and 80 feet from north to south, it has been at one time enclosed on all four sides. Like the cashel of the Irish cemeteries, this enclosure took probably the form of a dry-stone dyke. Its principal trace is a thickly-strewn belt of stones, about six feet broad, but some portions still remain partially intact, or mounded up under accumulated moss and soil. There can be, however, no possibility of mistake, as this enclosure forms the well-defined limit of the recent clearance.¹

¹ In the Proceedings of the Society, Capt. White states that this burial-ground is "without enclosures of any kind" (vol. x. p. 385; see also "Arch. Sketches in Knap-

In contrast with the great majority of those in the West Highlands there is one curious peculiarity of this burial-place, to which I will only for the present allude, viz., that—as I think, with the exception of one or two indeterminable fragments, I shall be able, in every case, to prove—there is an entire absence of flat or recumbent slabs, sculptured or unsculptured, everything upon the ground that can in any way be ranked as memorials of the dead being exclusively pillar-stones, and intended not to lie flat upon the grave, but to be set upright either at its head or foot.

The burying-ground in question is locally termed "*Cladh Bhile*." *Cladh* or *Claoth*, in its primary signification applicable to an artificially-constructed earthen mound, bank, or ditch,¹ is not only used in the Scottish Highlands as a general term for a place of burial, but constitutes not unfrequently part of the local designation.² Although of common occurrence as a place-name, Dr Reeves states that in the above sense "it is rarely used in Ireland."³ O'Reilly's Dictionary gives *Cladh*, s.m., a grave, dike, ditch, bank, mound; and also *Cludh*, s.m., burying-ground; but I may remark, that even in the chapter on names commemorating "Monuments, Graves, and Cemeteries,"⁴ in his "Irish Names of Places," the word is never once mentioned by Dr Joyce in this relation. It is quite otherwise with the term *Bhile*, or, in the nominative, *Bile*, a tree, a cluster of trees,—a word equally known in both dialects, but, owing to altered circumstances and social customs, finding its most striking illustrations in the original home of the Scoto-Celt. According to Dr Joyce, in Ireland "*Bile* was generally applied to a large tree, which, for any reason, was held in veneration by the people; for instance one under which their chiefs used to be inaugurated, or periodical games celebrated. Trees of this kind were regarded with intense reverence and dale," p. 57). That there is no marked enclosure indicative of modern use or attention is true; but that it must have been carefully protected at some former period is evident.

¹ *Cladh* "generally means a raised dyke of clay, but sometimes a sunk ditch or fosse;" "an artificial mound, dyke, or rampart of any kind." *Vide* Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," p. 31, and 2d series, *sub*. "Artificial Works," p. 214.

² In Iona alone, Dr Reeves enumerates four several sites to which the term is applied (Reeves' Adamnan, *sub*. Cemeteries in "Additional Notes," pp. 417-419, and Explanation of Names in Map, p. 426); and a variety of other instances could be adduced, both from the mainland and western islands.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 426.

⁴ First Series, part iii. chap. iii.

affection; one of the greatest triumphs that a tribe could achieve over their enemies, was to cut down their inauguration tree, and no outrage was more keenly resented, or, when possible, visited with sharper retribution."¹ He adds: "These trees were pretty common in past times; some of them remain to this day, and are often called *Bell* trees, or *Bellow* trees, an echo of the old word *bile*."² In most cases, however, they have

¹ It was under these trees that the *Lia fail*, or Stone of destiny, pertaining to the tribe was placed—to break it up or carry it away being a necessary complement to the destruction of the tree. Dr Stuart suggests that Edward I. may have been actuated by analogous motives in carrying off the Scottish "Stone of destiny" from Scone (Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 104).

² To the archæologist an interesting survival of this term as a place-name, and that which suggested its present application, occurs in connection with the old monastery of Magh-bile, in the county Down, founded by St Finian in the sixth century, and burnt by the Danes *circa* 824 or 825. The different terms used by the annalists in recording its destruction have supplied Dr Petrie, in the sub-sections of his Essay on the Round Towers, with interesting illustrations as to the *derthech* or oratory, and the *erdam* or porch (Ecl. Arch. of Ireland, pp. 340, 435).

The term *Magh-bile*, *i.e.*, "the plain of the old or ancient tree," occurs in various other localities in Ireland, but in all of them it is now modernised as "Moville;" *e.g.*, there is the monastery of *Magh-bile*, or *Domnach-bile*, founded by St Patrick, on the banks of Loch Foyle (Archdall's Monasticon Hib., p. 103), a district lying within sight of Loch Caolisport.

The following instances of the compound use of the term occurring in Dr Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," may be cited as additional illustrations: *Bile-chuais*, "the old tree of the *coos* or cave," modernised as Ballyhoos, in Clonfert, Galway, (p. 8). *Clochán-bile-teine*, "the stepping-stones of the fire-tree," so called "from a large tree which grew near the crossing, under which May-fires used to be lighted," (p. 209), modernised as Cloghaunnatinny, in the parish of Kilmurry, Clare. *Bile-teineadh*, "the old tree of the fire," is a name given by the Four Masters to a place identified by O'Donovan as being near Moynalty, in Meath, and "now called in Irish *Coill-a'-bhile*, the wood of the *bile*, or old tree" Anglicised as Billywood (*Ibid.*). *Alt-a'-bhile*, "the glen-side of the old tree," modernised as Altavilla, in Limerick and Queen's County (p. 374). *Rinn-bhile*, "the point of the *bile* or ancient tree," modernised as Ringville (p. 393). *Tobar-bile*, "the well of the ancient tree"—"some wells" taking "their names from the picturesque old trees that overshadow them, and which are preserved by the people with great veneration,"—as at Toberbilly in Antrim, and Toberavilla in Westmeath (p. 436). *Garran-a'-bhile*, "the shrubbery of the ancient tree," situated in Tipperary (p. 482), modernised as Garnavilla. Similar instances occur in such combinations as *Gort-a'-bhile*, *Knock-a'-bhile*, *Achadh-a'-bhile*; and at Rathvilly, in Carlow, "one of these trees must have, at some former time, flourished on or near an ancient fort, for it is written by the annalists *Rath-bile*" (p. 483).

long since disappeared, but their names remain on many places to attest their former existence." ¹

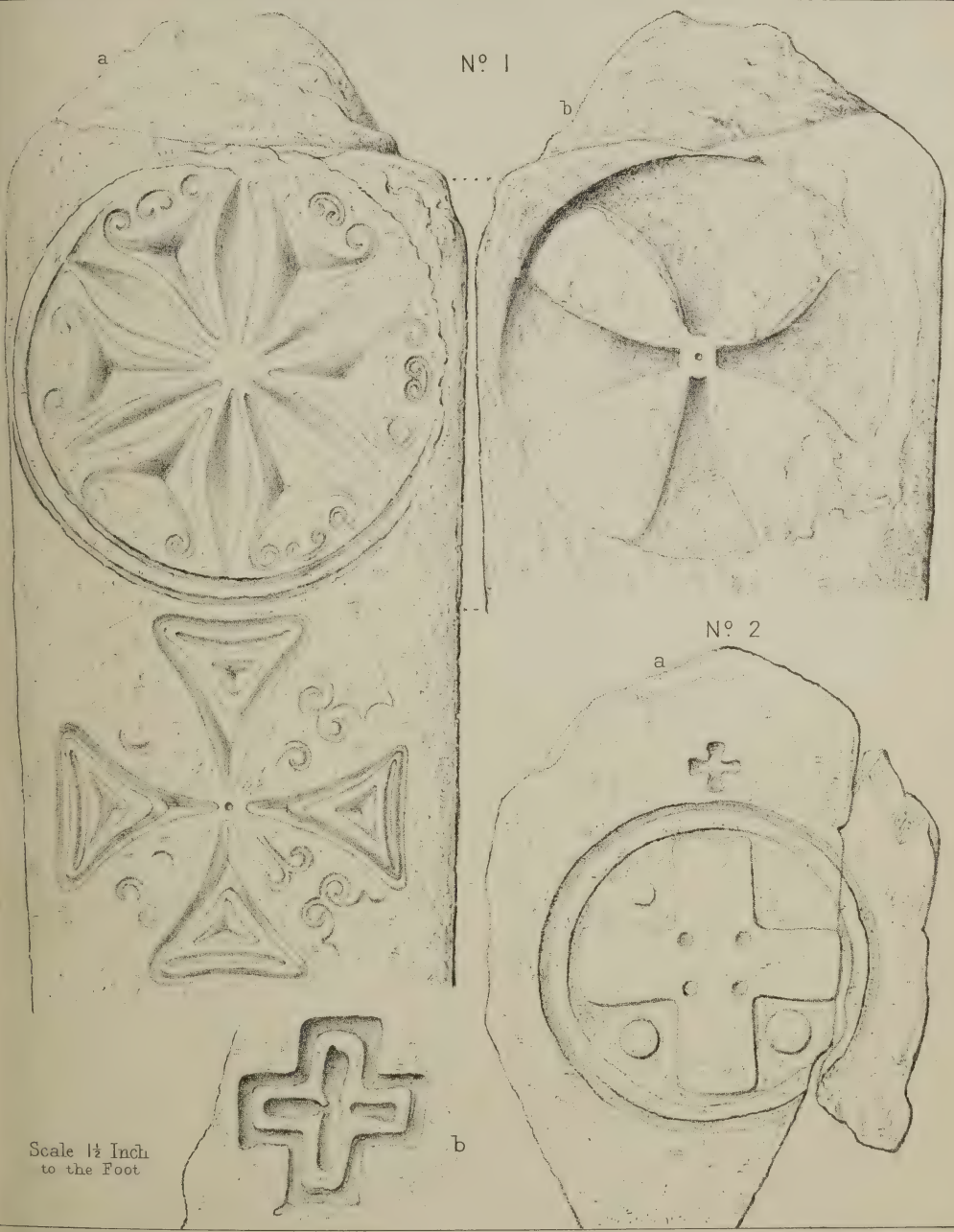
I think there can be little doubt, then, that this is the correct signification of the term, as applied to the old burying-ground under consideration; and when Captain White states that to the latter half of the name he was "unable to get any clue," ² all it amounts to is that, owing to lapse of time and change of circumstances, a name originally well understood and appropriate has gradually become quite archaic. There is nothing more common than for a place-name to be faithfully handed down over a lengthened period, even when the circumstances giving rise to it have been altogether forgotten. The locality is precisely one of those in which some venerable monarch of the wood may have for centuries braved the winter's storm. It has never been under cultivation at any time, and even now the only purpose to which it can be applied is that of growing timber or feeding sheep.

I will now proceed to describe the extant remains *seriatim*, as they are numbered consecutively on Plates II., III., and IV.

No. 1, *a.* and *b.*—This is not only the largest incised stone upon the ground, rivalling any of the sculptured slabs themselves in dimensions, but it may also well challenge comparison with them in the elaborate character of its ornament, and the minuteness and delicacy with which it is finished. Like most of the others, the material of which it is composed is the mica-schist so prevalent in the district. The extreme length is 6 feet 9 inches, the breadth at top $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, gradually tapering to $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches toward the bottom. The average thickness of the undressed or lower portion is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; in the upper part, where there are two dressed surfaces, it is reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It appears also to have been rudely squared and shaped at the sides and top, which is gabled, and by accident perhaps, truncated at the point. In keeping with the geological character of the stone, the general surface presents a flaky appearance, with a constant tendency to assume circular shapes, owing to the irregular decay or exfoliation of the superficial laminæ. All the prominent parts on the upper or more ornate, because exposed, side are flaked and weathered, not a little of the delicate ornamentation being obliterated, otherwise it is quite

¹ "Irish Names of Places," pp. 481-82.

² "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," p. 57.



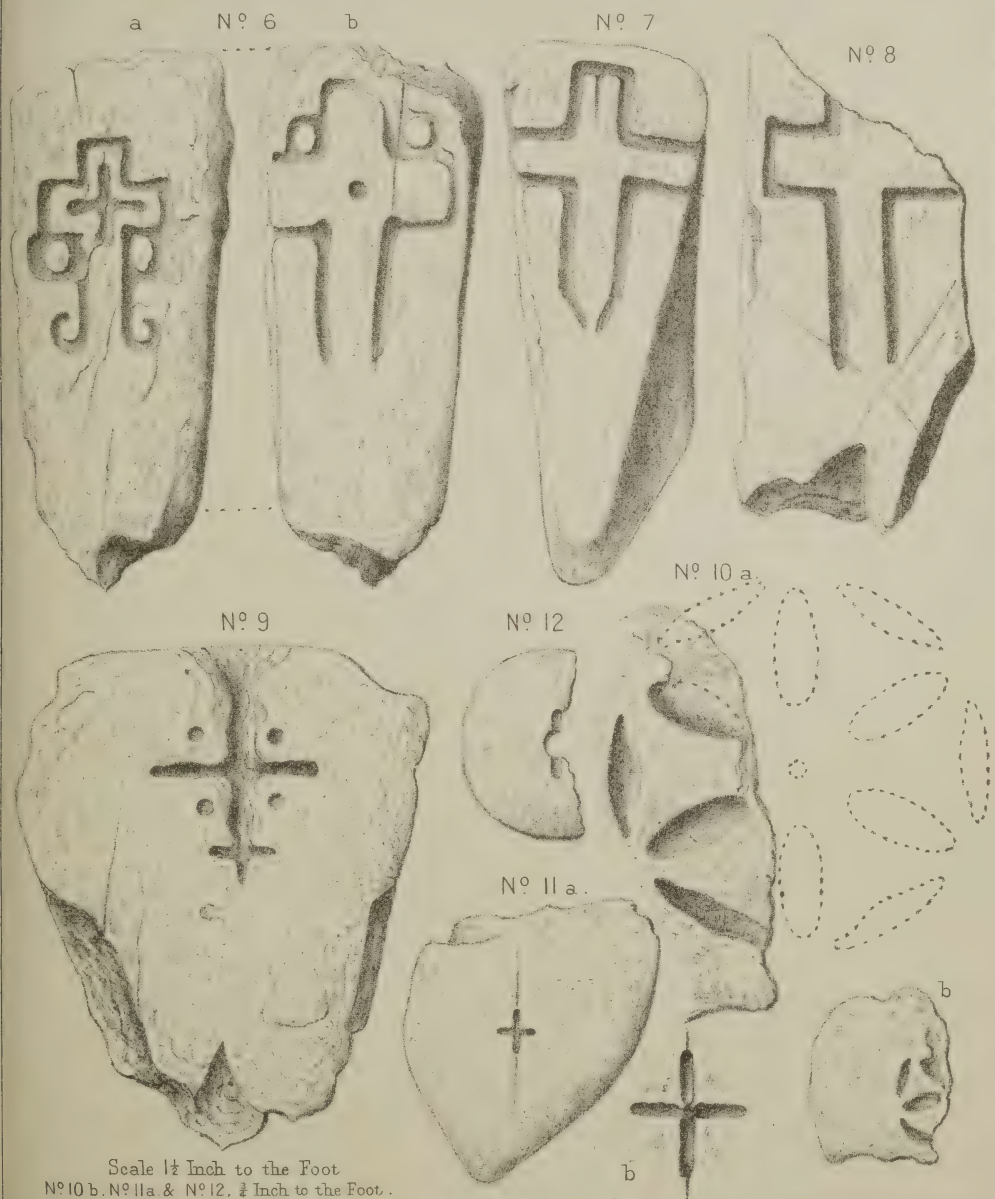
HEAD-STONES CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESHIRE.



Scale 1 1/2 Inch to the Foot.

W. Galloway. Delt.

HEAD-STONES, CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESKIRE.



W. Galloway. Delt.

W & A. Colman & Co. Edinburgh

HEAD-STONES, CLADH BHILE, ARGYLESHIRE.

perfect, and forms a most beautiful and unique example of its own particular class. When I first saw it, the stone lay embedded in the soil, with the enriched side upwards, undisturbed it may be from time immemorial. Convinced from the rough and undressed appearance of the lower portion, that it was not what at first sight it might easily be taken for—a recumbent slab—I requested my guide to assist me in turning it over. This with some difficulty we did, and, on clearing off the adhering soil, the large but rudely inscribed device, represented on No. 1. *b.*, made its appearance, proving at once that it was not a flag but a head or pillar-stone, and its true position vertical, and not horizontal.

The first thing in this slab that cannot fail to attract attention in contrast with all the other stones on the ground, is the purely ornate and carefully executed style of the incised work. In the others, the great object is the direct reproduction of the cross in a variety of forms, sometimes quite plain, at other times with such slight adornment as rather constitute specific varieties of this symbol than mere decoration. But on this particular stone, although the cross is undoubtedly represented, still it is kept quite subordinate to artistic effect. On the principal face, or more highly enriched side, the ornament is composed of two distinct designs, having no necessary connection beyond that of mere juxtaposition. The uppermost of these is contained within a circle 20 inches in diameter, extending to the extreme verge of the stone on either side. This circle is formed by two incised lines, slightly irregular in breadth, but averaging each say $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, and an inch over all, giving an internal diameter of 1 foot 6 inches. The space thus enclosed is up to its full limits occupied with a design so graceful, and in the distribution of its several parts so well composed and appropriate, that it seems rather a conventionalised transcript from nature, than the stereotyped reiteration of a mere symbol.

The design is composed of twelve radiating figures, and if the reference to a natural type were admitted, would represent six leaves, six flowers.

For the sake of illustration let us assume this to be the case. There are, then, first of all, six pointed lanceolate feuilles or leaves extending the full radius of the circle, and constituting depressions on the general surface of the stone, the sides of which depressions slope down with a very flat curve, until they meet in a central line. The intermediate spaces are filled in with six trumpet-shaped flowers, from a narrow attachment

gradually expanding with a curved outline, until the attenuated lips of the corolla on either side curve inwards upon themselves in two bold and decided spirals; the space between these spirals being filled in with an unattached double or C scroll. These floral figures are, like the leaves, formed by a well-marked depression, with this difference that the three sides all decline till they meet in a point.¹ Such are the simple, but gracefully combined features of the upper device. That beneath it is in its character more distinctly conventional and symbolic. Its basis is a Greek cross, about 16 inches either way, without any enclosing circle. The centre is marked by a small pit; from this the arms gradually expand in a triangular form as in the cross pattée, but rounded at the angles with a gently curved outline. A broad grooved V-sectioned line, doubled inter-

¹ As a source of enriched effect, these sinkings are often combined with incised work, down to the latest instances of its use. They may be either square-edged and equally reduced, or bevelled down to a V-section, mitring at the angles, and meeting in central lines, straight or curved, or points according to the shape of the depression. Most beautiful instances of this class of work occur in Scotland, not *per se*, but in cases where, to give greater variety, incised work is used in combination with carved work, often in high relief. Two very fine examples, one of them, unfortunately, only a fragment, are represented in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (vol. i. pl. xxv. and pl. xxvi-xxvii.). They are both pillar-stones, and their original sites about one mile apart. The first is at Hilton of Cadboll. The stone has been fractured in the centre of the incised panel, but what remains of the panel is filled with a combination of spiral and crescentic forms, and the interstices filled in with square-edged sinkings, generally developed from the incised lines themselves. The neighbouring stone from Shandwick is of precisely the same character, a panel about 2 feet 9 inches square, and happily complete, being entirely filled with a similar design, some of the sinkings being independent, others developed from the lines. Additional instances occur on the Maiden Stone at the Chapel of Garioch ("Sc. Stones," vol. i. pl. ii. No. 2), the Abbotsford Cross (pl. xcix.), and also on the lower part of the cross at Kiels (*ibid.* vol. ii. pl. xxxii.), and on the fragments at Iona (pl. xlv. and xlvi. No. 3.), stated by Dr Stuart to be "of early design and most elaborate execution." (Notices of the plates p. 27.)

The same peculiarities, in connection with an equally advanced style of work, occur on the highly ornate crosses at Killispeen, co. Kilkenny, figured in O'Neill's "Sculp. Crosses of Ancient Ireland" (pl. iv-ix.). A large amount of the ornament, upon them is *incised*, or, as the author puts it, "sunk below the general surface" (p. 2), the sinkings, where they are other than lines, having precisely the same bevelled section terminating triangularly in a point, or forming a continuous line straight or curved, as is noted above. See especially the plate of details (pl. viii.) where the ornament is given to a scale of one-fourth of the full size.

nally at each extremity, forms the outline, and the centre is filled in with a triangular depression precisely similar to those in the device above. The spaces between the arms are filled in with delicately incised double or ∞ scrolls, but in general so much weathered and worn down, that the full design cannot be traced. All the incisions upon this face of the stone are cleanly and well cut, with an entire absence of tool marks. There are no sharp or hard lines, but all is soft and rounded; even the depressions are carried down to a curved section, and the work is finished throughout with the greatest care.¹

¹ From the general character of the design, and especially the preference evinced for the use of spiral lines, the first impression is that the ornament in question presents an affinity to Irish rather than to the usual West Highland types; and the cross at Kiels, or St Martin's in Iona, are naturally reverted to as instances on which to base a possible analogy. It requires, however, but little reflection to be convinced that the work before us differs materially from such examples or their Irish prototypes, representing rather a style, or *phase* of a style, which, if rare in Scotland, is by no means common in Ireland. Even in it, viewed topographically, and still more historically, there is great diversity of style; and if the examples just cited are old, that is no reason why the stones in question should not be older still, or at least represent an earlier and more initial stage in the progress of Celtic art. It is true that in one sense all spirals are very much alike, and form at once the result and the embodiment of the same principles, whether they occur upon the tattooed skin of the New Zealander, or upon the volutes of the Erechtheum at Athens. Still there are spirals and spirals, and to compare the simple incised forms presented upon this slab with those highly intricate combinations of lines, which, like the swirling eddies of a whirlpool, diverge and converge either round about, or actually upon the convex surface of a series of bosses carved in bold relief, would be as great an error as to place the early products of an art alongside those of its highest perfection. Setting, then, types like these aside as too advanced, if we fall back on Ireland as the cradle of Celtic art, and look rather to the spirit of a style than to the varied forms in which that spirit can be expressed, then, among her earliest lithic monuments of the Christian age, not a few instances do occur where the analogy is too close to be merely accidental. Among other things, I take the mode of using the spiral, that marked feature in Celtic art, to be a crucial test. Wherever employed, in illuminated MSS., in metal work, or on stone, the great and ultimate aim was intricacy, lines running off in different directions and terminating in elaborate knots or ganglii, out of which other lines run, and so covering, it may be, a large surface with involved and ever-varying repetitions of the one idea. Easily produced with the pen or the graver, nothing could be more difficult when attempted on stone, and only by great and long-continued practice could the art have attained its ultimate perfection. Between this Scottish example, then, and those to which I refer in Ireland, there exists this marked analogy. They exhibit a tendency to the use of the spiral, but only in its simplest

The incised ornament on the principal face having occupied so much attention, a brief description must suffice for the reverse side.

and most rudimentary forms, and with no attempt at combination that is not equally simple. They might, indeed, be direct imitations of such forms as are daily presented in nature, for there is little about them that is conventional, and nothing intricate. With this, other points of analogy concur, but these will be best understood by the citation of particular instances. The first I shall adduce are from Kerry. Two of these are given in the recently published "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language" (vol. ii. figs. 5, 8, notices of plates, pp. 5, 6). The first is at Cell-Finten, now Kilfountain. It is a pillar-stone, situated in the ancient, but now disused cemetery, attached to the ruined church of St. Finten, whose name appears prominently inscribed upon the stone, with an undeciphered Ogham. On the upper part, within a circle 7 inches or 8 inches in diameter, a plain *sunk* cross is formed, the arms expanding but slightly rounded or bulbous at the extremities. Beneath this is a double scroll, pronounced by Miss Stokes to be "one of the oldest examples of the divergent spiral design or trumpet pattern yet found incised on stone." ("Christ. Inscip." vol. ii. p. 5). The lines forming this scroll expand as they approach the circle, so as to enclose a broad triangular sinking, the sides of which run to a point precisely in the same manner as do ten out of the sixteen sinkings in the Cladh Bhile stone. From the top of the circle a vertical line runs up, branching off on either side in a single \mathcal{E} scroll. The second is also a pillar-stone, from the now disused burial ground at Reask. It is larger in its dimensions than that at Cell-Finten, and although simple in its general outlines, the space on the surface of the stone occupied by the design extends to about 5 feet by 1 foot 8 inches. Within a circle 1 foot 9 inches in diameter, a plain *sunk* cross is formed, differing from No. I. *b*. only in two things, viz., the centre being cut out and so the limbs connected, and at the extremities, instead of being cleared to the circumscribing circle, segments are left; otherwise allowing for 3 inches of difference in point of size, the one cross is the precise duplicate of the other. The remaining part of the design is a series of repeating spirals almost as simple as the wave ornament of the Greeks, varied in their dimensions and symmetrically arranged on either side of a vertical line, ultimately terminating in a double scroll like that upon the Finten stone. Another of these incised stones is given in the Memorials of Adare, by Lord Dunraven. There is some linear-interlaced knot-work of simple character, but the most peculiar feature is the *sunk* cross, produced in exactly the same manner as in the two stones just referred to and the Cladh Bhile stone No. I. *b*. The careful woodcut by O. Jewitt shows that this sinking presents the same pitted or dabbed appearance as do so many of the stones at Cladh Bhile. The probable date of these stones must be to a great extent matter of conjecture. That they are early, even in relation to the growth and progress of Christian art in Ireland, there can be no doubt. In a letter to the Earl of Dunraven, Dr Petrie states: "With reference to the antiquity of your incised Kerry Crosses, I do not know what I can add to the simple expression of my opinion, that I consider them unquestionably of the fifth, or at the latest sixth, century." ("Memorials of Adare," p. 153). In addition to those just given, many other instances might

With respect to execution, indeed, the contrast is very marked. What design exists is brought out by bold, square-edged, roughly outlined sinkings, and at first sight it appears doubtful whether it is to the sinkings or to the parts in relief attention should be directed, *i.e.*, whether the carver intended to represent a cross-saltire, or a Greek cross. On turning, however, to the carefully executed cross on the principal face, it becomes evident that both are meant to express the same idea, the one being merely a rudely executed repetition of the other.¹ There is the

be adduced from the earliest class of Christian memorials in Ireland, where the same principles apply, especially in the use of the simple involuted spiral, *e.g.*, there is the Cros-na-Trinide at Inismurray ("Christ. Inscrip." vol. ii. p. 14). The same feature also occurs as a favourite terminal to the limbs of crosses formed of single incised lines, *e.g.* the Abecedarium pillar-stone at Kilmalkedar, (*ibid.* fig. 9), the "Cross of the Women," Inismurray (*ibid.* fig. 20), and the cross on the lower part of the pillar-stone at Kilnasgart (*ibid.* fig. 38). Although the ornament upon the Irish examples just cited is much less elaborate than that upon the slab at Cladh Bhile, the approximation of style between them is, I think, very marked, and the points of agreement may be classed as follows:—1. They are all pillar-stones, and situated in ancient, and now disused, cemeteries. 2. The ornament is all *incised*, the design chiefly *linear*, with no carving or sculpture in relief. 3. There is a marked tendency to the use of simple involuted forms, as distinct from the later elaborate and highly intricate spiral. 4. There is the same tendency to combine with the ornament, broad, well-defined sinkings, either square-edged or bevelled down till they terminate in a central line, or, when the sinking is triangular—as in the Cell Finten and Cladh Bhile stones—in a point. In the Cladh Bhile stone, there are sixteen of these sinkings, *viz.*, ten triangular in form and so converging, and six elongated, with the sides sloping downwards to a central line, while in the Finten stone there is but one sinking, also triangular in outline and converging to a point, but the analogy is too marked and characteristic for the coincidence to be merely accidental. Such sinkings very rarely occur in advanced Celtic work in *relievo*, the principle being that the ornamentation of whatever character or varying degrees of relief rises out of one normal plane. 5. The form of the crosses are precisely analogous, being equal-armed and expanding, as in the Greek or Maltese cross, at Cladh Bhile this characteristic being maintained even when there is no enclosing circle. 6. These crosses may either be expressed by incised lines, *i.e.*, in outline, or by an entire excision of the stone to a certain depth equivalent to relief, with this distinction, that like the rest of the incised work it is still the cross, *i.e.*, the design, which is sunk, while the intermediate spaces remain intact and in relief, these sinkings being also square-edged, and, in so far as can be judged from drawings, of the same rude, simple, and imperfect character.

¹ The dubiety arises from the failure to connect the sinkings, as is usually done by clearing out the centre also. In the ornate cross this is unnecessary, because there the parts in relief form as important an element in the device as the depressions.

little pit in the centre, with the centre itself and the intermediate spaces remaining intact, but instead of the triangular sinkings and raised lines which give an ornamental character to the limbs of the cross, the surface is cut down to one uniform level, and a circumscribing circle 18 inches in diameter run round the entire figure.

It is essential to notice, that although on this side of the slab, the cross is brought out not by linear incisions, but by an entire excision of the stone to a certain depth, still, as in intaglio, it is the device itself which is sunk, and not the intermediate spaces, being in this respect the exact converse of relieve.

I may also remark that the surface of the stone is tooled for about 9 inches below the circle, the remainder being left quite rough as on the other side.

No. 2, *a* and *b*.—This is evidently the shattered remnant of a stone of considerable size; it is in two pieces, and from the sharpness of the various ragged edges, and perfect fit of the small piece on the left, I fear that the fracture has been the result of comparatively recent violence. By putting the two pieces together it forms a mass of very irregular outline, 2 feet 7 inches long, by 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. It is inscribed on both sides, and happily the design seems to be complete. On the principal face, by means of a slight sinking $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad, a circle is described 15 inches in diameter; within this another circle is formed by a raised margin being left, varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 inch in breadth, leaving an internal space 1 foot in diameter, within which is formed in relief a plain equal-armed cross, the arms varying from 3 inches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The crossing of the arms is distinguished by four small circular pits $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, placed towards the several angles. The cross itself is cantoned between four circular pellets from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 2 inches diameter. At the top and just outside the circle, there is also a small Greek cross, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches either way. The chief peculiarity, however, lies not so much in the general design, as in the extreme lowness of the relief given to it, and in the manner of its execution. The depressed

The discrepancy is curious, as showing that, being on the same principle, in all likelihood both were carved by the same man, but at the same time he failed to perceive that what was right to do in the one case, viz., to leave the centre intact, was decidedly inappropriate in the other.

surfaces are all pitted or dabbed, as if produced by repeated blows from a pointed tool vertically delivered, and so the removal of the superficial laminæ effected, but to an extent just sufficient to show the design. This slightness of relief on the principal face becomes all the more curious when we turn to the reverse side and find there, the one planted within the other, a double cross sharply and well cut, to a bold rounded section. Both these crosses are equal-armed, the external one measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches either way, with arms $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, the incised lines measuring about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in breadth; the internal one, formed by two single lines varying from $\frac{5}{8}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in breadth, their extreme length being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches vertical by 6 inches horizontal. They are rounded at the extremities, and so contracted at the centre that the horizontal bar is discontinuous.¹

No. 3, *a* and *b*.—This is a pillar-stone of unmistakeable character, 3 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the upper part, and tapering to 6 inches at the bottom. The greatest thickness is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, thinning off toward either end. The principal face shows two crosses in relief, one above the other. The uppermost, a Latin cross, is $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 inches, the limbs 3 inches broad, with deep circular indentations at the axillæ, sunk $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The cross stands on a rudely-formed Calvary, and the reduced surface is semicircled at the top. The cross below is much smaller. It is equal-armed, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches either way, the limbs broad in proportion to their length, varying from 2 to 3 inches. It also stands on a kind of stepped Calvary, but like all the other sculpturings in relief, as distinct from the incised work at this burial-ground, the execution of these two crosses is exceedingly rude, and, owing to the schistose character of the stone, they are much exfoliated and weathered. At the very top of the stone, on the reverse side, is a small equal-armed

¹ A double cross, very similar to this one, enclosed in a circle, and incised on what has evidently been a pillar-stone, is figured in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. i. 2nd ser. p. 275). It occurs in the old burying-ground close to Killyleigh Castle, co. Down. The writer of the notice describes it as "a small and very curiously-shaped slab . . . different both in shape and design from anything that I have seen."

In the same plate a slab from the burying-ground at Glen Columbkille, co. Donegal, is also figured; it is precisely similar to the other, differing only in this, that the two crosses—contained and containing—are both crosses potent.

cross, formed by two well incised lines, each about $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch broad, and rounded at the extremities.

No. 4, *a* and *b*.—In its general proportions this stone is precisely similar to the last. It is 4 feet long, 7 inches broad at the top, gradually expanding to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the centre, whence it tapers again to 8 inches at the bottom, and averages $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The incisions occur only on one face, but on the right edge of the stone there is a boldly cut cross, formed of two lines half an inch broad, the vertical one being 6 inches, and the transverse $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The distance from the top of the stone to the centre of the cross is one foot. The incisions on the principal face are equally well cut. They are peculiar in their character, although unfortunately, in parts, very much scaled away. At the top a cross is formed by two deeply-cut bisecting lines, each half an inch broad, the vertical line being about 13 inches long, and the transverse 9 inches, or the full breadth of the stone. These lines terminate in triangles in the upper limbs, the incisions increasing in depth as well as width, and opening right out upon the sides and top. Although the surface of the stone is at this part considerably wasted, the centre of the cross or point where the lines bisect also shows decided indications of having been angled off in keeping with this mode of termination.¹ In the quarterings four pellets are introduced, fully an inch in diameter, and surrounded with a boldly-incised line. The most peculiar feature, however, is the manner in which the upper arm of the cross

¹ There are three favourite modes of terminating the limbs of the cross frequently employed in Ireland, and through all changes of style, from the simplest incised lines to the most elaborate ornament, each retains its own distinctive character. These are, the triangle, the semicircle, and the square. For leading examples in all these phases, *vide* Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language." In vol ii. fig. 71, a very curious instance occurs of all three terminals being designedly exemplified on one slab, *viz.*, the triangle in the interlaced knotwork of the principal cross, and the square and the semicircle in the smaller crosses in the upper quarterings.

In Scotland the triangular terminal occurs on two headstones at Millport ("Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol ii. pl. lxxiv. Nos. 2 and 8), and on the otherwise severely simple cross incised on the pillar-stone over the well at Kilmory-Oib ("Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xlv. fig. 1), referred to by the author at p. 103 as "an unusual triangular-shaped head, which is new to me."

The diamonded centre is also a characteristic feature, either in combination with the triangle or otherwise.

finishes. From near the centre of the arm two diagonal lines of the same breadth and depth as the others strike outwards for $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and then return nearly at a right angle, until they unite with the triangular termination and so form a diamond-shaped figure, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 inches.

Lower down, upon the same face, there is a cross saltire, formed by two deep, well cut lines, fully 11 inches in length. The breadths vary, averaging, say half an inch. The cross is cantoned between four rudely cut, equal-armed crosses, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches either way, the lines about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in breadth, and, like those on the cross saltire, all the extremities are rounded.

No. 5, *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.—Although one of the smallest, this is at the same time one of the most interesting stones upon the ground, owing to its being inscribed not on two, but on all four sides. The natural form of the stone itself favours this multiplicity of incisions. It is a rectangular block, slightly rounded at the angles, and tapering off at the end by which it was evidently inserted in the earth. Except the incisions there is no trace of tool-marks or dressing of any kind. It is 1 foot 4 inches in extreme length, by 6 inches square on the sides. On the face *a*, the surface of the stone, especially toward the upper part, is now very much chipped and weathered, and the markings are consequently very indistinct. There has undoubtedly been a cross of some form or other upon it, but the under part alone remains perfect. The shaft is extremely short, and sarcelled or voided at the foot. On the left side there is a diagonal line of slightly elliptical form, sharpened at the ends, and pointing to the centre of the cross.

Face *b*.—This side is very perfect. It is inscribed with a double-barred cross formed of single lines, from half an inch to five-eighths broad, and presents a close resemblance to the form of cross known as "patriarchal," the use of which is restricted in the Romish Church to cardinals and archbishops, with this distinction, that in the cross patriarchal the shorter bar, as emblematic of the title, is placed above and not below the transom. The shaft is 7 inches in length, the transom 5 inches, and the short bar, which may represent the *suppedaneum* or support for the body of the crucified, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.¹ In addition to this,

¹ This bar, placed below the transom, forms another mark of affinity with Irish work. In allusion to this feature, a writer in the "Arch. Cambrensis" (vol. 1870) p. 108.

however, there is a vertical line on each side of the cross; that on the right, nearly 9 inches in length and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch from the central line; the other nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch from the central line, thus cutting both of the transverse bars, while the first cuts the upper one only.

Face *c*.—Like *a*, the surface is very much worn and weathered, and the incisions are very rude and undecipherable. There seems to be at the top a horizontal line, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, which cross two irregularly disposed vertical lines $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches long. There are also two diagonal lines similar to that on face *a*.

Face *d*.—Like face *b* this side is very perfect, and the surface smooth and flat. It carries a deeply incised and well graven Latin cross, 9 inches in length, of a stiletto or dagger form. The transverse bar is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and half an inch broad, and rounded at the ends. The upper arm is also rounded, and the same breadth at the top, but contracting as it approaches the centre. The shaft proper, or what would be the blade of the dagger, is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch broad at the top, gradually running out to a fine point.

No. 6, *a* and *b*.—A small slab of micaceous schist, incised on both sides, 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in extreme length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the top by $7\frac{1}{2}$ at the bottom, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

On the face *a* there is a double cross, the one planted in the centre of the other. The first is equal-armed, and formed of two single cross lines 3 inches in length. The containing cross is 9 inches in length, of the Latin form, the arms averaging about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. Beneath

states:—"A curious variety, which seems to belong to this period [ninth century], is found very often in the islands off the west coast of Ireland. It has two, and sometimes three arms; the widest being at the top, instead of the bottom as in the papal cross and the patriarchal cross of the Holy Sepulchre." Examples occur in the "Christian Inscrip." vol. ii. fig. 20, the "Cross of the Women" at Inismurray, figs. 27 and 30, both from St Breacan's, Aranmor. Below the transom of the relieved cross on the pillar-stone at Kilmory-Oib, there is apparently a similar bar, terminating in dilated or bulbous extremities ("Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xlv. fig. 2), stated at p. 103 to be a "pair of leaves branching from the shaft." In the "Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. lxviii. No. 7, a cross so double-barred, incised in single lines and combined with the shears, is given from the burying-ground at Balquhiddier.

the transom are two circular pellets, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, planted in squares. The incised lines generally are irregular in breadth, and the execution rude. But the most peculiar feature of this cross is the manner in which the elongated lines of the shaft terminate. They are turned outward on either side, in the form of a bold and decided scroll or spiral.¹ On the face *b* there is a Latin cross, 1 foot long by 8 inches across the arms; the several limbs 3 inches in breadth, and the shaft tapering slightly toward the foot, where it is sarcelled or voided. In the centre of the crossing there is a small pit $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, and in the upper quarterings two pellets $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, giving a full breadth across of $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

No. 7.—A small irregular-shaped stone, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by about 9 inches in breadth and thickness at the top, gradually tapering to the lower extremity. It presents one smooth face, of an elongated triangular form, and upon it is incised a well-defined Latin cross, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches in vertical length, by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad; the transom 8 inches long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad. The incised lines are from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch broad, running out at the extremities of the transom, so as to utilise the full breadth of the stone, and giving a bold, simple outline, in perfect preservation. The most striking peculiarity lies in the termination of the shaft. It is tapered to a point, as in the form well known to heraldry—the cross fitchée. Notwithstanding the extensive familiarity which the use of this form of cross in connection with pilgrimages must

¹ Like most of the other specialities in these crosses, this must by no means be viewed as a mere vagary on the part of the carver. On a slab at Clonmacnois, attributed to the seventh century, the shaft of the cross is terminated in exactly the same manner ("Christ. Insc.," vol. i. fig. 6); and upon another slab at the same place, probably of the ninth century, in the shaft of a double-lined cross, the internal lines run down and terminate in the triangular form characterising the cross fitchée; while the external lines are turned off on either side precisely as in this stone at Cladh Bhile (*ibid.* fig. 92).

When the cross was afterwards adopted as a heraldic emblem, these variations acquired a well-defined and permanent character, the scroll in question being transmuted into the cross molined, or anchored; for, in the quaint but graphic language of one of our oldest books on heraldry, "Certen we haue a crosse whyche is callyd a crosse tornyd agayn, and this crosse is callyd retornyd: for the cause y^t theendes of this crosse on euery syde are retorned agayn by the manere of a ramys horne" ("The Book of St. Albans," *sub* "Blasyng of Armes," Hazlewood's Reprint, 1810, of Wynkyn de Worde's ed. 1496, *rev.* a iiij.).

have induced, its occurrence is very rare indeed on the incised or sculptured stones of Scotland. It is, however, by no means infrequent in Ireland; and in the "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," nearly a dozen instances, ranging from the eighth century downward, are given from different localities, and in a variety of interesting combinations.¹

From instances such as these it is evident that the cross fitchée dates from a period long anterior to its use as a heraldic emblem. At the same time, it was undoubtedly one of the earliest varieties of the cross so employed. In the early heraldic work already quoted, the following quaint description of it occurs in connection with the crosses pattee and fleury:—

"Of a crosse patent fixibyll. This crosse patent is made dyuers in the fote of the same as it aperyth here, and thene it is called a crosse patent fyxible. For in thende suche a crosse maye be pitched in y^e whiche crosse thre of y^e hyer partes are open in the corners and broder than in the myddes, and his fote is dysposed to pytche in therth. . . . And knowe y^e y^t there be many crosses the whiche may be made fyxible, as it shall be shewed here folowyng in dyuersly.²

"Of a crosse flurry. This crosse flurry somtyme is borne in armes fyxabyll. And thende is called in armes a crosse flurry fyxabll; for in thre of his endes he is florysshying, and ye fote pitchablyl or fyxabyll."³

No. 8.—This is a fragment very irregular and ragged in outline, 1 foot 9 inches long by 10 inches broad and 2 inches thick. It is incised upon one face only. The design has been a well-proportioned Latin cross, about 13 inches long by $8\frac{1}{4}$ over the arms, which are 3 inches in breadth, while the shaft is only $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; it is also sarcelled or open at the foot. The lines generally are half an inch broad, and barely $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch deep, with a slightly rounded section, and present the appearance having been formed by means of a small pick, or sharp-pointed tool.

¹ *Vide* vol. i. figs. 14, 18, 56, 59 (a plain Latin cross, of approximately the same size as the above, but more graceful in its proportions. It is curious that here also the transverse arms are shown as being appreciably narrower than the shaft), 89, 92; vol. ii. 30, 36, &c.

² "Book of St. Albans," *sub* "Blasyng of Armes," aij.

³ *Ibid.* aiiij.

No. 9.—This is an irregularly outlined block of micaceous schist 1 foot 9 inches long by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 2 inches thick, quite rough and undressed. It is incised only upon one face, with a double-barred cross, but it is difficult to tell whether the stone is complete or not. The cross itself, or what part of it remains, is $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, the transom 7 inches, and the short bar $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Owing to the exfoliation of the stone, the shaft is very irregular in width, and may range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the one extremity to $\frac{1}{4}$ at the other, and about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch deep, the bars being half an inch broad. In the quarterings are four little pits, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter.

No. 10.—This is a large fragmentary slab of the usual micaceous schist, quite shapeless and irregular in its outlines. Its dimensions are 1 foot 11 inches in length by 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The surfaces are quite undressed, and there would be nothing about it to attract attention save for the deeply marked and peculiar incisions which occur upon one of its faces. They evidently form part of a design, of which the major portion has been lost. I cannot give a better idea of what it may probably have been than by referring to the cross or pillar-stone at Millport,¹ so timeously rescued from the destruction which befell the stone coffin found with it. A prominent feature on both sides of this stone is a hexagon, enclosed in a circle. The circles themselves, and the segmental ellipses hexagonally dividing them, are formed by incised *lines*, but the hexafoils radiating from the centre are in each case formed by deeply incised *sinkings*. If we suppose an entire absence of the enclosing circle, or any incised lines whatever, and that in their stead between the points of the radiating foils similar elliptical *sinkings* be placed, then we shall have a design precisely similar to that of which *apparently* this stone at Cladh Bhile presents a portion.²

If this idea be correct, the completed figure would be a hexafoil at least

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. lxxiv. No. 2, and Notices of the Plates, p. 37.

² The Skeith Stone at Kilrenny, Fifeshire, shows eight complete foils enclosed within a circle, produced in the same way ("Sculp. Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. cxxiv.).

16 inches in diameter, inscribed on a stone possibly similar in its dimensions to Nos. 1 and 2. In so far as they remain, the elliptical sinkings are 5 or 6 inches in length, the marginal ones $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, the only remaining radiating foil being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. They are all boldly cut down to a square section nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch deep.

No. 11.—An irregularly outlined block of mica-schist, 3 feet by 2 feet 9 inches, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 inches thick. One end tapers at an obtuse angle to a point, suggesting the mode of its insertion in the earth. In the middle of the stone, on one side, a small cross is inscribed, formed of single lines $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 inches in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in breadth, contracting at the centre. As if to facilitate the work of incision, the vertical line follows the track of a natural vein or channel in the stone.

No. 12.—This stone belongs to quite a different category from the others, and yet while there are no marks upon it indicative of any monumental use, apart from such an object it is difficult to tell by what accident it occurs in such a locality. From the notches cut on each side of the feeding or grain-hole, for the admission of the cross-bar, it is evidently one-half of the rider or upper stone of a quern, which in its complete state has been 2 feet in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The grain hole is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, the notches are $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches over all, and cut $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch deep, and as much in width. The stone is quite flat on the notched or lower face, with no indications of any concavity, and is very rough on the upper surface.¹

From the preceding description I think there can be little difficulty in determining the true character of these memorials to be not flag-stones but pillar-stones. Unless there is reason to believe that the stone had been re-used, or diverted from its original purpose, wherever an incision occurs on other than the principal face, it may reasonably be assumed that such

¹ An instance of the upper stone of a quern being used as a grave-stone is given by Dr Petrie, from Clonmacnois. It is richly ornamented on what has been the under or grinding surface of the stone with four distinct ornaments—"the zig-zag, rope, bead, and Etruscan fret; and though it is not easy to fix its exact date, it will be sufficiently evident from the absence of a surname in the inscription, that it is at least anterior to the eleventh century." The inscribed name is conjectured by Dr Petrie to be probably that of Sechnasach, "Priest of Durrow," who died 928 or 931 ("Ecc. Arch. of Ireland," p. 339; and R. I. Acad. Cat. p. 107).

part of the stone was intended to be kept in view and not concealed. The form of the stones themselves also favours this supposition, presenting as they do either a rough or a prolonged and un-incised extremity, by means of which they were evidently designed to be inserted in the earth. In addition to this, with exception of a few of the largest examples, the dimensions really are such as make it very unlikely that they were intended to lie flat upon the grave.

The question would indeed present very little difficulty were it not that stones of similar character are very rare in the West Highlands. Embodying as it does the result of extensive and accurate surveys personally conducted,¹ on this point I may be allowed to quote the opinion of one than whom few are better entitled to be heard. Mr Muir, in his "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture," combating the prevalent idea of the "sepulchral slabs" found so extensively distributed throughout the West Highland burying-grounds having been purloined from Iona, states:—"To imagine that all, or even any considerable number, came thence, would be to maintain, not only that stones of the Iona type were not in use anywhere except in Iona itself, but that until the monumental exodus took place, no memorial of any kind lay over the body of military chief or churchman deposited in less sacred ground than the Reilig Orain: for it must be remembered, that saving the 'protestant' slab with its long-winded eulogy, no other description of memorials than those just referred to are anywhere existing in the county" (p. 100). And at page 94 of the same work we read:—"Headstone memorials of ancient date seem to be quite as rare as brasses." The complement of this statement being found on the previous page—"It is perhaps needless to remark that brasses are all but extinct in Scotland."

In the various prefaces and appendices to the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" Dr Stuart has so ably discussed the use of the pillar-stone as a sepulchral memorial not only in prehistoric and pagan times, but also its continuation for the same object into the Christian period, that for the elucidation of this point a simple reference to that work will be sufficient.²

¹ *Vide* "Char. of Old Church Arch." *sub* Burying-Grounds and Sepulchral Slabs, pp. 94, 108.

² *Vide* vol. i. Pref. pp i.-vi.; vol. ii. Pref. pp. 37, 38; Note p. 48; Appendix to the Preface, chap. iii. "Early Pillars and Crosses," pp. xliii.-xlvi. and chap. viii. "Early Modes of Burial," pp. lix.-lxv.

The supercession of the pillar-stone by the flat slab is a different question, and one for the determination of which very slight materials unfortunately exist in this country. Owing to the deficiency, indeed, both of well-authenticated remains and of literary records in the West Highlands, a wide gap is all that marks our knowledge of the transition from the monolith of prehistoric and pagan times, erected wherever he whom it commemorates was at once interred, to the effigied or sculptured slab, covering the spot where, in later ages, the remains of the dead, borne often for a great distance over land and sea, were laid in consecrated ground.

In Ireland it is quite otherwise: there almost every step of the process may be traced, through its several stages, from the one mode of commemoration to the other, her ancient and in many cases now disused cemeteries supplying the most authentic evidence regarding early practice in this respect. There the pillar-stone, ogham-graven, or—if, as in the majority of our own West Highland slabs, all personal reference to the dead be absent—exhibiting such simple ascriptions as DNS . DNI . DNO, takes precedence before any other form of memorial. Instances occur at Killeen-Cormac, Kil-Finten, Reask, Killpeacan, Kilnasaggart, and in connection with the oratories of Gallerus and Kilmalkedar. Inismurray and the Aran islands also contribute their quota, and it is just in remote localities like these we may naturally expect such relics of a primitive age to be still in existence.

That the pillar-stone, then, preceded the flag-stone there can be little doubt; but the change from the one to the other must in all likelihood have begun to take place at an early period. Probably no distinction between the practice of pagan and Christian times in relation to modes of interment would more effectually contribute to this result than the consecration of a particular area for the purpose, as it was deemed, of Christian burial. Interment within such ground was supposed to confer peculiar advantages upon those whose dust might at last be found reposing within its sacred limits;¹ and this, not to the great

¹ A curious instance of this feeling was exhibited by Aude, widow of Olaf the White, the first Norwegian King of Dublin. After her husband's death she went to Iceland, which was then pagan, and died there. "She was a Christian, but did not build any church, erecting only some crosses at which she said her prayers, and before her

only, or those to whom a mark of special distinction might be considered due, but as a matter of religious privilege or necessity to all, whether rich or poor. But within so restricted a space, and on ground subject to frequent disturbance, the awkwardness of the pillar-stone, except when it was of comparatively small dimensions, could not fail soon to become apparent. Considerations of convenience would thus do much to subvert the one custom, and the ready command of suitable materials to make the introduction of the other natural and appropriate. Religious prepossessions would also play no unimportant part in the change, the pillar-stone passing into desuetude as associated with pagan times, the cross-graven flat slab gradually taking its place as more distinctively Christian.

While then the use of the pillar-stone in early Christian times must be viewed as the natural continuation of a long-established custom, there can be little doubt, that to the practice introduced under Christianity of general sepulture within a limited area, must (except in the humblest class of memorials, and the more important cases, such as crosses, where proper security could be given to the foundation), be attributed the disuse of all erect, or merely earth-fast stones. It is also evident that what is true of Ireland in this respect, would be equally true of the West Highlands, were it not reasonably open to doubt whether the intermediate stage, of which such unmistakable traces are found in the one country, did ever really exist in the other. But that the Scoto-Celt did not pass *per saltum* from the monolith, even to the earliest of the slabs, other evidence in addition to that submitted this evening might be adduced. For, bearing indisputable evidence of antiquity, and chiefly in out-of-the-way localities, scattered instances do occasionally occur sufficient to render it at least probable that previous to the general introduction of the flat slab, erect stones of similar character to those at Cladh Bhile, must have been in prevalent use.

In the Society's Museum¹ there is an interesting example of such an early headstone from Eilean Mohr. It is a small slab of chlorite-schist, 2 feet

death she expressed the wish to be buried on the part of the beach covered by the sea at flood time, not willing, she said, to rest in unhallowed soil" ("Chron. of Man and the Sudreys," edited by Prof. Munch; Pref. p. xii.).

¹ Presented in 1862 by the late Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart., and figured in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. ciii.

2 inches long by 1 foot at greatest breadth, and 2 inches thick. In the upper part it is of irregular outline, but tapers gradually toward the lower end, where, in the words of the original descriptive notice, it distinctly "shows marks of having been partly buried in the ground."

It is incised upon one side only, and exhibits a cross-potent $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the transom $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the traverses at the ends of the three upper limbs $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and that at the foot of the shaft barely 2 inches long.

But the most curious feature is the incised line carried round the uppermost traverse in a rectangular form, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, as if to add distinction to the head of the cross. The entire length, with this feature added, is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and as the transom exactly bisects the cross at this length (not the 12 inches of the vertical limb), the term "Latin cross" used in the description is thus scarcely appropriate. The lines throughout vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in breadth, and are boldly channelled out with a V-section to the average depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, and show evident traces at the sides that the sinking has been produced by vertical blows of some pointed tool, and left without much polish, except what time may have given. On either side, right above the traverses, are three little pits, $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch broad by $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch deep, forming a slightly isoscelesed triangle $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch on the side.

An additional example both of the cross-potent and the headstone occurs in a small slab preserved in the garden at Taynish House, Loch Swen, but said to have been brought from the old burying-ground at Kilmory-Oib.¹ In form and dimensions it approximates very closely to that just mentioned, except that it is still more triangular in outline.

Of similar style, and from the same district, is the stone apparently still remaining *in situ* at Ach-na-cille, on the farm of Oibmore.² It is about 4 feet by 2 feet, inscribed on both sides with Latin crosses of antique character, variously decorated, and presenting a close analogy to those on some of the stones at Cladh Bhile. Thus, in fig. 3, with exception of the peculiar prolongation of the shaft beyond the circumference of the circle, this circle itself, and the broad equal-armed cross it contains, both in design and dimensions, closely resembles that on the principal face of

¹ Described and figured by Capt. White, "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xliii. figs. 1 and 2, and Descrip. p. 98.

² "Arch. Sketches in Knapdale," pl. xli. figs. 3 and 4, and Descrip. p. 102.

No. 2, *antea*; and although this stone is only a fragment, there can be little doubt it was originally at least as large as that at Oibmore. The crosses upon the other side, both large and small, so far as can be judged from the sketch, may equally be matched from Cladh Bhile.¹

There is also a small stone in the Museum, presented by Captain Thomas, evidently designed for the same purpose, but unfortunately mutilated in the under portion. It is of hornblendic gneiss, and barely 16 inches in extreme length by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. On one side there is inscribed a Latin cross, $10\frac{1}{2}$ or 11 inches long by 6 inches across the arms, formed of two single lines, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad, with a slightly-rounded section not exceeding in depth, at most, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, and very similar to that already mentioned as characterising No. 9, *antea*. The surface of the stone is wasted at the extremities of the lines, except on the left line, which terminates in a decidedly triangular form, similar to No. 4, *antea*. The cross is cantoned between four little pits, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad. Dr Stuart states that it was "found in the walls of a farm-house, and is said to have been removed from the ruined chapel of St Taran,"² in the island of Taransay, Harris.

But what really constitutes the true peculiarity of Cladh Bhile is not only that it contains pillar-stones, but that it does so to the *entire exclusion* of the sepulchral slab or flagstone, in every form it can assume, and this in a district where it is evident that for centuries the use of the latter must have been universal, the words of Mr Muir being strictly applicable to its places of interment generally when he says—"No other description of memorials than those just referred to are anywhere existing,"³ those of modern date excepted.

Among West Highland burying-grounds, then, unique in what it has—

¹ "Sculp. Stones of Scot." vol. ii. pl. ciii., and Notices of the Plates, p. 60.

² In the Kintyre volume of the "Archæological Sketches," a small slab, similar to the above, is given. It occurs in the burying-ground at Kilchenzie, and is described by Capt. White as being "probably much the oldest relic of all." It is "a rough oblong stone, about 4 feet in length, with a rude form of wheel-cross, brought out by means of a broadish band or beading in relief" Pl. v., Descrip. p. 127. When the exhaustive character of Capt. White's examination and the facilities at his command are considered, it is matter of surprise that Kintyre and Knapdale should furnish so small a quota of these interesting relics.

³ "Char. of Old Ch. Arch." p. 100.

pillar-stones exclusively, unique in what it has not—the recumbent slab, I would suggest with regard to Cladh Bhile, that, taken in connection with the early character of its existing remains, the most likely reason for this peculiarity may be that it had fallen into disuse prior to the general introduction of the flagstone, at least on the part of those by whom such mementoes of the dead were likely to be employed.

And, after all, the majority of the sculptured slabs do not carry us very far back. In Iona a few of early date do occur, but we have nothing to match that continuous series the sister island is able to present. Iona apart, grant even that the earliest examples occasionally to be met with here and there, *may* go back to the 13th century, how long a period does even this require ere the custom became generally diffused? By what, then, were these slabs preceded? That under Christianity they formed the earliest memento of the dead throughout the West Highland districts we cannot believe. They must, in all likelihood, have supplanted something more rude and simple. May the burying-ground which has this evening occupied so much of your attention not help to give an answer to this question? One thing is certain, the name of the place itself, the style of the art, the form of the crosses, and their distinctive peculiarities, carry us back to a date when the intercourse between the twin branches of the Celtic race was much more intimate than in later times, so intimate, indeed, as to be in its results almost identical. A diligent scrutiny of suitable localities would doubtless bring to light new vestiges of this interesting period, and add fresh links of connection between the earlier and the later practices of that remote age.

As showing the special interest attachable both to the locality in question, and the district in which it is situated, I cannot more appropriately close this paper than by referring to one of the latest and most important contributions to the early history of our native land. In 560 the Dalriadic Scots sustained a severe check at the hands of the Pictish king Bruidhe, son of Mailchu. Their king Gabhran was killed, and the colony driven back within its earliest limits. This success obtained on the part of a still heathen power against his own countrymen seems to have exercised a considerable influence in stimulating the zeal and missionary enterprise of Columba. Three years after the date mentioned, the first

glimpse we get of him in Scotland is at the court of Conall, nephew and successor of Gabhran.

The notice is almost incidental, and introduced by Adamnan in connection with a "prophetic revelation," or relating, as it does, to an event transpiring at the moment in Ireland, what may more appropriately be called a case of "second sight." Still this notice casts valuable light on Columba's first movements pending the cession of Hy, and gives consistency to his traditional connection with the shores of Loch Caolisport. Alluding to the battle between Bruidhe and Gabhran, and Columba's subsequent visit to Conall, in the recently issued volume of his great work on "Celtic Scotland,"¹ Mr Skene states :—

"The territories occupied by the Scots of Dalriada had in consequence been much restricted, and for the time probably did not extend much beyond the peninsula of Kintyre (inclusive of Knapdale), and perhaps Cowal; and while his predecessors are termed *Ri Alban* by the old annalist Tighernac, Conall bears the title of *Ri Dalriada* only. His chief seat appears at this time to have been at a place which the annalist calls Delgon or Cindelgend,² in Kintyre; and it seems to have been situated on the west coast of Knapdale. The curious cave chapel at Cove, on Loch Caolisport, which, tradition says, was Columba's first church in Scotland before he sailed to Iona, is probably connected with his residence with King Conall."

In conveying my acknowledgments to Mr Joseph Anderson for much useful aid, I only express the feelings of those similarly engaged for the courtesy with which his extensive information is placed at their disposal.

[Mr Galloway also exhibited drawings of the Chapel of St Saturnin, at St Wandrille-Rançon, in the canton of Caudebec-en-Caux, Seine-Inférieure, France. This very curious and ancient building was formerly a small chapel or oratory connected with the monastery of St Wandrille, or Fontenelle, after the abbey of St Ouen, said to be the oldest foundation

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

² Mr Skene also mentions a charter granted by John, Lord of the Isles, and dated from a place called Cleandaghallagan, probably identical with the above.

in Normandy. The original chapel was destroyed in the Norman invasion of 862. The present building dates probably from the tenth, or early part of the eleventh, century. It is cruciform in plan, and of very small dimensions, measuring externally under 41 feet in extreme length, by 29 feet across the transepts. Each limb of the cross terminates in an apse, an arrangement of which the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem is the type. There is a similar structure at Querqueville, near Cherbourg. Mr Fergusson mentions that they form two exceptional churches, which must be considered as representing the religious edifices of the inhabitants of that part of France prior to the Norman Conquest. He further states : "Both are rude and simple in their outline and ornaments; they are built with that curious herring-bone or diagonal masonry indicative of great age, and differing in every essential respect from the works of the Normans when they came into possession of the province. . . . and if they show any affinity to any other style, it is to Belgium and Germany we must look for it, rather than anywhere within the boundaries of France."¹]

MONDAY, 8th *January* 1877.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Before proceeding to the ordinary business of the meeting, the Chairman referred to the great loss sustained in the death of Lord Neaves, who had been long a zealous member, and more than once a vice-President, of the Society. It was agreed to record on the minutes the sense of loss which the Society had sustained by his death.

After a ballot, the following Gentleman was unanimously elected a Corresponding Member :—

HENRY LAING, Esq., seal engraver, author of "Catalogue of Scottish Seals" (Bannatyne Club), 2 vols. 4to.

¹ "Hist. of Architecture," vol. i. p. 512.

And the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

JOHN SHEDDEN DOBIE of Grangevale, Esq.

ROBERT GRAY, Esq., Banker, Inverleith Row.

JOHN WELSH, Esq., S.S.C.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were exhibited, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By Sir WILLIAM STIRLING MAXWELL, Bart., of Pollok and Keir, M.P., F.S.A. Scot.

A Collection of Greek Vases from the Cyrenaica, comprising :—

Calpis, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with red figure ; a bather with *strigil*.

Calpis, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with red figure, draped.

Calpis, of finer make than the two last, 4 inches high, of light grey paste, with reddish figure—a panther.

Enochoe, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with trefoil-shaped mouth, and ornamented with figures in red.

Enochoe, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with trefoil-shaped mouth.

Enochoe, 6 inches high, plain oval body and circular mouth, handle flat and much compressed, and rising slightly above the brim.

Lecythus, 4 inches high, with globular body and honeysuckle ornament in red.

Lecythus, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of the same form and ornament.

Lecythus, 3 inches high, figure in red of human head, with Macedonian cap.

Lecythus, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with rudimentary handles, and ornamented with vertical striations.

Crater, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of elegant shape, but unornamented.

Scyphos, or cup-shaped drinking vase, 3 inches high, with horizontal handles.

Scyphos, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, with up-curved handles, ornamented in the bottom with three small leaf-like impressed stamps.

Cylix, or shallow saucer-like drinking vase, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, with horizontal handles, black.

Two plain vases, with covers and up-curved side handles, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

Vase, with cover and up-curved side handles, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; plain, black.

Vase, with almost horizontal handles, and projections at each side, with cover painted, with a pattern of cross lines and dots, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Aryballos, or small bottle-shaped vase, with side handle, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

Two flat shallow dishes of black ware, 5 inches diameter, 1 inch in height, ornamented in the centre with three small leaf-like impressed stamps.

Terra cotta vase in shape of a cock, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with side handle, and perforations for filling.

Small alabaster unguent vase, 4 inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter, with round bottom and flat projecting lip.

Similar small vase of variegated glass or vitreous paste, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Small vase of variegated vitreous paste, with flat circular foot and elongated neck, 3 inches in length.

Small mask in terra cotta, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.

(2.) By JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Five Scottish snuff-boxes of the last century, viz:—

1. Snuff-box of hard wood, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches in its greatest diameter at the top, narrowing to 2 by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches at the bottom. It is mounted with a silver rim and hinge, and bears, in an oval space on the centre of the lid, a monogram of the initials W. P.

2. Snuff-box of similar form and size, but made of staves alternately of wood and ivory. The lid is of inlaid work, round a central star of ivory. The bottom bears the date 1710-76, and on a silver hoop round the rim of the box is the inscription JAMES FERGUSON, 1754.

3. Snuff-box of similar form, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, made of ivory overlaid by alternate staves of tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl. The lid is silver-mounted, and contains, as a centre-piece, an oval setting of amber, with a cupid in chase of a stag. Round this centre-piece is a border of alternate panels of mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, with the letters D. J. G. The rim is bound with silver, and decorated with the figure of a winged heart, over a branch with a scallop shell. On the bottom is an oval silver plate, with the letters M. J. G.

4. Smaller box, of the same form and similar workmanship, 2 inches high, with plain silver mountings.

5. Box of similar workmanship, but circular instead of oval in the transverse section, silver-mounted, the bottom of mother-of-pearl, the lid painted with a miniature of a female.

(3.) By KEITH STEWART MACKENZIE, Esq. of Seaforth, F.S.A. Scot.

Cinerary urn, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 14 inches diameter at the mouth, narrowing to 5 inches across the bottom. The upper part is ornamented in a



Urn found at Rumsfort Park, Co. Wexford Ireland ($14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high).

very unusual style by rows of round flat-topped discs, and rounded mouldings running parallel to each other round the body of the urn. Under the first row there is a border of chevrony ornament, which is repeated underneath the bulge, and the tapering lower part of the urn is decorated with nearly vertical bands or mouldings, which stand out from

the body of the urn in bold relief. It was found in digging a gravel pit at Ramsford Park, County Wexford, Ireland, in 1868. The urn, which is interesting on account of its large size and peculiar ornamentation, is well represented in the accompanying figure.

- (4.) By Miss JESSIE KENNEDY, through JAMES DALGARN, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Arrow head of red flint, 1 inch in length, with barbs and stem, barbs broken, slightly serrated along the edges. Leaf-shaped, almost triangular head of yellow flint, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, both found at the Meikle Loch, Slains, Aberdeenshire.

- (5.) By JAMES DALGARN, Esq., Slains, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Author.

Notes on the Parish of Slains and Forvie in the Olden Days. Printed for private circulation. 4to. 1876. Pp. 20.

- (6.) By WILLIAM LONG, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Stonehenge and its Barrows. Large paper. 8vo. 1876.

- (7.) By the Hon. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, F.S.A., the Author.

Cyttiaur Gwyddelod. Antiquities in Holyhead Island and Anglesea, explored in 1862-76. Lond. 8vo. 1876.

- (8.) By JAMES BURGESS, Esq., Archæological Surveyor of Western India, the Editor.

The Indian Antiquary, Vols. II.-IV., and parts 1-4 of Vol. I. 4to. Bombay 1872-76.

- (9.) By the CONGRESS.

Congrès Archæologique de France. XLI. Session. Seances à Agen et Toulouse. 8vo. 1876.

- (10.) By the POLYMATHIC SOCIETY of MORBIHAN.

Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan. Année 1875.

There were also exhibited:—Two Original Documents deposited in the Museum by the Trustees of the late Miss AGNES BLACK, Perth, viz.:—

1. A Copy, with Signatures, of the National Covenant, 1638, on vellum.

2. The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, as renewed in 1648, also with original Signatures on vellum. [See the subsequent communication by Mr LAING.]

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF TWO ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS DEPOSITED IN THE MUSEUM BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE LATE MISS AGNES BLACK, PERTH. BY DAVID LAING, ESQ., FOREIGN SECRETARY.

Having on a former occasion brought the subject of our National Covenants specially before the Society (See "Proceedings," Vol. IV. p. 238-205), I gave an account of the several Covenants adopted in this Country, from the time of the Reformation to the middle of the seventeenth century.

When informed that the two original documents, now exhibited, were deposited in the Society's Museum, by the Trustees of the late Miss Black, Perth, I offered to contribute a brief notice of them as an Appendix to the previous article, in which there is a list of other Originals which I had examined, both in public and private collections; adding that I was not aware of any written copies of the Solemn League and Covenant with signatures having been preserved. I proceeded partly on the fact that instead of, like the National Covenant of 1638, being written on large sheets of parchment, it appeared in a printed form, Edinburgh, 1643, 4to, with blank leaves added to these copies for signature.

The Rev. Mr Omond, my excellent friend, one of the oldest members on the list of the Society, told me a few years ago I was mistaken, as at least one copy written on parchment was in the possession of a Lady at Perth. In order to satisfy my curiosity (having supposed he might have fallen into the usual mistake of confounding the National Covenant with the Solemn League), he afterwards, on a visit to Edinburgh, brought the Original document; but having to return it that night to the lady to whom it belonged, no opportunity was afforded for minute examination. On a later occasion the Lady, under, perhaps, an exaggerated notion of its importance, was desirous to have it deposited in some public

collection, and Mr Omond agreed to recommend this Museum, where it could be most suitably preserved. The lady, not long ago, died without leaving any special instructions in the matter, and her trustees being aware that she had expressed her intention of sending it here, they have now done so, and have accompanied it with an original copy of the National Covenant of 1638. I think the meeting ought to pass a vote of thanks to the Rev. Mr Omond, as well as to the trustees of Miss Black.

There is no need at present to enter upon the history of the several Covenants: I shall merely describe the two documents now exhibited.

First: The National Covenant signed at Edinburgh, 1638, is one of the better class of the twenty-five copies previously described, signed by the chief Covenanters, having the usual signatures, Rothes, Montrose, Lindsay, and eight others of the Nobility.

The Gentry commence with Lyone, meaning Sir James Balfour, Lion King, Sir William Muir of Rowallane younger, and many others. The clergy follow, commencing with Mr John Adamson, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and including Alexander Henderson, then minister of Leuchars; but unlike the ordinary copies it has not the signatures of some particular parish or borough town.

The Second document proves to be, not a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant signed in 1643, but the Solemn League and Covenant that was renewed and subscribed in the year 1648, as appointed by the commissioners of the General Assembly. The subscribers are very numerous; but at first sight I confess there seemed to be few of interest, and of the Nobility we only observe Lords Home and Beilhawen, also the celebrated General David Lesley, afterwards created Lord Newark. The part of the country where it was signed, at present I cannot say. At the foot of the page there are numerous names written by the hand of a Notary public. This may perhaps settle the matter.

[It requires to be added, that some of Miss Black's relations in America obtained permission to have this MS. copy of the Solemn League and Covenant carried across the Atlantic to satisfy their curiosity, with some indefinite engagement to have it safely returned. The copy of the National Covenant not being specified in the request, it still remains in the Society's Museum.]

II.

ANCIENT GRAVES RECENTLY DISCOVERED ON THE SHORES OF THE FIRTH OF FORTH, NEAR HOPETOUN, LINLITHGOWSHIRE; WITH NOTES AND PLANS EXHIBITED BY MR C. DAWSON, PUBLIC SCHOOL, ABERCORN. BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., V.P.S.A. SCOT.

In the month of August last, a special messenger was politely sent by the Countess of Hopetoun to inform the Society that several ancient graves had been discovered near Hopetoun House, and requesting some of the officials or fellows of the Society to come out and inspect them. Dr Stuart was out of town, and Mr Anderson was also away enjoying his vacation. Accordingly the Treasurer, Mr Carfrae, and myself went out to Hopetoun on Saturday the 26th August, and met the Countess and some of her friends, with Mr C. Dawson, Abercorn, at the place where the ancient graves were found. There were labourers at work, and several long stone cists were uncovered and waiting for our arrival, before allowing them to be opened up. The cists were dug in a sandy mound covered with trees, over a rocky point on the sea-shore, immediately to the east of the village of Society. We found the cists generally lying east and west, covered with several square or irregularly-shaped undressed slabs, and on removing these, found them filled with sand, the sides being also formed of several undressed slabs, and one at the head and foot of the graves. On removing carefully part of the sand, the skeletons were found extended at full length,—the skull at the western extremity of the cist, turned a little to one side, from the natural progress of the decay of the soft parts, and the arms extended along the sides of the body. We removed the skulls and some of the more perfect bones, from some of the three or four cists which we examined, and these are now exhibited.

One of the cists exposed was of a peculiarly rounded shape, and somewhat irregular in its outline, suggesting the idea of a rude cairn; but, on opening it, there seemed no doubt it had been disturbed at some previous time, and put together in this more careless and irregular manner, and that it had been simply a long-shaped stone cist like the others.

Mr Dawson, at my request, took charge of some of the bones, and has forwarded them for our examination. Our fellow and distinguished

anatomist, Professor Turner, has kindly looked over them with me, and we have drawn up the following notes on their state and character :—

Human Bones found in long Cists, near Hopetoun, August 1876.

The collection of bones from Hopetoun consisted of portions of four adult human skeletons, which were all earth-stained, very fragile, and deprived to a large extent of their animal matter, so that almost all the bones were fragments, and the skulls, with one exception, were much injured.¹

The skulls, &c. were marked 1, 2, A and B.

No. 1 was obviously part of an adult male skeleton.

No. 2, an adult female. While A and B were more doubtful.

No. 1. This skull is that of an *aged male*, the teeth in the upper jaw have to a great extent disappeared, and those in the lower jaw are worn flat on the crowns. This male skull was much heavier and coarser in its character than No. 2; somewhat flattened in the parieto-occipital region, and with a tendency to flatness on the vertex. Sagittal and coronal sutures obliterated.

No. 2. Is the skull and skeleton of a *woman in the prime of life*, with the teeth nearly perfect and somewhat worn on the surfaces of their crowns, none having been shed. This skull, which is the only one perfectly preserved, is an elegant well-proportioned cranium.

The lower jaw is well formed and well proportioned, with the chin projecting somewhat forwards. The sutures of the skull are all open; the basi-cranial synchondrosis being quite united. Upper wisdom teeth are protruded, but not the lower.

The femora and one humerus are entire, and are slender and well-shaped bones. Femora 16 inches in length, and distinguished by having deep hollows on each side of the *linea aspera*, so that the *linea* stood out in a very well marked ridge.

A, is the skull, *probably of a woman*, evidently of an *aged person*, as the sockets of the upper teeth have almost disappeared. This skull was so much injured that nothing definite can be said as to its form; but what

¹ The bones were, at the special desire of the Countess, sent back to Hopetoun for reinterment.

remained of it in the sagittal and coronal regions showed the corresponding sutures to be ossified.

B. The sex of this skull is more doubtful, as the face had been entirely broken off. It is that, however, of an *aged person*. The lambdoidal and sagittal sutures are ossified, so that there can be no doubt this was an aged cranium. It also was flattened in the parieto-occipital region, and there was a slight depression parallel to and close behind the region of the coronal suture.

The following table gives the dimensions of these skulls :—

Skulls.	1.	2.	A.	B.
Extreme length, . . .	7·4	6·9	7	6·7
Extreme breadth, . . .	5·2 Opposite squamosal parietal suture.	5·1 Opposite parietal eminences.	5·1	5·3
Height,	4·7	4·8		

The character of these skulls is therefore as follows :—

No. 1, 7·4 : 5·2 : : 100 = 70, dolicocephalic.

No. 2, 6·9 : 5·1 : : 100 = 74, not so dolicocephalic

A, 7 : 5·1 : : 100 = 72, not so dolicocephalic as No. 1.

B, 6·7 : 5·3 : : 100 = 79, almost brachycephalic.

The Society is also indebted to Mr Charles Dawson, Abercorn, for a detailed account of the discovery of these cists, with carefully-prepared plans of the cists and the ground. An abridgment of these notes is here given, and the plans are exhibited.

Mr Dawson says :—"About the middle of June some labourers from Queensferry were employed to obtain sand for building purposes at Society, near Hopetoun. During their operations they came upon several stone cists containing skeletons. On the return from England of the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun, they took an interest in the matter, and resolved to have the spot properly examined. Her ladyship, having

kindly asked me to meet her at Society on the 21st August for that purpose, I did so, and during that day and the remaining days of that week, the facts which constitute the basis of the following notice were obtained.

“The mound where the coffins were found consists of a sandy knoll 132 yards long, formed on red sandstone rock projecting about 66 yards into the sea, and at its greatest height not more than 20 feet above high-water mark. The sand is of a very light colour, and very dry.

“The graves consisted generally of three or four flat stones, set as side slabs, from 18 to 22 inches long, 16 to 20 inches broad, and 3 inches thick, with a suitable stone for head and foot, the top being covered with stones about the same thickness, stretching over the sides of the coffin. They measured from 5 feet 10 inches to 6 feet 1 inch in length, and from 16 to 18 inches in breadth. One coffin gradually contracted towards the foot, and terminated without a foot-stone.

“In every case the bones were much decayed, and of most only the more solid parts of the skeleton remained. The skulls were, however, usually complete, though in some cases the side on which they rested was quite decayed.

“No traces of chisel marks were found on the stones. They were simply rude slabs gathered from the rocks on the neighbouring shore. No implements, weapons, or coins were discovered. From the regular manner of sepulture, the absence of weapons, ornaments, &c., and the skeletons being apparently those of men, women, and children, the idea of a place of interment, perhaps for some centuries, of a simple, poor, unlettered people presses itself almost to conviction upon the mind.”

On Mr Joseph Anderson's return to Edinburgh he, along with Mr Carfrae, paid a visit to the locality, but they have, I believe, nothing particular to tell us of what they saw beyond what has been already mentioned.

The cists lay principally east and west, and pretty close together; they seem to have been an ancient burying-place, as, in addition to the bones exhibited, I saw those of a very aged person, and also of a child or a youth, which had been found in some of the cists previously opened; the remains were therefore of persons of both sexes and of all ages.

Similar groups of long cists have been discovered in various parts of the country around Edinburgh, as well as in this same county of Linlithgow, as those now described; as at Queensferry, Kirkliston, &c. several of these are detailed and published in the "*Archæologia Scotica*" and in the "Proceedings of the Society."

The principal peculiarity in this instance seems to be, that the cists had no slabs arranged in the usual way as a pavement or bottom to the different graves, which apparently was present in most of the other instances described.

From the entire absence of any vestiges of clothing, or remains of any kind, although these were carefully sought for by myself, Mr Dawson, and the others who examined these cists, we are quite at a loss as to their supposed date or antiquity. Still, from the undressed character of the slabs, and the style of the interment, we believe they must belong to an early period.

We are, of course, aware that interments in these long-shaped cists have continued in some localities down to quite a recent period, especially near the sea-shore; but I believe no tradition even remains to tell of any ancient burying-ground in that locality at Hopetoun.

The special thanks of the Society are due to the Right Honourable the Countess of Hopetoun for her courtesy in giving the Society early information of this discovery of these ancient remains on her property, and her kindness in providing for their careful examination under the superintendence of some of the officials and fellows of the Society.

III.

NOTE, ON EXAMINING THE CONTENTS OF AN OLD STAGNANT
POOL AT CARLUKE. BY D. R. RANKIN, Esq.

On one of the scorching days about the middle of July 1876, while a foundation was being dug for a house within the old boundary of Kirkstyle, and within 100 yards southward of the Old Kirk Steeple, Carluke, peat-like matter, 2 feet thick and 6 feet from the surface was come upon. Portions of small trees, leaves, twigs, grass, moss, &c., all decayed and mingled, formed the principal part of the mass, in which were found bones, teeth, shells, insects, &c. But what was more interesting, the remains of fabricated articles were brought to light, which were not of the type or pattern of recent times.

The open trenches for the foundation alluded to, from east to west, exposed the margins of what had probably been a stagnant pool, from 12 to 14 feet wide, extending north and south beyond these trenches. The present aspect of the surrounding ground, however, did not favour the supposition that a marsh or pool, anything but limited in extent, could, in such a position, have existed. From the absence of those plants, the growth and decay of which constitutes what is properly called peat; and from the presence of substances brought together by long-continued accumulation of floated, or mechanically added matter, arrested and consolidated in stagnant water, it may be assumed that the nature, if not the extent of the pool is sufficiently indicated. The shells are of the oyster, the bones and teeth are of our common domestic animals; a single plum-stone was found; the mass, also, contained the hard cases of water beetles and other aquatic insects, the denizens proper to such a homestead in its earlier condition. The bones and twigs in particular are covered, and in some instances seem partially incorporated with a substance, white, when first exposed, but of blue colour after free contact with the atmosphere, soft and pigment-like when found, but when dry, easily rubbed to fine powder. This substance was eliminated and aggregated, no doubt, from the compound mass in its fluid state.

The chemistry of long silted up animal and vegetable matter is always interesting—the story, so to speak, of decomposition, and of various combinations. The blue-coloured substance, in this instance, is the result of phosphorous coming into contact with iron in a certain state, constituting what is called phosphate of the protoxide of iron—strictly speaking, the components of the mineral named Vivianite—which was abundant, and which tinged everything more or less. This substance has been found in the fossilised antler of the stag, and it is likely to be met with in all stagnant accumulations of organised matter of considerable standing, in which iron may be present.

But the point to which the attention of the Archaeologist is more particularly called is that manufactured articles of wood, probably domestic dishes of a long past day, were also found. The larger of two, of oval form, was 14 inches long, by 10 inches wide at the widest part, and 5 inches deep at the deepest part, having a rounded overlaid rim; the other was $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by 4 wide at the widest part, including the flat soup-plate-like rim, and about one inch deep. Both were greatly decayed, almost beyond hope of preservation, but with care the smaller specimen has been restored and kept together in such a way as to afford a good idea of its original character; both have been cut from wood side-ways, and the largest had originally been strengthened by bands of copper, or had been repaired with straps of that metal fixed with copper nails, clipped seemingly from the ends of the hoops. These extemporised nails had been driven into small slits in the hoops, till the thick end was arrested, which part had been folded down so as to form a head or rivet. This is an early example of a somewhat modern invention of nailer-craft, the cutting or clipping of cold iron into all sorts of nails.

Antiquity is indicated by the nature, contents, and products of this bed of accumulated and decayed or decaying matter, but it may not be easy to fix a date.

Specimens of the Vegetable Mass. Contents and Products.

- 1–3. Vegetable matter, from upper, middle, and lower parts of section.
4. A plum-stone.
5. Part of a bone covered and tinged by phosphate of iron.
6. A tooth of a ruminant partially covered with the same substance.

- 7-8. Valve of oyster shell, and fragments.
9. Fragments of beetles.
10. Phosphate of the protoxide of iron.
11. Dish, warped in drying, but retaining its shape.
12. Fragment of dish, showing upper edge, and part of copper hooping, found connected with it by peculiar copper nails.

IV.

INQUIRIES RESPECTING SOME OF THE EARLY HISTORICAL WRITERS OF SCOTLAND. (1846-1847.) By DAVID LAING, Esq., FOREIGN SECRETARY, S.A. SCOT.

In the List of Communications to the Society of Antiquaries contained in the "Archæologia Scotica," Vol. IV., Appendix p. 36-38, under the above title, are the following entries. This was in the years 1846 and 1847 : at that time the Proceedings had not been commenced, which have since proved the most effectual method of preserving short or occasional Communications, from year to year. On turning over some old papers, I recently found the notes connected with the above Series, which had in a great measure escaped my recollection.

The following are the titles of the earlier numbers of the Series :—

1846, FEBRUARY 23.

- No. 1. Friar ADAM ABEL, of Jedburgh, author of the "Rota Temporum."
- No. 2. JOHN LAW, Canon of St Andrews, one of the Abbreviators of the Scotichronicon.

1847, JANUARY 25.

- No. 3. Mr JOHN COLVILLE, the supposed author of the "Historie and Life of King James the Sext," published by the Bannatyne Club, in 1825.

1847, FEBRUARY 8.

- No. 3. Mr JOHN COLVILLE, continued.
- No. 4. Sir WILLIAM BRUCE of Earlsall, in Fife.

On finding these papers, it occurred to me that if these Inquiries were

resumed, it might give an opportunity of including the earlier portions of the Series in this year's proceedings.

To the above I proposed at least to have added in continuation—

- No. 5. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON, Bishop of Aberdeen, the supposed Continuator of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, in 1463.
- No. 6. The Anonymous Chronicle of James II., King of Scots, preserved in Asloan's MS. in the Auchinleck Library.
- No. 7. The History of Scotland, 1436 to 1561. By JOHN LESLEY, Bishop of Ross.

NO. 1. ADAM ABEL, OF JEDBURGH, AUTHOR OF THE
"ROTA TEMPORUM."

(FEBRUARY 23, 1846.)

There are some points connected with the early Historical Writers of Scotland, to which I purpose occasionally calling the attention of the Society. As the two writers named in the billet of the present meeting may be called obscure, no excuse is required for treating them very briefly. The *ROTA TEMPORUM*, or Wheel of Time, is a work which probably still exists, although all my inquiries have hitherto failed to ascertain the fate of the volume. In one of Sir Robert Sibbald's MS. vols. of collections in the Advocates' Library, entitled "*De Historicis Scotis*," he simply mentions Abel's work as follows :—

"Chronicon dicta *Rota Temporum*, the Rota or Wheel of Tyme, by one of the Brothers of the Minors Observants of Jedward, is kept in the Lord Tarbet his Librarie."

In like manner Bishop Nicolson, in the "Scottish Historical Library,"¹ published in 1702, says :—

"The *Rota Temporum* is a Chronological compendium of Scotch History, written by a Brother of the Minor Observants at Jedburgh, in the year 1533. The book is in my Lord Tarbet's library, and is quoted as a good authority by Camden."²

The only reference to the "*Rota Temporum*" I find in Camden's

¹ Scottish Historical Library, Lond. 1702, 8vo, p. 110.

² Britain, N.E., col. 921.

"Britannia," as translated by Dr Philemon Holland (Lond. 1610, folio, Scotland, p. 28), is found under *Scotland*, Sherifffdom of Stirlingshire, in his account of the Roman wall called Graham's Dyke, in the following paragraph :—

"Now this Wall is commonly called *Graham's Dyke* ; either of *Graham* a warlike Scot, whose valour was especially seene when the breach was made through it, or else of the hill *Grampie*, at the foote whereof it stood. The author of *Rota Temporum* calleth it the wall of *Aber-corneth*, that is, of the mouth of the river Corneth : where, in Bede's time, there was a famous monasterie standing, as hee hath recorded, upon English ground, but neere unto that frith or arme of the sea, which in those daies severed the lands of the English and the Picts."

Camden's own words are—"Vocatur autem murus iste vulgo *Graham's dyke*, vel a *Grahamo* Scoto bellicoso cujus virtus in eo perrumpendo in primis eminebat, vel a *Grampio* fronte ad cujus radices visitur. Qui *Rotam Temporum* scripsit, murum de *Abercorneth* appellat," *Ostii Corneth* flu. ubi Bedæ seculo, &c. (Londini, 1607, p. 700, folio.)

It may, perhaps, be doubted whether it actually was Friar Abel's work to which Camden refers.

In Spottiswood's Account of Religious Houses : Franciscan Friars, second section, Observantines or Mendicant Friars, he says :—

"JEDBURGH, the chief town in Teviotdale, upon the west side of the Jed, which rises from divers burns that meet below the kirk Sudan, and falleth a little below Jedburgh into the river Teviot. There the citizens founded a Convent for those Friars, in the year 1513.

"ADAM ABEL, a famous writer, lived and died in this monastery. He was first a Canon-Regular of Inchaffray, and afterwards became a Gray-Friar in this convent. He wrote a History of our nation in Latin, at the solicitation of George Lord Seton,¹ intitulated *Rota Temporum*, which was afterwards printed at Rome, by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, with some small alterations and additions. Thereafter he made an abridgment of it in English ; the original whereof was lost at Roslin, at the Revolution, when the mob spoiled the Castle. He began at the creation of the world and ended in the year 1535, in the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Afterwards he continued the work until the year 1536. On the

¹ There were four Lord George Setons in succession.

first leaf he begins—"In the name of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lady, St Francis, and St Augustine." An imperfect copy of this book was in the library of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh."¹

How the report originated, of the "*Rota Temporum*" having been printed at Rome, I cannot imagine. It certainly forms no part of Bishop Lesley's own work "*De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum Libri Decem. Romæ, 1578,*" 4to. There is also some confusion regarding Lord Tarbet's manuscript. Father Augustine Hay, in his Genealogy of the Saint Claires of Rosslyn, dated 1700, states that the monuments and various portions of Rosslyn Chapel were either destroyed or a "little defaced" by the rabble, the eleventh of December 1688, about 10 of the clock att night, after the Castle had been spoiled; where (he adds) I lost several books of note, and amongst others, the *original manuscript of Adam Abel*, which I had of my Lord Tarbet, then Register." The notice quoted from Bishop Nicolson, 1702, proves that Lord Tarbet's MS. was then in his possession. Sir George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbet, was created Earl of Cromarty in January 1703; and died 17th August 1714, in the 84th year of his age. In the sale catalogue of what was called a "very valuable collection of books," containing the chief portion of Lord Cromarty's library, sold at Edinburgh in the year 1746, the title occurs of apparently the MS. in question.

It may also be noticed that in a letter of Thomas Hearne (the Oxford antiquary) addressed to James West, November 23, 1731, preserved in the British Museum, he says:—"He believes Lord Pembroke hath also many excellent MSS., but of these I never had any account whatsoever, unless it be of one which is the "*Rota Temporum*," being a piece of Scottish history, but I think there is nothing of note in it but what is in Fordun," &c.² If this refers to a MS. of Friar Abel's work, it may probably still be preserved in the splendid library of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House, Salisbury.

¹ Appendix to Hope's *Minor Practicks*, edit. 1734; and reprinted in Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

² Hearne's *Letters*, Lansdowne MSS., No. 778, f. 215.

No. II. DE CRONICIS SCOTORUM BREVIA. By JOHN LAW,
CANON OF ST ANDREWS. 1521.

(FEBRUARY 23, 1846.)

This Breviate of the Scotichronicon forms the chief portion of a little manuscript volume preserved in the University Library, Edinburgh. Several years ago, when engaged in preparing the great mass of books in the Old College Library, before its removal to the new buildings, in the year 1827,—a very arduous task, which occupied me for many months,—I brought together the various Manuscripts in the Library, and made a scroll Catalogue of them. This never was completed, there being no prospect at the time of having it printed.

I described the contents of this little volume, AC. c. 26, as follows :—

1. The first article in the volume is a printed tract (wanting the title), 11 leaves. It has, on the last page, this colophon—*Explicit Cathalogus Summorum Pontificum. Impressum Parisiis pro Joanne Parvo, anno Dñi. 1518 die 14 mensis Augusti.*” Under this is the name of the donor—“*Magister Andreas Cranston, Theologiæ studiosus, Adolescens optimæ spei, hunc Lib. Manuscriptum Bibliothecæ Edinburgenæ, dono dedit, anno Domini 1680.*”

2. At the foot of the first page of the manuscript is written, “*Editum per Johannem Law, Canonicum Sancti Andree.*” It commences with an Obituary list—“*Nomina Episcoporum Priorum Sancti Andree. Cathologus Episcoporum Sancti Andree,*” &c., 10 leaves. Also

3. *Episcopatus Regni Scotie—Abbatess et Abbacie Scotie—Monasteria Scocie—Prioratus—Perfectura—Monasteria Monialium—3 leaves.*

4. *Supplementum Cronicarum, etc., 16 leaves.*

5. *Inicium Scotiechronicon (ab Anno Mundi 1668).* The running title of this abridgment of the Scotiechronicon, is “*De Cronicis Scotorum Brevia.*” It is continued to the year 1521, on 98 leaves. At the foot of the last page is written, “*Et tamen de Regibus, et Temporibus Regni Scotorum, ad annum nostre Salutis, 1521.*”

There are, at the end of the volume, sixteen additional leaves, containing lists of the Kings of England and other matters, including a “*Continuatio Cronicarum,*” 1521 to 1536, apparently in Law’s hand, along

with some miscellaneous notes and extracts; also a copy of a well-known ballad on "The Nine Worthies," beginning "*Hector of Troye,*" &c.

The short Continuation of the Chronicle gives it the appearance of an original work, rather than a mere transcript. In the year 1521, in noticing what Lindesay of Pitscottie called "a great marvel then seen in Scotland, of a child born with two bodies joined together, but Law cautions the reader by adding, "*hic non vidimus, sed a videntibus veraciter acceptimus.*" This Continuation, however, is much less copious than we could have desired; for instance, how much more interesting it would have been had Law recorded any particulars respecting the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton at St Andrews in 1528, instead of simply noticing the fact of his condemnation for heresy?

This manuscript, which is in a small hand, filled with contractions, was found to contain some particulars relating to a conflict between the Johnstones and the Douglasses in the year 1455; and the volume was to have been produced in evidence in the Annandale Peerage Case, had not the death of Sir George Frederick Johnston of Westerhall, in May 1841, put a stop to all immediate proceedings in that claim.

No particulars of Law's history have been discovered. From Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, vol. ii. p. 283, we find that the donor of the MS. was admitted Minister of Greenock in July 1681. He probably died early. Cranston's successor at least appears to have been appointed in 1683.

NO. III. MR JOHN COLVILLE.

(1847.)

My notes regarding Colville, read to the Society in 1847, have not been preserved. The cause of this was that they served for materials when preparing the Memoir prefixed to the volume entitled "Original Letters of Mr JOHN COLVILLE, 1582-1603. To which is added, his Palinode, 1600." Edinburgh, 1858. 4to. This handsome volume was printed at the expense and presented to the Members of the Bannatyne Club by the EARL OF SELKIRK in the year 1858.

In regard to the anonymous History of King James the Sixth, preserved in various manuscripts, it was first published in 1706 by David Crawford of Drumsoy, historiographer to Queen Anne. He gave it this title—"Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, containing a Full and Impartial

Account of the Revolution in that Kingdom, begun in 1567. Faithfully published from an authentic MS., by Her Majesty's Historiographer for the Kingdom of Scotland." London, 1706, 8vo. It was republished also, as an authentic history, by Walter Goodall. Edinburgh, 1753. 12mo. Some copies have a new title-page, calling it "the third edition," in 1767. The work itself, being quoted as genuine by Hume and Robertson, obtained a good deal of notoriety in the continuous discussions at a later period, on the alleged guilt or innocence of Mary Queen of Scots.

Mr Malcolm Laing, the historian, having accused Crawford as guilty of want of fidelity in publishing this as an original work, which (he says) exhibited fictions invented by Crawford, and having traced the MS. which Crawford professed to have faithfully published, in order to justify himself, he published the genuine text with the title, "The Historie and Life of King James the Sext (1566-1582). Written towards the latter part of the Sixteenth Century." Edinburgh, 1804. 8vo. "The discovery of the manuscript," he says, "affords a complete detection of the earliest if not the most impudent literary forgery ever practised in Scotland." He adds, "every circumstance in the manuscript, unfavourable to either Mary or to Bothwell, or favourable to their adversaries, is carefully suppressed."

A later edition of the original work, printed for the Bannatyne Club, from a collation of other early MSS. with Continuations, was edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., V.P. It has this title, "The Historie and Life of King James the Sext; being an account of the affairs of Scotland from the year 1566 to the year 1596; with a short Continuation to the year 1617." Edinburgh, 1825. 4to. But in neither of these editions is there any suggestion made regarding the anonymous Author.

In the volume of Colville's Letters already mentioned, I suggested that he was the original author, as might be inferred from the resemblance of some quotations given by Sir Robert Gordon in 1630, when he refers as one of his authorities, under the year 1581, to "a manuscript wrytten by Mr John Colvin, touching the effairs of Scotland in his tyme."

In tracing out this allusion, which seemed to establish the fact, when compared with the course of Colville's eventful life, I subjoined this note:—"It is but proper to add that my attention to this passage was directed by the late Mr Donald Gregory, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, whose accuracy and intelligence in investigating

matters connected with the Highlands were beyond all praise. I may also take the opportunity to state that some portions of the following memoir and of the above preface formed the subject of two communications read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847."

No further light has been discovered in regard to its Authorship.

I will now merely add that Colville, the second son of Robert Colville of Cleish, was born about the year 1542, and was educated for the Church at the University of St Andrews, where he took his A.M. degree in 1560 or 1561. He first appears as parish minister in the Reformed Church, at Kilbryde, in 1567. He also became Precentor of Glasgow, retaining his connexion with that Church until about 1580, when he resigned to avoid deposition for neglecting his parochial duties. His selfish reason was, "he would not profess poverty." After acting as a busy political agent or informer, he retired to France, and joined the Roman Catholics. He died at Paris, where the English Ambassador, in his correspondence with Secretary Cecil, says: "Old John Colvill, that busy-brained Scot" died in great want and misery, November 1605.

NO. IV. SIR WILLIAM BRUCE OF EARLSHALL.

(FEBRUARY 1847.)

In resuming these occasional notices of our early Historical writers, my chief object is either to ascertain the authorship of some well-known anonymous works, or to collect any scattered references to other works which are probably still preserved in private collections, although at present they remain undiscovered.

Of the latter class, one is a Chronicle or Diary written towards the middle of the sixteenth century, by Sir WILLIAM BRUCE of EarlsHall. This appears from the History or Chronicles of Scotland, "sought, gathered, written, and collected" by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, in the year 1575. Among his authorities, he mentions "SIR WILLIAM BRUCE of EarlsHall, Knight, who (he says) has written, very justly, all the deeds since Floudeun Field." Pitscottie, in his amusing but very inaccurate compilation, gives no special reference or quotations from his authorities that might have served to identify them.

Another reference to Bruce occurs in a passage in Knox's History of the Reformation, where, in March or April 1558, describing the double

dealing of the Queen Regent, by promising, on the one hand, her assistance to the Reformed preachers, "untill some uniform order might be established by a Parliament;" and, on the other hand, by "giving the (Popish) clergy to understand that, so soon as opportunity offered, she should remedy the present disorders; for which (it is added) some say they gave her a large purse, 40,000 lib., sayes the CHRONICLE gathered by the LAIRD OF ERLISHALL" (Works, vol. i. p. 307). Several copies of Knox omit the words, "sayis the Chronicle," leaving the passage as if the Laird of Earlshall had himself gathered or collected that sum of £40,000.

In the series of Bannatyne Club Books, one edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., V.P., has the title, "A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James the Fourth, till the year 1575. From a Manuscript of the Sixteenth Century, in the possession of Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Baronet." Edinburgh 1833. 4to. The existence of this MS. was first pointed out by Mr John Riddell, advocate, in the course of his researches, as a work of historical importance. The editor says, "Of the author or compiler of the following 'Diurnal,' nothing is known, or seems likely to be discovered." The work itself consists evidently, as Mr Thomson has pointed out, of three distinct portions, yet I imagine they were not originally compiled by one and the same hand. The dates are—

I. From September 1513 to 1553, pp. 1 to 51.

II. From 1557 to June 1572, pp. 51 to 265.

III. In two parts: (1) From 1554 to 1561; (2) from 1571 to 1575, when the volume terminates abruptly, pp. 266 to 350.

Of these we may at least conjecture that the first and part of the third portion, commencing with the sad disaster at Flodden in September 1513, were the work of Sir WILLIAM BRUCE. It is to be hoped, from the attention now directed to the preservation of Ancient Unpublished Documents, illustrating our National History, that the work itself may eventually be discovered.¹

¹ Among the MSS. in the library of John Duke of Lauderdale, sold by auction at London 1692, No. 21 was described: "Jo. Adamson's Brief Chronology of the Affairs of Scotland, beginning 1513 and ending 1572" (upon paper), fol. (Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 154.)

At present I may take this opportunity to add a few words respecting Bruce himself. According to Sir Robert Douglas (Baronage, p. 510), the family of Bruce of Airth, in Stirlingshire, and of Earlsall, in Fife, were lineally descended from Robert, first baron of Clackmannan (in 1359). Sir Alexander Bruce had a charter of the lands of Byrgham, in Berwickshire, 9th February 1485-6. He married Janet, daughter of Sir David Stewart of Rosythe, and had a charter to him and his spouse of the lands of Earlsall, &c., Fifeshire, 28th March 1497, and from this period Earlsall became the place of his residence, and chief title of his family. He died before 13th November 1504. His son married Margaret, a daughter of Meldrum of Seggie, and got a charter under the Great Seal to himself as Sir William Bruce and his spouse, dated 10th February 1539-1540. Another is dated in 1572. Douglas does not mention when he died. He appears, however, from the following inscription, discovered in the churchyard of Leuchars, to have attained the patriarchal age of 98 at the time of his death in 1584-5 :—

HIC JACET VIR PROBVS AC OMNI MEMORIÆ DIGNUS, D.N.S. GULIELMUS
BRUCEUS, DE ERLISHAL MILES: QUI OBIT 28 DIES MENSIS JANUARIJ
ANNO DOMINI 1584: ANNOQUE SUX ETATIS 98.

The tombstone is 7 feet 2 inches in length, by 3 feet 10 inches in breadth. Underneath another inscription on the same stone reads—

HEIR LYIS OF AL PIETE ANE LANTERN BRYCHT
SCHIR WILLIAM BRUCE OF ERLISHALL KNYCHT.

The mansion house of Earlsall is in the parish of Leuchars, and Presbytery of St Andrews. In early times it had been the property of the Earls of Fife, from whom it derived its title. The building is of a castellated form, and belongs to a later period, and is situated about a mile and a half from the parish church. In vol. iii. of the "History of the County of Fife," by John M. Leighton, and published by Joseph Swan, there is a view of the old house of Earl's Hall, engraved by Joseph Swan from a drawing by James Stewart; and special notice is taken of the great Hall, which had been richly ornamented with heraldic arms, delineations, and inscriptions. I here exhibit drawings of portions to show the style. A similar style of ornament occurs in the old house of Calross, called "The Palace." See a communication by Mr Jervise

in the "Proceedings," vol. ii. p. 339 ; and also, vol. iv. p. 387, the "Notices of the Castle and Painted Room or Hall of Earlshall, in Fifeshire, by A. Jervise." "The Hall itself" (says Mr Jervise), "with its painted ceiling, is the most interesting part of the building ; and unfortunately, from the roof not being water-tight, it has suffered considerably from damp, some of the pannelling being broken, and many of the decorations effaced. The room is about 13 feet high, 50 feet long, and 18 feet wide. The ceiling, a sort of circular, is lined with wood ; it had originally been divided into upwards of three hundred compartments, in which were painted armorial bearings and objects of natural history, either in animals or plants ; also figures representing the Virtues of Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. Black and white are the only colours used, and the Virtues are represented with the usual accompaniments, having the names painted below in Latin." The actual date of the building is recorded along with the arms, carved on the chimney-piece, of Sir William Bruce and his wife, Margaret Meldrum. *ÆDES HAS EXTRUEBAT D.W.B. ANNO 1546: EXTRUXIT TANDEM W.B. EJUS PRONEPOS ANNO 1617—D.W.B., M.M.—CONTEMNO ET ORNO MENTE MANU.* This clearly proves the house to have been founded in the year 1546 by Sir William Bruce, and completed by his great grandson Sir William Bruce in 1617.

I now beg to submit Nos. V., VI., and VII. to the Society.

NO. V. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.

In continuing these Inquiries I purposed that the next number should relate to Bishop Elphinston, one of the reputed Continuators of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. Many years ago, in the *Album* or List of books suggested for publication by the Bannatyne Club, I included this chronicle in five books, or the original text of Fordun, and select portions of the Oxford MS. For this purpose I had more than once examined the Fairfax MS., ascribed to Bishop Elphinston, preserved in the Bodleian Library. The last, or Book XI. of this Chronicle had been printed for the Maitland Club in 1837, in a volume entitled "The Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland," edited by the Rev. Joseph

Stevenson. At the sale of George Chalmers's library, 1842, I had acquired an earlier transcript of Books X. and XI. No other copy of what was called Elphinston's Chronicle was then known to exist. Among other MSS. of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, I obtained a loan of one preserved in the University Library, Glasgow, and was surprised to find that it was similar to the Oxford MS., but with the earlier date 1461. I afterwards obtained the use of another *Scotichronicon* from the library of Sir Hugh Hume Campbell, Bart., of Marchmont House, hitherto unnoticed; and found that all the three copies might be said to be identically the same.

Mr Stevenson could not but admit that the Chronicle was erroneously ascribed to the Bishop of Aberdeen, as the writer tells us that he had accompanied the Princess Margaret from Scotland on the occasion of her unfortunate marriage with Louis XI., then known as Dauphin of France. This was in the year 1432; and he also states that he was present at the execution of Joan of Arc in 1436. Now, it is well known that Bishop Elphinston was born in the year 1437, studied at Glasgow, and latterly succeeded to the see of Aberdeen in 1484, where he died in October 1514. Having vainly endeavoured to ascertain, by conjecture or otherwise, the name of the probable Author, this, I imagine, may have led me to leave unfinished the further prosecution of this series of Historical Inquiries.

In commencing the proposed Series of the Early Historians of Scotland, Mr Forbes Skene in 1872 happily became editor of the "*Scotichronicon*" by its original author. He had previously made a systematic examination of the various known manuscripts of Fordun and his continuators. I know no person who could have done it in a more satisfactory manner, in his classification of the numerous MSS., to distinguish the original text from the several Continuations. This examination served to clear up some perplexities which need not be enlarged upon, being described by Mr Skene himself in his communications to this Society.¹

In regard to the manuscripts ascribed to Elphinston, and of others which I had personally examined, all I had to say has in some measure been anticipated by Mr Skene.² I hope before long the Chronicle

¹ Respecting the history of this Princess, who died in 1445, see the Proceedings vol. iii. p. 90-92.

² Proceedings of the Society, vol. viii. p. 239-256 Vol. ix. p. 13 to p. 24.

erroneously attributed to Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen will appear in the next issue of the *Historians of Scotland*. Mr Skene has proved, I think, beyond all doubt, that the true author was MAURICE BUCHANAN, or MAURITIUS DE BUCHANAN, who was in France, and witnessed, as he tells us, the sad fate of Joan of Arc at Rouen in 1431; while he held the office of Treasurer to the Princess Margaret, from 1432 till her death in 1445, and compiled his *Chronicle* in the Priory of Pluscardine in 1461. This fact I consider as an important discovery, and in tracing the history of the author he has cleared up a point of some importance in the Literary history of Scotland, and identified the *Chronicle* with the "*Liber Pluscar densis*."

NO. VI. A SHORT CHRONICLE OF THE REIGN OF JAMES II., KING OF SCOTS.

This short *Chronicle* of an obscure period of Scottish history was printed and edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., advocate, about the year 1817 or 1818, for private circulation. Very few copies, however, were distributed by Mr Thomson, as he purposed to subjoin notes and illustrations, but this intention never was fulfilled. In the manuscript from which it was taken, it has the following titles:—"Ane Addicioun of Scottis Corniklis and Deidis," and "Heir followis ane schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis for addicioun."

In the printed text of the *Chronicle* this ends on page 28, when the Editor entitles it as above, "*A Short Chronicle of the Reign of James the Second, King of Scots*," and says:—"The historical fragment which forms the first part of this collection has been given with a scrupulous adherence to the original manuscript, not only in the inartificial and apparently accidental arrangement of events, but also in the errors of fact and of date, as well as in those of transcription which it exhibits. In that which follows, the same materials, with a few unimportant omissions, have been disposed somewhat more exactly in the order of time; some of the erroneous dates and accidental mistakes of transcription have been rectified," &c.

From this arrangement it appears that the *Chronicle* extends from the year 1436 to 1460-1. It is usually called the *Auchinleck Chronicle*,

from the circumstance that the MS. volume from which it was printed belonged to the Library at Auchinleck, Ayrshire.

This manuscript is a large folio volume, written on paper, consisting of miscellaneous pieces in Prose and Verse, collected and transcribed from MS. and printed copies towards the close of the reign of James the Fourth, or before the year 1514, by John Asloan, who appears to have been a Writer or Notary at Edinburgh. According to a "Table of Contentis of the Buke," on the first leaf of the volume, numbered from cap. i. to lxxi., this Chronicle formed number xviii. of the collection. Most unfortunately the volume itself is defective of no less than thirty-four of these numbers, and these, for the most part, cannot be otherwise supplied. The transcriber, at the end of each article, besides the name of the author when known, usually adds this attestation, "Explicit per M. Jo. Asloan," or "Scriptum per Manum Johannis Asloan." That he uses "M." not in its usual signification as *Magister* is certain, as in another place he gives the attestation in the vernacular words, thus—"Written be the hand (per manum) of John Asloan." This, however, is a matter of no great moment.

The early history of Asloan's manuscript is not known. On the fly-leaf is the autograph signature, "Alex. Boswell, 1730," indicating the time when it came into his possession, no doubt in its very mutilated state.

I do not recollect having seen Asloan's manuscript in its original state. It was brought to Edinburgh early in the present century by Sir Alexander Boswell, when the leaves were inlaid by a skilful person employed on such work, and bound in the General Register House under the superintendence of Thomas Thomson, Esq., Deputy Clerk Register. The manuscript, along with some others from the same library, remained in Mr Thomson's hands for many years, until they were reclaimed by the late Mr James A. Maconochie, advocate, as one of the trustees of Sir Alexander's son, the late Sir James Boswell, Bart.

Alexander Boswell, Esq., of Auchinleck, was the representative of an ancient family of that name: he passed as advocate at the Scottish Bar, 29th December 1729; was raised to the Bench, and took his seat 15th February 1754 by the title of Lord Auchinleck, and died 25th August 1782, aged 76. His son James, the well-known biographer of Dr Johnson, died in 1795, leaving two sons, both of whom were eminent as literary characters.

The eldest son, Alexander, born in 1775, was created a Baronet in 1820, and was killed in an unfortunate duel 25th March 1822. The second son, James Boswell, a barrister-at-law in the Temple, is known as editor of Malone's important edition of the "Plays and Poems of Shakespeare," in 21 vols. The advertisement is dated "Temple, May 1821." Mr Boswell died about eight months after.

To return to the Chronicle, it was undoubtedly the work of an unknown author who flourished in the reign of King James the Second. From the title "for Addicione," we might infer that the original had been written on the margins of some special Scotichronicon. Asloan, who transcribed it, could not have the slightest claim to be considered the author. It has, like Law's Manuscript, No. II., obtained some notoriety from its containing a passage relating to the Johnstones of Annandale, and was formerly (in 1841) produced as evidence in a Peerage case not yet determined.

NO. VII. THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. BY JOHN LESLEY,
BISHOP OF ROSS, 1570.

The History of Scotland, from 1436 to 1561, by Bishop Lesley, which was written and presented to Mary Queen of Scots in the year 1570, remained unpublished and scarcely known till 1830. The importance of the work, however, suggested its publication for the BANNATYNE CLUB, by the Vice-President, Thomas Thomson, Esq., advocate, from a manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Leven and Melville. It is scarcely necessary to observe that this work is entirely different from Bishop Lesley's subsequent Latin history "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Scotorum, Lib. X.," also dedicated to His Royal Mistress, and printed at Rome in the year 1578, 4to. This volume has been reprinted, but not translated.

Of the vernacular history there were three MSS. known, nearly of the same age. The Leven MS. being partially defective, I volunteered, as Honorary Secretary of the Club, to go to Oxford, and to collate the text of the volume which forms one of Archbishop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. It is unnecessary for me to say one word as to the editing of the volume by a gentleman who so long held the important office of Deputy Clerk Register, and was reckoned

the most eminent and judicious of our Historical Antiquaries. He has fully explained the history and authenticity of the work itself, which, indeed, has never been called in question. In the preliminary notice Mr Thomson refers to the third MS., when he merely says :—" In the library at Dupplin, there is a copy of the work, of which only a transient inspection has been permitted by the present owner. It appears to be nearly of the same age with that of Archbishop Laud in the Bodleian Library."

To explain this allusion, I may add, it was most desirable, before completing the printed volume for the Club, to ascertain by comparison in how far the printed sheets corresponded with the MS. at Dupplin (the Earl of Kinnoull, although a member of the Club, having refused the application to have the MS. sent, even for a limited time, to Edinburgh). I proceeded thither, in the neighbourhood of Perth, to make the comparison, and I sent the result to Mr Thomson with the following note :—

"The manuscript of Bishop Lesley's History in the library at Dupplin is a folio volume of 144 leaves, numbered, and evidently written by an English scribe towards the close of the sixteenth or early part of the following century. It corresponds in so many minute particulars with the MS. of the same work in the Bodleian Library that it is not improbable both may have been copied from the same original, although not that of the Author. The volume is partially mutilated, as in consequence of having stood in a damp place in the old library at Dupplin, the top corners of several of the leaves have mouldered away, or been rendered almost illegible. Of the two transcripts the Dupplin MS. is the least accurate, not merely as to actual mistakes committed, but in the occasional omission of words, and in one or two instances of an entire paragraph. On the whole it is evident, that had the Earl of Kinnoull granted the use of this copy when the book was in the printer's hand, it would not have proved of any material advantage, the deficiencies in the Leven MS. having previously been supplied from the Oxford manuscript.

"The volume is bound in old calf, of the latter part of the seventeenth century, and is lettered on the back 'A Manuscript of Scotland.' At the end of the volume is a long Latin poem, written in a later hand, entitled 'Iter Boreale.' It fills twelve pages, beginning '*Quid mihi cum Musis? quid cum Borealibus oris?*'" &c.

MONDAY, 12th February 1877.

ROBERT HORN, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Corresponding Members, viz. :—

ARTHUR LAURENSEN, Esq., Lerwick, Author of "Hamarsheimt."
D. MURRAY LYON, Esq., Ayt.

And the following were duly elected Fellows, viz. :—

REV. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A., F.C. Manse, Dalkeith.
WILLIAM BELL of Gribdale, Esq.
ARCHIBALD BROWN, Esq., Advocate, P.C.S.
JOHN MACLAREN Esq., Publisher, Edinburgh.
WILLIAM M. OGILVIE, Esq., Banker, Lochee.
GEORGE W. T. OMOND, Esq., Advocate.
JAMES SANDERSON, Esq., Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals, Madras Army.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By W. FETTES DOUGLAS, Esq., R.S.A.

Arrow-Head of Brown Flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, with stem, unbarbed, flattened on one side and swelling to a central ridge on the other, found at Perugia, Italy.

Arrow-Head of Yellowish Flint, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, with stem and without barbs, oval in the cross section, found at Velletri in Italy.

Arrow-Head of Bronze $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in greatest width, slightly barbed, and with flattened tang half an inch in length. Arrow-heads of bronze are extremely rare, and this is the only specimen in the Museum. It was found at Velletri in Italy, in the same locality as the flint arrow-head previously described.

Bronze Mirror, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, finely engraved on the concave surface, with a representation of two groups of figures standing in front of a temple, found at Orvieto, Italy.

Two Bone Pins, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with globular heads, and the stem of the pin swelling slightly towards the head, found in excavations in Rome.



Fig. 1. Arrow-Head of Flint
from Perugia, Italy, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.



Fig. 2. Arrow-Head of Bronze
from Velletri, Italy (actual size).

Small Bottle of Roman Glass, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest width, with long narrow neck and vertical ribbed ornaments round the bulge.

Brass Medal, cast, Coffin and Pall Bearers in relief, with the words, MEMENTO * MORI engraved above it, and the date, 1649, below ; on the reverse ABSENT · 6 · STV · between two floral scrolls.

(2.) By LAUDER LINDSAY, Esq., M.D., Gilgal, Perth.

Circular Ball of Dark-coloured Clay Stone, dug from the auriferous drift in the progress of the gold workings at Kildonan, Sutherlandshire, in 1869. It is a plain ball 3 inches in diameter, and of the same type as some of those described by Dr John A. Smith in the Proceedings, vol. xi. p. 49. Its surface is not smoothened or polished, and probably never has been so.

Pendant of Jade from New Zealand, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, pierced with a hole at one end for suspension.

Maori Adze or Celt of Greyish Porphyritic Stone, 4 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, found in cutting a road near Abbot's Creek Bridge, Otago, New Zealand.

Maori Adze or Celt, of Black Basaltic Stone, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, found in Saddlehill Bush, Otago, New Zealand.

Iceland Lady's Head-dress—a very small black cap with tassel.

(3.) By R. M. DOUGLAS, Esq.

Flint Lock Tinderbox $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, wanting the stock, from Elgin. The box is of copper and the flint-lock of iron, both very strongly made.

(4.) By GEORGE SIM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., *Curator of Coins*.

Polished Celt of Greyish Micaceous Sandstone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, ground flat on the butt end, found at King's Muir, near Forfar.

Socket Stone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, of Reddish Quartz, with a hole about 1 inch wide on both sides of the stone, in which a revolving spindle has worked.

Thumb-Ring, Silver Gilt, and having knobs round the circumference on which are separately engraved the letters of the inscription IESVS NAZAR. It was found in the ruins of Restennet Priory, near Forfar.

(5.) By Mr WILLIAM GRAY.

Socket Stone of a Gate found near the Brough of Clickamin, Shetland. It is a boulder of sandstone 16 inches long, 10 inches broad, and 4 inches thick. The hole made in the stone by the working of the wooden pivot of the gate is 5 inches diameter at the surface, narrowing to an inch and a half in the centre of the stone. When the hole became too deep the stone was turned, so that the holes made from the opposite surfaces have worked through to each other.

(6.) By ARTHUR ANDERSON, Esq., M.D., C.B., F.S.A. Scot., Pit-lochrie.

Urn of food-vessel type, but with the upper part broken away, found in subsoiling a field near the village of Moulin in Perthshire, at a place called Cladh na Ghuiminich Rua, or "the burying-ground of the Red

Cumyn." The urn has been $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. The sloping part towards the bottom is ornamented with chevrons made by a comb or tool with eight teeth. Above this the decoration consists of a group of lines of impressions made by twisted cord alternating with a band of triangular impressions. The upper part of the vessel was ornamented with oblong projecting knobs at intervals round the circumference.

Stone Cup, rudely hollowed out of a piece of mica schist, and with a rude handle, found on the moor between Strath Tummel and Strath Tay. The stone measures 5 inches by 5 inches, and is about 2 inches thick. The hollow made in it is 3 inches diameter, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth.

(7.) By HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE for India.

Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh, being the result of the second season's operations of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1874-75, by James Burgess, F.R.G.S., &c., Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India. London, 1876. 4to.

(8.) By the ROYAL UNIVERSITY, Christiania.

Diplomatarium Norvegicum; Niende Samling, forste halvdel. Christiania, 1876. 8vo.

Norske Rigsregistrarer; Sjette binds forste hefte, 1628-1631. Christiania, 1874. 8vo.

Oplysninger om det Pavelige Archiv, og dets indhold, af Dr Gustav Storm. Christiania, 1876. 8vo.

Brandanus Saga—a fragment. Christiania, 1876. 8vo. pp. 8.

(9.) By O. C. JAMES, Esq.

Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, 1876. 4to.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO ANNE, QUEEN OF JAMES VI., DATED AT RICHMOND, 20TH JANUARY 1595, WITH RELATIVE LETTER OF SIR ROBERT BOWES, THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR AT THE SCOTTISH COURT, DATED 24TH FEBRUARY 1595. By JOHN SMALL, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

The following letter of Queen Elizabeth to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI., is interesting, not so much from any information contained in itself, as from the circumstances under which it was written and sent to Scotland.

A few years previously, the great Spanish Armada, which was intended by Philip II. to conquer England, and crush the Protestant religion there, had caused great excitement in Scotland. King James (although he had many tempting offers from Philip, among which was an alliance with his daughter, the Infanta Isabella) joined with Elizabeth, and rejected all Philip's overtures. That prince, however, sent emissaries to Scotland, who were so successful that, with the help of the Catholic noblemen there, they originated a party that openly espoused the cause of Spain. James at first contented himself with writing a treatise on the Apocalypse, proving the Pope to be Antichrist, in order to convert them, and save himself further trouble, but he afterwards prepared to assist Elizabeth with all his forces.

After the defeat of the Armada, the Roman Catholics spread reports that a new armament was to be fitted out by Spain, and, in 1594, James found himself with an empty exchequer, threatened with a rising of the Roman Catholic earls, Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, and he then looked to Elizabeth to assist him in his emergency. He found, however, that neither arguments, embassies, nor promises could prevail on Elizabeth to give him subsidies to put his army into a suitable condition. At this he was so incensed, that the English ambassador, Sir R. Bowes, came in for a

share of his resentment, and finding himself placed in a disagreeable position, he withdrew from Scotland altogether.

At the beginning of the year 1595, however, Elizabeth began to be alarmed at a threatened rebellion in Ireland, and, as there were rumours that Philip had again collected an immense force to renew his attempt, she bitterly repented of her neglect of King James, and looked to Scotland for assistance and recruits. James, at this time (January 2d) issued a proclamation enforcing the necessity of making common cause with England, and charged the inhabitants of the Borders to desist from all hostile attempts against England, and assiduously to cultivate friendship with their neighbours. Elizabeth then deemed it necessary to send Bowes again to Scotland, as her ambassador, with a letter to the Scottish King, in which she assured him of her unalterable friendship. Bowes was also entrusted with a letter to Queen Anne, whom he was to greet with every expression of courtesy.

The letter now printed is the one presented to the Queen on that occasion, and is as follows :—

“Right Excellent right high and noble princesse our deerest Sister and Cousin, By a servant of ours of such trust as is this gentleman well knowne to you, (whome now we doe returne to exercise his charge of our ambassador towards the King our Brother) We would not omit to salute you with assurance of the contynuanee of such kyndnes as we have alwaies professed towarde you, although the good intilligence heretofore offered on your part haue of late passed under greater silence then we could have expected. And yet, such is our inclynation still to hold a firme correspondencie with you vppon all occasions whereby we may demonstrate our care either towards your selfe or the King our brother as we have giuen in charge to this our faithfull seruant sincerely affected to the preservation of perfect amitie between both kingdoms both freely to impart with you and carefully to delyuer ouer to us such thinges as you shall at anie tyme thinke meete for our understanding who neuer will be founde behynde with anie offices of true kyndenes and affection. And so

“Right Excellent, right high and noble Princess our deerest Sister

and Cousin we cease further to trouble you saue with our prayers to the Almightye for your long health and prosperous estate.

" Given at our Manor of Richmond the xxviii day of Januarie in the xxxviiiith yere of our reigne 1595.

Your Verie Affectionate Sister
Elizabeth

"To the Right Excellent, right high and noble Princesse our dearest Sister and Cousin the Queene of Scottes."

Bowes was well received by the Queen, who first expressed her readiness to correspond more frequently with Elizabeth. She then referred to the differences between the King and herself, about the custody of the infant prince, Henry, and his removal from the care of the Earl of Mar. Lastly, the ambassador entered on a more delicate topic, which was the rumours that had reached Elizabeth of the Queen's having been instigated to change her religion. She, however, assured Bowes that she remained a Protestant, and that all the attempts made for that purpose had failed.

The account of his visit was given by Bowes, in a letter to Elizabeth,

dated 24th February 1595, still preserved in the State Paper Office, London, of which the following is a copy¹ :—

“It maye please your moste excellent Maiestie, Vppon deliuerie of your Maiesties letter to the Q. of Scotts, and after that she had redd the same I entred first to confirme thassurance of your Maiesties kyndnesse professed towards her, with the continewance of your Maiesteis care for the welfare of the K. and herself. And, noting that thintelligence before offred on her part had not passed to your Maiestie from her in frequent manner expected, I tendred my redynes to conuoye to your Maiestie suche lettres or advertisment as she lyked at anye tyme to address. Wherevppon she yeelded to your Maiestie verie hartie thanks, bothe acknowledging that by strate obligation she was bound aboue all others to your Maiestie, and also promising to holde correspondencie in aduertisements by lettres or messuages as occasion serued, sayeing therewith that she woulde seeke and followe your Maiesteis especiall advyse, as giuen by one whom she most honoured, loved, and trusted.

“Secondlie I proceeded to recount to her theeffects of your Maiesteis message giuen me in chardge, letting her vnderstand that in the late differences betwixt the K. and her for the custodie of the bodye of the Prince her sonne, your Maiestie found it straunge that she had not imparted to your Maiestie her mynde that thereon your Maiestie by your great experience and affectionate loue to her might haue aduysed and warned her to avoyde the danger of subtile counsellours pressing her (for ther own advantages) to sewe to the K. to remove the Prince from the keeping of persones best trusted by the K. and authorysed by parliament, and to committ him to hands of others, at the appetytes of those decieuing counsellours possessed with no sinceritie of mynde or intention to please the K., to preserue the Prince, or to leave the custodie of the prince at the Q. pleasure, but to be reserued for ther practyses, and with dangers as hathe beyne seene and put in experience in former tyme in sondrey nations, and most often and wickedlye in Scotland. To this she answered that the matter was soddaine and full of perill, and she found no fitt conuoye to your Maiestie. She acknowledged that the late Chancellour seking to recouer her fauour towards him firste brake this matter to her, layeing before her suche stronge reasons provinge it convenient not onlye for her

¹ Scottish State Papers, vol. lviii. No. 24.

to haue the keeping and bringing vpp of her owne chylde and Prince of the realme, but also verye benificeall to her and sonne as therby he imbarcked her in thaction with his frinds and suche as he comended to her. And albeit that the Chancellour craftelye opened the cause to the K. and couertlye wrought with him to thinck that the remove of the Prince should endanger the Kings person and estate, yet he delte so betwixt the K. and herself, and with the persons interressed herein as the surpryse of the bodye of the K. was ploytted, practyse, and to haue bene effected at his coming to Edinburgh, which being discouered to her, she warned and stayed the K. and prevented this danger against the K. who otherwyse (she sayde) had beyne captyve, and to haue remayned in captiuitie. These secrets she desyred to be comended by my lettres to your Maiesties onlye hands, viewe, and secrecie, and as none other should knowe the same. In which respect (and to accomplish her request and desyre therein) I haue presumed to trouble your Maiestie with this immediat adres to your Maiestie, right humblye prayeing your Maiestie graciouslye to accepte my boldnes taken by the cause mentioned.

“Lastlye, I layde before her that your Maiestie had good cause to thinck that she is abused by some of these persons prevoking heir to seike the remove of the Prince from the persons and place appointed by the K. For it hath beyne made certenly knowne to your Maiestie that some of those persons haue assured the Pope by her owne speaches that they doubted not to move her to chandge her religion contrarye to the Kings mynde. Further that some of them haue also secretlye reported that she hathe in her own harte changed her religion, and is secretlye reconcyed to the Church of Rome, wherein althoyhe your Maiestie is loathe to giue that credit to this latter reporte, as ther is caus to be giuen to the former, yet to shew the fruiets of your Maiesteis trewe frendship to her, and in regarde that she is a stranger in this realme (albeit she be a Q. here) hauing no partie of her owne blood or of convenient qualitie to deale with her in suche difficulte matters, therefore your Maiestie could not but informe her lykewyse of the abuses remembred. To this she said that some purpose was intended to haue drawne her from the religion professed by her and this church, and which still she holdeth, with full resolution to perseuere therein. But the matter was not prosecuted, and she lyked not to reuale the names of the practysers or practyses any

further, promising directlye that if any person shall hereafter deale with or tempte her to any such change that she will acquainte your Maiestie with all ther attempts and of her owne doings therein. In which promise and mynde I lefte her, with offer of my service to convoeye with safetie to your Maiestie her lettres or credit to be committed to me. Thus in all humillitye I praie God longe to continew your Maiesteis raigne with all perfect parts of true felicitye. At Edinburgh the xxiiiith of Februarii 1595.

“ Your Maiesteis faithfull seruant with all

loyaltie and obedience,

ROBERT BOWES.”

[*Dorsc.*] “ To the Queenes moste excellent Maiestie.”

The letter of Queen Elizabeth now brought to light forms part of the Drummond collection in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and, along with several other papers, after being for half a century in the possession of the family of the late Mr R. Bower (the historian of the University, and who was at one time assistant-librarian there, but who died suddenly of heart disease) has recently been found and restored to the library.

Drummond seems to have had access to several of Queen Elizabeth's letters to King James VI., and a volume in his handwriting, in the possession of Mr D. Laing, contains copies of eight of them. Of these, two have been printed by Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*,¹ and a very remarkable one in which Elizabeth excuses herself for having caused the death of Queen Mary is given in a modernised form in the translation of Buchanan's *history of Scotland*.² The other five, so far as I am aware, are unprinted.

¹ Vol. ix. Appendix, p. 416.

² Hist. of Scot., by Aikman, vol. iii. p. 144.

II.

NOTE ON FOUR SMALL FLASKS OF TERRA COTTA, BEARING REPRESENTATIONS OF ST MENAS, FROM ALEXANDRIA, NOW IN THE MUSEUM. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

The object of this short note is to give a name, character, and date to four little flasks of terra cotta in the Museum, which have been hitherto without these desirable attributes, and therefore incapable of being classified or utilised for any scientific purpose. It is some time since my attention was attracted to them by the suggestive resemblance of the figures modelled on their flat sides to the representations of the Prophet Daniel with the conventional two lions, and as I had no doubt they were Christian in character and early in date, I figured one of them as a tail-piece to my paper on the representations of Daniel and Jonah, in the hope that some information regarding them might be obtained by that means. I did not then know what they were, nor who the personage was that was figured upon them, and luckily I was unable to persuade myself that any amount of degradation could transform the noble proportions of the king of beasts into the lizard-like objects upon them, or I might have claimed them as representing Daniel. Even had I done so I should have been excusable seeing that such a high authority on Christian antiquities as De Rossi himself had fallen into this mistake.

Nothing ruder, as you will see, could well be imagined—not even the Lewis cow exhibited by Dr Mitchell at the Rhind Lectures. Whatever the beasts may be thought to resemble, it is clear that we should never have guessed that they were intended for camels, if there had been no other source of information than the vases themselves.

The only other representation of St Menas that I have seen occurs on an ivory pyx of the 6th century, described by Padre Garucci, the learned author of the magnificent work "*Storia della Arte Cristiana*," now passing through the press. This pyx, says Garucci, is the only one out of fifteen which are known to me that is sculptured with subjects not relating to the Eucharist. On five of these fifteen the incarnation is represented, on other five the miracles of Christ, and specially the raising of Lazarus, appear. Three more may be readily referred to the

same order of ideas, two of them showing the history of Jonah, and one the three Hebrews in the furnace, both well-known types of the resurrection. The fourteenth represents the sacrifice of Isaac, also a symbol of the Eucharist, and the fifteenth, as I have said, is the only one on which a subject is represented which can in no way be referred to the Eucharist, and which on the contrary evidently concerns the worship of a very celebrated holy martyr, that is to say, St Menas (or Menna) of Egypt. It seems to me, therefore, clearly shown that this pyx affords the first actual proof of the employment once made of such pyxes---viz., of placing in them sacred relics.



Terra Cotta Vase from Alexandria, with representation of St Menas and the Camels.

Father Garruci goes on to say that no one who considers how solemn the devotion to the holy martyr Menas was throughout the whole Church would be surprised that a reliquary destined to preserve a relic of him had been met with in Rome, where a church dedicated in his honour existed, in which St Gregory the Great recited the thirty-fifth of his homilies.

The pyx has two bas-reliefs, one of which represents the martyrdom of St Menas, the other his Sanctuary. It is with the latter alone that I am concerned. It represents an *ædicula* or sanctuary on the threshold of which the martyr appears glorified with a nimbus, and with outspread arms, the attitude of prayer in early times, and the conventional mode of

representing the glorified saints. He wears the tunic and chlamys fastened on the right shoulder. On each side of the saint a camel appears kneeling, and several human figures disposed in the distance represent the pilgrims approaching the shrine.

The famous sanctuary of St Menas was situated to the west of Alexandria, on the reputed birthplace of the saint, and by its side stood the paternal cottage, which was preserved as a bulwark of defence to all Lybia, as Sophronius tells. The writer of the "Acts of St Menas" states that this saint was always represented in company with two camels, and the reason is thus narrated:—Before his martyrdom the saint had ordered his disciples that after his death his body should be placed on camels, when the glory of God would be manifested. The legend is, that when this was done the camels were guided as were the oxen who drew the ark to the spot where God willed that the sanctuary should be erected, and therefore St Menas is never represented without this evident sign of the providence of God.

The beasts, however, are often so rudely represented that it is difficult to recognise them as camels. In fact, De Rossi, as father Garucci tells, when commenting on one of these earthen flasks, bearing the effigy of the saint, "first thought them two lions,¹ and afterwards declared them to be two lambs²—really a miraculous change." We may, however, excuse this mistake, since he took the personage represented on the flask in the act of prayer for Daniel, and therefore paid little attention to the misshapen beasts, which are usually roughly modelled on the flasks. But when the flask in the Museum of Florence turned up on which the name of St Menas is legible, the subject of the representation was ascertained beyond a doubt.

Another ivory is preserved in the Brera at Milan, on which the saint is similarly represented with outspread arms and a camel crouching at either side.

A flask found at Arles³ in France bears on the one side St Menas with two camels, and on the other, within a wreath, the words, ΕΥΑΘΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ.

There are 12 of these flasks in the British Museum, of which 4 bear

¹ Bull. Arch. Crist. 1869, pp. 31, 32.

² Bull. Arch. Crist. 1869, p. 46.

³ Ibid. p. 20.

the name of St Menas, and all have on one side the figure with outspread arms and the two camels. Two of them resemble the one I have figured, and two are similar to the two in the Museum, having both sides alike, St Menas standing between the camels within a circle of dots.

III.

AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN SOME OF THE SYMBOLS ON THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND. BY THOMAS ARNOLD, ESQ., ARCHITECT, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

[The scope and object of this paper, and the circumstances which have prevented its communication to the Society *in extenso*, are indicated in the following abstract, by Mr Arnold.]

This interpretation of the symbols which I have now the honour of laying before the Society arose through a careful examination and comparison of all the examples so admirably illustrated in Dr Stuart's splendid work, "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland." I had not then read his letterpress account of the stones (which is full of most valuable information), nor any of the numerous theories on the subject which had been written. Since that time I have read probably all that has been published on the subject, and carefully examined and revised all my conclusions, but have not seen any reason to doubt the general truth of the interpretation which I have given.

I have to regret that after giving much of my spare time and much study to the writing of a lengthened paper, going fully in detail into all the arguments and evidence which I could adduce in the discussion of this interesting subject, and in support of the conclusions given above, the paper, which had occupied some three months, was lost in London, and notwithstanding most diligent inquiries, has not been recovered.

The lost paper I intended to have laid before the Society at its first meeting. I now submit a short *résumé* of the paper, or rather the more important conclusions in it, and with it I send my first draft of the essay, which, though not at all so satisfactory in many respects as the missing one, yet goes over much the same ground and arguments.

It will be seen that I rely much on the artistic and technical evidences, and the analogy of treatment of similar primitive sculptures, because

with these my special knowledge best qualifies me to deal. It must be left for others more intimately familiar with the early literature and history of the period to attempt to fix the events which the stones commemorate. In the body of the paper I have touched on the importance of the sculptures as illustrating the famous school of Celtic ornamentation, &c., the source from which more than any other the special characteristics of Gothic art were afterwards developed.

The general conclusion of the inquiry is, that the stones on which these symbols occur were erected to commemorate departed chiefs or persons of distinction, and the "symbols" are primitive and conventional representations of the arms, armour, and ornaments distinctive of their rank, while others are religious or national or tribal emblems.¹

Besides the heraldic and emblematic groups the stones are in many instances elaborately sculptured with figures illustrating chiefly important events, such as wars, treaties, and great huntings, from which very much is to be gathered as to the dress, manners, modes of fighting, &c. Then we have figures which represent various incidents in Biblical and early Church history, with figures of ecclesiastics, funeral rites, installations, enthronements, &c., and a few sculptures intended to teach primitive sacred beliefs, though these latter appear on those stones which from other reasons besides we can safely place amongst the latest.

As mere rudeness of design or workmanship is of itself no criterion of age, and the subjects sculptured have mostly yet to be assigned to history, we have to rely chiefly on the character of the ornamentation of the crosses, &c. Those that are simply outlined or rudely traced may or may not be most ancient. Yet from the uniformity of the arrangement and form of the objects, whether rudely or elaborately worked, the whole group of the sculptured stones may be safely assigned to a comparatively limited period.

[¹ That Mr Arnold's general conclusion may be compared with that of the author of the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' the following extract is given from the preface to that magnificent work :—"The conclusion at which I arrive," says Dr Stuart, "is, that the symbols—the comb, mirror, books, brooches, 'spectacles,' 'crescents,' and associated figures, were all objects of personal ornament or use, and that when they appear on our pillar-stones they are to be regarded as symbols representing the dignity, office, or descent of individuals."—*Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Spalding Club), vol. ii. p. 30.]

From the districts in which the stones are mostly found, the character of the ornamentation, the style of the arms, dress, &c., it seems certain that they belong to the period during which the north-eastward portion of Scotland, the ancient Alban, was subjected from the ninth to the eleventh centuries to almost incessant inroads of the fierce semi-barbarous tribes, driven by necessity, tyranny, or adventure, from their Scandinavian homes.

This style of sculptured slabs no doubt became universal over the north-eastern districts, and would be continued down into much later times than those above named. In the Iona group the later mode of carving the objects in relief enabled the sculptor to reproduce with much greater fidelity the objects intended.

IV.

NOTES ON MEDIEVAL "KITCHEN MIDDENS" RECENTLY DISCOVERED
IN THE MONASTERY AND THE NUNNERY ON THE ISLAND OF IONA.
BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.

In the summer of 1875 I learned with pleasure that His Grace the Duke of Argyll had determined to preserve, as far as possible, from further dilapidation, the interesting groups of ecclesiastical ruins on the island of Iona, and that he had arranged with our Fellow and well-known architect, Mr Robert Anderson, to suggest and superintend the necessary repairs and restorations, so as to preserve the ruins from further and rapidly increasing decay. As part of this necessary work, it was determined to remove the accumulated earth forming the present surface of the ground, around the whole buildings, so as to get to the lower and original level of the soil, and thus to show, as completely as possible, the architectural details that might be still preserved underground; as the bases of the walls, and of the different door ways of the various buildings.

The class of minor antiquities styled "Kitchen Middens," had long interested me, and the bearing of their varied contents, on the question of the different kinds of food, and it might also be of the customs of the district, where these ancient refuse heaps are found. There was also the difficult question of their greater or less antiquity; for it must not be forgotten that "Kitchen Middens" belong to every age, from ancient down to our own modern times. I had read accounts of

"Kitchen Middens," which were described as being of remote antiquity, as belonging, indeed, to the "Stone Age," whatever period of undefined time that may have been in reference to any particular people; or at least to the so-called "Neolithic period," or latter portion of it; the assumed Age, as it has been styled, of Polished Stone Weapons. It seems to me that it is scarcely worth while to attempt to found a definite portion of bygone time on the mere fact of a stone weapon being chipped or polished; as indeed the chipping of a stone must almost always have been simply the first stage in the manufacture even of a polished stone weapon. The mere finishing touches thus given to some special weapons is surely not sufficient to stamp them with the dignity of a new invention, or one by any means requiring the definition of a distinct period of advance, either of Art or of Time! We must also remember how much more easily flint (that valuable, though very local, material for stone weapons) is shaped by chipping than by rubbing or polishing; and surely not less, but equal at least, if not more talent, is shown in the manufacture of the finely chipped and unpolished flint weapon, than in almost any rubbed or polished stone weapon.

I was anxious, therefore, to examine in some degree the contents of an old "Kitchen Midden" belonging to a somewhat definite period or age, so as to be able to compare it with these archaic refuse heaps to which I have referred. To see in what respect they differed, or it may be, might agree. Accordingly, I requested Mr R. Anderson, if, in the course of the diggings and levellings of the ground round any of these old ruins in Iona, they came upon an abundance of animal remains, as shells and broken bones or other refuse, suggestive of an old kitchen midden, to be good enough to spare at least a part of it for a time, and I would gladly come and make an examination of its contents, as it was in the course of being removed.

In the month of July 1875, I learned from Mr Anderson that some heaps of this kind had been spared, and he would be glad if I would revisit the island towards the end of the month. Accordingly I left for Iona on the 23d July, and Mr Anderson joined me at Rothesay.

It happened that Mr and Mrs Maclean of Carsaig were on board the Iona steamer, and as Mr Anderson and I had both seen a recent account in the newspapers, and heard a good deal about the ancient crosses observed on the walls of the "Nun's Cave," near Carsaig, on the southern

shore of the island of Mull; we took advantage of their kind invitation to go ashore with them and visit the cave—pardon this short digression. The cave is situated at the bottom of a rugged bank or cliff on the sea-shore, has a rather wide mouth or entrance, the roof sloping downwards and backwards to its upper extremity, and displays various small crosses incised on its natural walls of rock. Some of these are formed simply of one short line, crossing near the upper part of another and longer line—the shaft of the cross. While others had a circle formed at the intersection of the arms, and another had a somewhat circular head, with the top and the transverse limbs of the cross projecting through it, four loops or openings being indicated at the intersection of the different parts, reminding one of the type of crosses still to be seen at Iona. These incised cross markings seemed to be of considerable age. There are also more modern markings of initials cut on the walls, and dates such as 1633, 1758, 1825, down to 1858; showing thus a somewhat lengthened array of visitors to the cave. It is now only tenanted by an abundance of rock pigeons, which take shelter in a large fissure running upwards in the sloping roof of the cave. A good building sandstone had from time to time been quarried among the rocks on the shore, at no great distance from the cave, some of which had been used for the recent repairs of Iona; and, indeed, it closely corresponded to some of the stones of the old masonry of the ecclesiastical buildings of Iona. This might help to account for at least some of the visitors.

As the Iona steamer was then only passing Carsaig on its way back from Iona, Mr Maclean, after our pleasant visit, drove us over by the shores of Loch Scridean to Bunessan, from whence we crossed the narrow channel or ferry which separates Iona from the island of Mull.

On reaching Iona, and visiting the ruins of the Nunnery and the Monastery, we found that great improvements had been made in clearing away the long accumulated earth from among them, and in carefully repairing and replacing partially broken stones, the result being to give quite a different appearance of strength and stability to the whole ancient ruins. The mound of earth at the monastery where the bones were found in the greatest abundance, and which had therefore been reserved for my examination, was situated along the northern side of the large building

believed to be the refectory, and between it and another building close by, which was supposed to have been the kitchen or one of the buildings connected therewith. On the other side, to the north of this supposed kitchen, was the low wall which now encloses the ruins; and beyond this again, the little stream running down to the sea, which passed the kiln and formerly turned the old mill of the monastery, situated above it to the west. Beyond the stream, the ground was, and had long been, under cultivation, and few undisturbed remains could be expected to be found there. The fact, however, of another old ruin still remaining a little beyond the stream to the north, and designated the "Bishop's House," made one rather anxious to have had some diggings made in that neighbourhood. (The relations of these different buildings of the monastery to the kitchen midden, which they quite enclose, are well seen in the careful ground-plan of the monastery now exhibited, for which I am indebted to Mr Robert Anderson, architect, F.S.A. Scot.)

The mass of earth that had been left, measured some 21 feet in length by 6 or 7 feet in breadth, and was 3 feet or more in height. It consisted of earth mixed with numerous shells and bones; the green turf having been previously removed. We commenced operations by taking a layer of 6 or 8 inches thick from the top of the heap, getting this carefully riddled, and its contents examined, and so the digging and examination went on gradually until the whole mass was removed.

Shell Fish.—The mound was made up, I have said, of a considerable proportion of earth mixed with peat ashes, and contained great quantities of sea-shells, of the common edible mollusks—Periwinkles or 'Wilks' (*Littorina littorea*) most abundant; then Limpets (*Patella vulgata*), which were also very numerous; large Whelks or Buckies (*Buccinum undatum*), and great quantities of Oyster shells (*Ostrea edulis*) of all sizes, some of these being very large and thick old shells. I also noticed a portion of a Clam shell (*Pecten* —), and part of the claw of a Common Crab (*Carcinus mœnas*).

Mammals.—The bones of various Animals were very abundant. Those of the Ox (*Bos taurus*) most numerous; generally all more or less split and broken into short lengths, even the solid rib bones being also broken in a similar manner, and the shafts of the large bones split. Many of the large joints at their extremities were also cloven through longitudinally into portions. Numerous broken portions of skulls and jaws with

teeth were noticed. Also many bones of young animals—the Calf; the terminal epiphyses of the long bones being generally separated from the shafts of the bones.

Bones of Sheep (*Ovis aries*), both old and young, were also abundant, with numerous jaws and teeth, the skull bones generally broken to pieces. Some of these bones were very slender, and indicated a kind of sheep closely allied to the small Shetland variety, some correspondingly small horn cores were also noticed.

There were also numerous bones of Pigs (*Sus scrofa*), of different sizes and ages, with portions of jaws and teeth; many of these bones, especially of the skulls and jaws, were much broken.

A few bones of the Horse (*Equus caballus*), and teeth also were noticed. Part of the top of a forked beam or antler of the Red Deer (*Cervus elaphus*) was dug up close by, it appeared to have been shaped or cut for some purpose or other.

Several of the bones collected by me, about which I was a little doubtful, I forwarded to my friend Dr Albert Günther of the British Museum, our well-known zoological authority, and in addition to those I have described, he has noted remains of the Goat and Kid (*Capra hircus*), portions of the skull, with small horn-core and leg bones, and of the Fox (*Vulpes vulgaris*) a 5th molar tooth.

Several bones of Whales (*Cetacea*), were also observed, a portion of a rib of a whale, probably a Finner or Rorqual (*Balenoptera*——). One portion of the bone of a whale was cut longitudinally, so as to form a somewhat thin or flat plate of bone. It measures about half an inch in thickness, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. A broken lumbar vertebra of a smaller cetacean, probably a Dolphin, was also found.

Birds.—Numbers of bones of Birds of different sizes and species were turned up from time to time. Many of these were evidently bones of domestic poultry, the Common Fowl (*Gallus domesticus*); one portion of a broken furcula or breast bone seemed that of a Duck or perhaps a Goose. Unfortunately no skulls of birds were noticed. Professor Alfred Newton, Magdalene College, Cambridge, our first authority in all ornithological matters, looking over these bones, pointed out various bones of the Goose (*Anser*), probably wild (*A. ferus*), and two wing bones or *humeri* of the well known Red Grouse (*Lagopus Scoticus*), from the differ-

ence in size, probably male and female specimens. Dr Günther informs me one bone belongs to the Common Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*); which is abundant on these coasts.

Fishes.—There were also a good many bones of Fishes noticed, principally vertebræ, with a few broken bones of the skulls, and dentary bones of the jaws. These belonged principally to the Cod (*Gadus morrhua*) of large size. Some of the other bones of the skulls and unequally formed vertebræ belonged possibly to a large fish of the Family of the *Pleuronectide*, probably the Holibut (*Hippoglossus vulgaris*). Salmon are found in tolerable abundance in the neighbouring seas on the coast of Mull, but I did not notice any characteristic bones that belonged to this fish, probably they may not be very easily preserved, as only the firmer bones of rather large-sized fishes were noticed. Although fish of various kinds are, I believe, numerous in the seas around the island, of these a comparatively small number were noticed. This, however, I am not so much surprised at, as they would probably soon decay; and also as the custom of the people, at least in the farther north, was to keep the backbones of fish as “sweetmeats for the cows,”¹ as our learned Fellow, Captain Thomas, R.N., tells us in one of his valuable papers “On the Primitive Dwellings and Hypogea of the Outer Hebrides,” entitled “A Notice of Beehive Houses in Uig, Lewis.”

Besides these animal remains very few objects of interest were found.

Pottery.—Various portions of broken vessels of pottery, of different sizes, generally however, small, were noticed and collected. Some of these were covered with a brown glaze, one had a short loop or handle attached to it, other portions of larger vessels were covered with greenish glazes. Some of the latter being partially stamped in patterns.

Iron.—Several nails or scraps of iron, corroded and encrusted with clay, were also found in the heap.

At the NUNNERY, the other group of ancient ruins on the island, a smaller mound was also left for my examination, in a portion of the ground of the old cloisters, and here the contents of the “Kitchen Midden” were much the same as in that in the monastery. Abundance of Sea-Shells and broken bones were lying all around, that had apparently fallen from the earth already removed.

¹ Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. iii. p. 137.

Shell Fish.—I found here also:—The Shells of edible mollusks in great abundance—Periwinkles, Limpets, Oysters, large Whelks or Buckies.

Bones of Mammals.—Bones of the Ox and Calf, Sheep and Lamb, and the Pig; Red Deer, a worked piece of a forked antler being found, which distinguished the species. The Horse. A portion of the lower jaw of a small-sized Dog (*Canis familiaris*) was picked up, and also a broken portion of the lower jaw of another smaller carnivorous animal—the Domestic Cat (*Felis catus domesticus*). A species of whale; a large vertebral plate or apophysis, and portions of large vertebræ were lying as if they had been dug out near by. Portions also of the ribs of a whale were noticed. It was probably a species of Rorqual or Finner whale (*Balenoptera* —), which not unfrequently occurs on our coasts.

I may mention that my friend Professor Turner examined the bones of the Cetacea found in these middens, and agrees with me in thinking the largest were probably those of the Rorqual (*Balenoptera*); the lumbar vertebra of a large Dolphin was probably that of the Pilot whale (*Globiceps melas*). Some other fragments of bones of cetacea, he considers were of uncertain species.

Numerous bones of the various animals noticed were turned up in the course of lowering the ground in different parts of the nunnery buildings, especially towards the western side of the cloister, and the ruined buildings of the nunnery to the south of it. For here the church is situated on the northern side of the cloister and other buildings of the nunnery. Whereas in the monastery this arrangement is exactly reversed, the church there, being situated on the southern side of the cloister and group of monastic buildings. The “kitchen middens” at the nunnery, however, had not the same enclosed, circumscribed, and old untouched-like character as the one at the monastery.

Pottery, &c.—I have mentioned that various portions of broken pottery of different kinds, some stamped in rude patterns like leaves, were found in these middens, and also in the course of the excavations. These, with all the other objects of any interest, were carefully reserved for His Grace the Duke of Argyll. A few small portions of greenish-coloured window glass were found, after my visit, in clearing out the sacristy on the north side of the choir of the church. Some of the pieces were beautifully iridescent on the surface, probably from age, and others had an opaque appearance on their outer surfaces as

if from the presence of painting or colouring matter, perhaps coated with coloured glass. Mr John Holland, the active and energetic inspector of the work, called my attention to the fact that the edges of this glass were carefully chipped, and not cut straight, as is now done.

A leaden bulla, or seal, said to be of Pope Adrian IV. (?), who, by the way, was an Englishman,—Nicholas Breakspear,—and died in 1159; was also found in the course of the removing of the general surface, and different coins, not I believe, of any great age. Also a small bronze or probably brass key, a small spoon, &c.

I had hoped to have used these notes on the animal remains found, simply as an addendum to a comprehensive account of the whole ruins, with an exhibition of plans, and detailed drawings, showing what had been done and discovered in the course of the important clearings and repairs of these different ancient and interesting ruins. This I expected Mr Robert Anderson would probably have been able to bring before the notice of the Society. In that case, I should have applied to His Grace the Duke of Argyle, requesting him to have favoured the Society with an exhibition of the few specimens of pottery, and other relics now in his possession, which had been discovered in the course of these operations. As I found, however, that there was no apparent prospect of these details being laid before the Society, at least in the meantime, I have thought it best to bring these notes of mine under its notice, and exhibit the few illustrative specimens of shells and bones; which will give, at least, an idea of the character of the contents of these old kitchen middens.

It is evident that the midden at the monastery, lying as it did, apparently quite untouched, and shut up, as it were apart, in the ruins from all modern interference (being enclosed between the kitchen and the refectory), must have been, so to speak, the refuse heap collected during the last years of the occupation of the monastery. Its very position and increasing bulk would, of course, compel its predecessors to be removed from time to time; although how long these remains were generally allowed to accumulate, we cannot tell. Still, we may suppose this large one, from its peculiar position, already referred to, shut in among the ruins, with no possibility of more modern houses of any kind being built near it to add to its contents, must really have been the untouched

“kitchen midden” of the last occupation of the monastery at the Reformation ; it therefore may be assumed to belong probably to about that date.

The accumulations at the nunnery may have been made about the same time ; but, from their more open situation, they may have also been added to or covered by others of later date, at least in some of the places around these ruins ; shown, it may be, by various less broken and more recent-looking bones of some of the larger animals, as the ox and the horse, which were noticed there. A very few specimens from these latter heaps were also brought by me for exhibition to the Society.

Here, then, in these old kitchen middens, as in many others that have been described probably of much older date,—for, of course, the supposed antiquity of each must be considered in relation to its special situation and contents,—we find the usual great abundance of the edible mollusks—the periwinkles, the limpets, the buckies or whelks, and the oysters, &c., and along with these, the split and broken bones of various animals ; closely corresponding thus in character to the contents of kitchen middens, which, from some of these very circumstances, have been assumed to be of great antiquity. The bones were nearly all broken into short lengths, the shafts split—it may have been, as we are told, for the extraction of the marrow, which has been supposed to have been in special favour in ancient times. Many of the thicker extremities and joints of the bones, where, of course, there is no marrow, were, however, also split, and other bones of a more compact kind, as the ribs, which contain no marrow, were carefully broken across, like most of the others, into short pieces of some five or six inches in length.

The most simple explanation that occurs to me for all this careful breaking and splitting of the various bones, is just that it might fit them for being conveniently put into their pots or cooking vessels, to be boiled for the extraction of their fat and juices, so as to make soup or broth.

Mr George Stewart, now of Leith, author of the recently published “*Shetland Fireside Tales*, Edinburgh, 1877,” himself a Shetlander, and a most careful and competent observer, and learned in all the old Shetland customs, informs me that it was an old and still is a common practice in Shetland to break up the lower jaw bones of a recently killed pig, for the purpose of extracting the fat and marrow, and preserving it as a favourite ointment or healing application to sore or chapped hands, &c.

He has also favoured me with the following interesting account of the recent use of the split and broken bones of animals in Shetland, which, it seems to me, affords a strong corroboration of my explanation of these broken and split bones being really the true one:—

“My friend Mr Goudie mentioned in a note which I received from him the other day, that you were desirous I should furnish you with some jottings of my experience regarding the practice in Shetland of breaking or splitting bones for culinary purposes, and I now gladly avail myself of the opportunity of doing so. This practice is still common in Shetland, and I have no doubt has been so for centuries back. The object being to extract the fat which the bones contain, and utilise it for making soup.

“Amongst the peasant class in Shetland, butcher's meat is used only during three or four months of the year, viz., from November till the end of January or February, because, owing to the scarcity of herbage, it is only during autumn that animals can be properly fed, and, therefore, only at Martinmas that they are in condition for being slaughtered, and this is not only a matter of necessity but a matter of sentiment; for, to the native mind, it is an act of cruelty to deprive any creature of life during that season of the year, when sunny fields and green grass give animal life its chief enjoyment, nor is it considered that the flesh of animals at such a time is at all a wholesome or proper kind of food.

“The end of February, when the scanty supply of salted or smoke-dried meat is nearly exhausted, is just the time when it is most required, for then the people begin to farm their crofts, and then cold weather and very heavy work make animal food especially desirable; but the larder is now empty, and there only remain the bones which had been carefully collected during the winter. These bones are taken in portions as required, laid on a wooden block, and with a sharp axe split longitudinally; the fragments are then washed in warm water, and boiled in a soup composed of oatmeal and shreds of potatoes, which soup is very nutritious, and well-flavoured by the fat extracted from the bones.

“Sometimes the bones are split a second time into still smaller fragments, and boiled many times, until every trace of fat is extracted, when they are consigned to the croft midden, and ultimately get mixed with the soil, or lie scattered over its surface.

“A primitive people are faithful conservators of the past, and their

manners and customs are therefore deeply interesting to those earnest in the work of antiquarian research. To this Shetland is no exception, and I have no doubt that farther and more careful study in this field would give very important results."

Before the introduction of turnip culture, and the use of artificial feeding for sheep and cattle, the same practice of killing cattle—preparing the Mart, as it was called—at the end of autumn, Martinmas, or beginning of winter when they were fat or in good condition—and using the cattle then killed for food, salting them also for winter use, and converting at the same time portions of them into hams, was common all over Scotland, and was, probably, accompanied by a similar use of the bones in making the broth or kail; so universal an article of food throughout Scotland in former days, and even, under perhaps more fortunate circumstances in our own day.

I will not assume, as has been sometimes done in the accounts of "kitchen middens," that all the remains found in them were necessarily those of animals that had been used for man's food. Indeed, at the present day, remains of various kinds, &c., are added to our refuse heaps that never would be brought to our tables as food, and the same thing would doubtless happen in days long gone by. I am not therefore prepared to aver that the monks or nuns of Iona in the days of old, beyond all doubt, ate the fox, the dog, or the cat, or even the horse, remains of all of which have been found in these midden heaps. There may be less doubt about the smaller cetacea, which, it is not impossible, as a species, of course, of supposed fish, might find their way to the table as a not unacceptable dish, at least during Lent. M. Martin, *Gent.*, in his "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," London, 1703, tells us that many whales of different sizes occur in the Hebrides, and that they are eaten by the "common people, who by experience find them to be very nourishing Food." "They call it *Sea Pork*, for so it signifies in their Language. The bigger Whales are more purgative than these lesser ones, but the latter are better for Nourishment."

I may allude to the fact of human bones, which I examined, being also turned up close to some of these animal remains, they having been laid down apparently not far from the old cemetery of the nunnery; but certainly I should not consider this as suggestive of anything else

than an accidental mixing together of the two, due to the close proximity of one of these kitchen middens to the graveyard.

No remains of any of the cereals, or grains of any kind, were noticed in these refuse heaps. It would, I think, however, be equally dangerous to argue from any such negative evidence or want of evidence, which has, if I am not mistaken, been also sometimes done; that the use of the cereals, oats or barley or wheat, was not then known, and that they were not used or cultivated by the old inhabitants of the monastery. The fact being recorded, that the principal food of the monks and nuns in the old times consisted of these very cereals, and the existence of the remains of the neighbouring kiln and mill, to which I have already alluded, surely is by no means bad evidence on the matter. The place where the little stream which runs past the monastery enters the sea, is still designated the *Port a Mhuilinn*—the port of the mill. Besides these cereals, however, these later remains show that the monks and nuns had a good and a varied diet of animal food and their accompanying broths—beef and veal, mutton and lamb, goat and kid, abundance of pork, it may be an occasional fat buck, and various species of birds, poultry, fat geese, and red grouse, from their own or neighbouring muirlands and hills; not to speak of the whale and of the cormorant, which could scarcely, one would think, be eaten as a dainty, but might possibly be taken as a “digestive,” on the supposition, perhaps, that the flesh of such a voracious bird might stimulate the sluggish stomach of a dyspeptic monk. Martin, in his book already referred to, tells us that it (the *Sea Cormorant*) was eaten, and apparently was believed to have some medicinal qualities. He says—“The Natives observe that if perfectly Black it makes no good broth, nor is its Flesh worth eating; but that a *Cormorant* which has any white Feathers or Down makes good Broth, and the Flesh of it is good Food, and the Broth is usually drunk by Nurses to encrease their Milk.” They had fish also of different kinds, and an abundant supply of good fresh shell-fish, including the much-prized oyster, of all sizes, and in great plenty.

Several references to the food used in the early days of the monastery of Iona occur scattered incidentally through Adamnan’s “Life of St Columba.” The Rev. Dr Reeves has gathered these together in his valuable Notes to his important edition of the Life. I may quote Dr Reeves’ remarks on this subject, as they are given in p. cxvii. of the

introduction to the new edition, published as vol. vi. of the recently printed series of "The Historians of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1874":—"The ordinary refectio[n] was very simple, consisting of bread, sometimes made of barley; milk, fish, eggs, and probably seal's flesh. On Sundays and festivals, and on the arrival of guests, there was an improvement of diet, '*consolatio cibi*;' '*refectio[n]is indulgentia*;' which consisted in an addition to the principal meal, '*prandioli adjectio*,' on which occasions it is probable that flesh-meat was served up, as mutton, or even beef. The number of meals in the day, and their hours, can only be conjectured."

The Rev. Dr Reeves, in giving these details of their diet, suggests here that "probably seal's flesh" was with them a common article of food.

Martin, in his "Description" already quoted, states that "the *Seal*, though esteemed fit only for the Vulgar, is also eaten by Persons of Distinction, though under a different Name—to wit, *Hamm*; this I have been assur'd of, by good hands, and thus we see that the generality of Men are as much led by fancy as judgment in their Palates as well as in other things." "The Popish Vulgar" "eat these *Seals* in Lent instead of Fish." He tells us also that "The Natives Salt the Seals with the ashes of burnt Sea-ware, and say they are good Food; the vulgar eat them commonly in the Spring-time with a long-pointed Stick instead of a Fork, to prevent the strong smell which their hands would otherwise have for several Hours after. The Flesh and Broth of fresh Young *Seals* is by experience known to be Pectoral. The Meat is Astringent, and used as an effectual remedy against the *Diarrhea* and *Dysenteriz*. The Liver of a *Seal*, being dry'd and pulveris'd, and afterwards a little of it drunk with Milk, *Aquavita*, or Red Wine, is also good against *Fluxes*." With so much said by M. Martin as to their use in the Western Islands for food and medicine, at least by the common people, it is not altogether improbable they may have been occasionally used by the monks of Iona.

The only reference, however, to seals (in the "Life of St Columba") appears to be in Book I. chap. xxxiii., where Saint Columba sends from Iona two of the brethren to the Island of Mull to catch a robber from Colonsay, who came over in his boat at night to a small island where the young seals, their property, were brought forth and reared. Having killed many of them, the greedy robber fills his boat and returns to his hiding

place—"Ut noctu ad parvam transnaviget insulam ubi marini nostri juris vituli generantur et generant; ut de illis furenter occisis edax valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum." The robber is forthwith captured and brought before St Columba, who asks him why he transgresses the commandment of God by stealing other people's property, and tells him if he is in want, to come to them and they will supply his need. He accordingly orders some wethers to be killed and given to the miserable thief instead of the seals, that he might not return home empty-handed—"Qui viso Sanctus ad eum dicit, Quare tu res alienas, divinum transgressus mandatum, sæpe furaris? Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata. Et hæc dicens præcipit verveces occidi, et pro phocis dari misero furaci, ne vacuo ad sua remearet." Sometime afterwards, the saint knowing in his spirit that the robber was near his death, ordered a fat sheep and six bushels of corn to be sent to him as his last present. The present, however, came too late, and was used instead at his burial.

From this narrative, we may, it seems to me, come to the conclusion that the seals bred on Iona, or its small adjoining islands, were then considered the property of the monastery, and were carefully preserved; and that this robber, as he is therefore called, who came and killed and carried them off, might possibly in his straits use them as food. We find, accordingly, that St Columba blames him for the theft, but commiserates his poverty, and gives him some of their sheep instead, as something much better. The inference I would therefore be inclined to draw from the whole story being, that the seals were well cared for, not necessarily for their value as an article of food, as Dr Reeves suggests; but it may be for their skins, and most of all for the supply of oil they would so readily furnish for the various lights and lamps of the monastic buildings, the supply and preservation of which would always be of the very greatest importance in these old times of little commercial intercourse and comparative isolation from their neighbours. The chance stock of oil, got by the accidental capture of a stray cetacean of any kind, would, of course, be a happy occurrence, by no means to be taken into account, or depended upon for anything like a regular keeping up of their much-needed supply of oil.

No doubt when the monks, towards Martinmas, killed their cattle

then in good condition, after the summer's grazing, and salted them for their winter's supply, an old custom to which I have already referred; they would then set apart so much of the coarser tallow for candlemaking, which was at one time a common household practice on these occasions, at least in old rural Scotland. Still, the fact of their having a "preserve" of seals, undoubtedly shows where they could very easily get a good supply of excellent oil; but it is rather curious that no reference whatever, or even incidental notice, in Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," that I have been able to find, gives us any account, or even hint, of how the important matter of lighting these various ecclesiastical buildings was managed in the long winter nights.

These early references to food in Adamnan's "Life of Columba," tell us of the use of the cereals, as barley, oats, &c., for bread; of milk, and the necessary presence of cattle to supply it; of fish, and of eggs, the latter suggestive of course of fowls or poultry; also of something more substantial, as both mutton and beef. While the examination of these comparatively modern "kitchen middens" gives us proofs of the remains of the food used, it may be, by at least the later occupants of these monastic buildings, and shows, as I have already described, an abundant and varied supply of good and nourishing food.

Looking, then, at the various remains preserved in these old kitchen middens, the abundant shell-fish, the numerous bones, and the way these are split and broken before being thrown aside, I feel considerably puzzled how to distinguish in these respects, between this "mediaeval kitchen midden" and the closely resembling contents of other ancient "kitchen middens," which some antiquaries have been inclined to believe—sometimes I fear, on rather slender evidence—to belong to very remote antiquity; indeed to be, some of them, among the very earliest remains of man in the countries where they are found.

It seems to me the correspondence between the contents of this mediaeval kitchen midden and some of those remains ascribed to very ancient times, should at least teach a lesson of caution to antiquaries, before attempting to decide the question as to the greater or less antiquity of any remains of this class, either in our own country of Scotland, or indeed anywhere else, as these refuse heaps are found, spread wide as the human race itself, over the whole world.

MONDAY, 12th March 1877.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, President,
in the Chair.

On the recommendation of the Council, the following Gentlemen were balloted for, and elected HONORARY MEMBERS of the Society, viz. :—

Rev. H. O. COXE, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Hon. Canon of York

The Very Rev. A. P. STANLEY, Dean of Westminster.

A ballot having been taken, the following were elected Fellows,
viz. :—

ROBERT COX, Esq., Gorgie.

RALPH DUNDAS, Esq., Clerk to the Signet.

WILLIAM JOLLY, Esq., H.M. Inspector of Schools, Inverness.

WILLIAM MACDONALD, M.A., Classical Master, High School of
Edinburgh.

Capt. COLIN MACKENZIE, late 78th Highlanders.

JOHN BATTY TUKE, M.D.

Rev. WALTER WOOD, Elie.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Small Collection of worked Flints, Bones, and Shells, from the Cave at Mentone, consisting of :—

Four well-formed Scrapers of Flint, 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, three of them worn at the edge by use.

One Flake-Knife, trimmed along the cutting edge, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length.

Fourteen small irregular Flakes or Splinters of Flint.

One nucleus or Core of Flint from which flakes have been struck off.

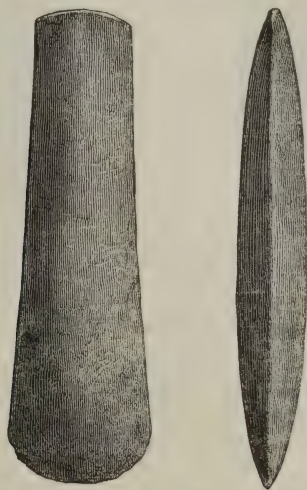
About thirty Teeth of Animals, Ox, &c., the Jaw of a small Rodent, and two marine Shells (*Dentalium tarentinum*), and (*Scalaria communis*.)

(2.) By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A. F.S.A. Scot.

Scottish Ale-Cap of Hooped Staves, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and with handles at each side.

(3.) By Right Hon. the EARL OF STAIR, F.S.A. Scot.

Polished Celt of Felstone, found at Kirklauchline, Wigtownshire. It measures 13 inches in length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at one end and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the other, is oval in the cross section, and 2 inches in thickness about the middle of its length. It is flattened towards both ends, and expands slightly from the centre to the wider end. The broad end is



Celt found at Kirklauchline, Wigtownshire.

sharpened, the butt end rounded off to a thickness of about a quarter of an inch. This type is rare in Scotland. No other specimen exactly similar in form to this one occurs in the Museum, either among the Scottish or Irish specimens. The nearest approach to it is the beautifully polished celt of yellow flint found at Gilmerton, and presented to the Museum in 1782 by Francis Kinloch, Esq., of Gilmerton. It is much smaller, however, being only $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide at the cutting end. It differs from the Kirklauchline specimen also in having both ends sharp.

Small Quadrangular Whetstone or Burnisher, found on Knockneen, Wigtonshire. It is of reddish quartz, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $\frac{5}{8}$ th inch across each of its sides in the centre. This also is a rare form of stone implement, there being only one specimen of similar form in the Museum.

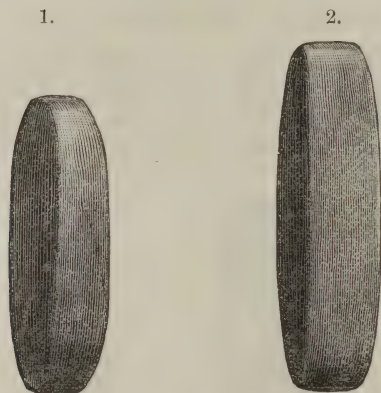


Fig. 1. Whetstone found in Ayrshire ($2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long).

Fig. 2. Whetstone found on Knockneen, Wigtonshire ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long).

It is also of reddish quartz, and somewhat smaller than the Wigtonshire specimen, being $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch of a side. It was found in a moss in Ayrshire, and presented to the Museum in 1856 by J. C. Roger, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. They are both figured here for the sake of comparison.

(4.) By COLLINGWOOD WOOD, Esq., Freeland House.

Jar of Brown Glazed Earthenware, broken, 6 inches high, found full of Coins of Edward III. and James II. at Freeland, near For-gandenny, Perthshire.

(5.) By Captain F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

Pair of Sandals, from Central Africa.

Ortellii *Synonymia Geographica*. Antverpiae, 1578, 4to.

La Geografia, di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino, novamente tradotta di Greco in Italiano da Girolamo Ruscelli. Venetiis, 1561, 4to.

Geographia Cl. Ptolemaei Alexandrini collata et redacta a Josepho Moletio. Venetiis, 1562, 8vo.

(6.) By JOHN SHEDDEN DOBIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Cunninghame, Topographised by TIMOTHY PONT, A.M., 1604–1608. With Continuations and Illustrative Notices by the late James Dobie of Crummock, F.S.A. Scot. Edited by his son, John Shedden Dobie. Glasgow, 1876, 4to.

(7.) By Rev. Dr CHARLES ROGERS, F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Memorials of the Earl of Stirling, and of the House of Alexander, &c. Edinburgh, 1877. 2 vols. 8vo.

(8.) By the Right Hon. the LORD CLERK REGISTER.

General Index to the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. Folio, 1875.

(9.) By ALEX. WALKER, Esq., Dean of Guild of Aberdeen, F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Ye Paroch Kirk of Sanct Nicolas of Aberdene, 1060–1876. With illustrations. Printed for private circulation. Aberdeen, 1876, 4to.

Robert Gordon (1665–1731) and his Hospital (1750–1876). Printed for private circulation. Aberdeen, 1876, 8vo.

(10.) By FRANCIS ABBOTT, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

The Scarlet Gown; or the History of all the present Cardinals of Rome, &c. Written originally in Italian, and translated by H. C. Gent. London, 1688, 12mo.

(11.) By GEORGE STEWART, Esq., Leith, the Author.

Shetland Fireside Tales; or, the Hermit of Trosswickness. By G. S. L. Edinburgh, 1876, 12mo.

There was exhibited :—

The Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan, and the following Communications regarding its history and its acquisition by the Society for the National Museum of Antiquities were read :—

I.

NOTICES OF THE QUIGRICH OR CROZIER OF ST FILLAN AND OF ITS HEREDITARY KEEPERS, IN A LETTER TO JOHN STUART, LL.D., SECRETARY. BY DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., HON. MEM. S.A. SCOT., TORONTO.

MY DEAR DR STUART,—It is with feelings of peculiar gratification that I am now able to report to you the successful negotiation for the transfer of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan, to the permanent custody of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. This venerable relic of one of the primitive missionary bishops of Scotland, to which fresh interest is added by its association with Robert the Bruce and the achievement of national independence, is now in my hands, and I transmit to you the duly executed deed by which Alexander Dewar, the lineal representative of "Malice Doire and his forbearis sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys, and of before," surrenders unto the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the said Quigrich, "on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation." For years, as you are well aware, it has been an object aimed at by me in various ways to affect the restoration of this most interesting national relic to Scotland. When in 1858 my negotiations for its deposition with the Society of Antiquaries failed, I entertained the idea of communicating with my old correspondent, Mr Augustus W. Franks, with a view to its acquisition by the British Museum. But acceptable as such safe keeping would have been, in comparison with its inevitable fate if much longer abandoned to the contingencies of a Canadian clearing, I could not overcome the feeling that a relic thoroughly Scottish in all its associations would be robbed of much of its genuine interest if transferred to the custody of strangers. My only anxiety now is for its conveyance across the Atlantic. Once it is safe in your hands, I shall rejoice to believe that it is in the custody of those by whom its archæological and historical value cannot fail to be estimated at their true worth.

In the brief notice of the Quigrich introduced by me into the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," I quoted a letter from the Rev. Æneas

M'Donell Dawson, whose ancestors were for a time its guardians; and to whom I was indebted for the information which enabled me to recover the lost traces of the relic. "The celebrated crook of St Fillan," he then wrote to me, "is still in Canada, and in the keeping of the very family to whose ancestor it was confided.¹ This family, it appears, lost possession of the crozier for a time, having disposed of it for a sum of money to an ancestor of my mother's family, who adhered to the ancient faith. Soon after this transaction, however, ceasing to prosper, and attributing their change of circumstances to their indifference to a sacred object that had been solemnly entrusted to them, they persuaded the purchaser, or rather the person who inherited the crozier from him, to part with it in their favour."

The Dewars, however, I may add, discredit the idea that their ancestors ever parted with it for money, but believe that it was only deposited in security for a loan of money, and recovered on its repayment. But this is not inconsistent with the belief that the repayment of the money was hastened by the conviction that they ceased to prosper so soon as they resigned their sacred trust.

The idea, alike of the Dewars and of the Rev. Æ. M. Dawson, it will be seen, is that the beautiful ancient relic, now restored to Scotland,

¹ The letter in which the Rev. Æ. M. Dawson conveyed to me the above information was addressed to me from Dunfermline, at a time when I occupied the post of Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, with no anticipation of wandering beyond my native shores. Curiously enough, the Rev. Æ. M. Dawson is now, like myself, settled in Canada, being rector of the R. C. Parish of St John, Osgoode, Co. of Russell. I have accordingly applied to him for more detailed information about the alleged transfer of St Fillan's crook from the direct line of its custodians. He thus writes to me in reply:—"It was one of the Glengarries—I believe Lord M'Donell and Arrass, temp. Charles II., the same who also rescued the chalice of Iona (*vide* "Prehist. Annals of Scotland," 2d. ed. vol. ii. p. 482)—who acquired St Fillan's crozier from the family to whom it was entrusted on the field of Bannockburn by King Robert Bruce, in consideration of a sum of money. From the family of Glengarry the Doires received again the crozier, when they believed that they could not prosper without the possession of what was indeed a sacred trust. There is now, I believe, no one living to whom I could apply for names and dates. But you may rely on the fact that the Quigrich was for some time in the possession of the Glengarry family, and only surrendered by them in consideration for the people who were constituted its guardians by the greatest of our kings."

is the actual silver case, or fertory, referred to by Boece, which the Bruce had in his tent the night before the battle of Bannockburn, to which the arm-bone of the saint was miraculously restored, in token of the divine favour to the royal cause, when the faithless or disloyal priest had, as Bellenden expresses it, "brought the tume cais in the field, dredoned that the rellik sold be tint in the field, quhere sae greit jeoparddeis apperit." It is manifest, at any rate, from the royal letter of James III., that, so early as the year 1487, the Quigrich was acknowledged to have been in the keeping of the Doires "sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys," and the belief of Alexander Dewar, the last of its hereditary custodians is that his ancestor was selected as its keeper at the close of the battle because of special military services rendered to his royal master on that eventful day. It is creditable to the race that they have so faithfully maintained their trust in poverty and exile; have more than once, since their arrival in Canada, rejected pecuniary offers sufficiently large to strongly test their fidelity, and only now resign the custody of the sacred relic in order to secure its restoration to Scotland.

The vague dread of evil befalling the faithless custodian of so sacred a trust has not been without its influence on the retention of the crook of St Fillan, through good and evil fortune, in the keeping of its hereditary guardians. This, along with the genuine spirit of veneration of the last of the Scottish Dewars of Strathfillan, afforded some guarantee for its safety. But the old man is now in his eighty-seventh year; and such sentiments are not likely to form any portion of the inheritance of his Canadian heirs. His son smiled when I asked how far such feelings were reciprocated by the younger generation. It is vain, indeed, to imagine that their New World training could foster such ideas. The charm was broken when the Quigrich and its custodian were expatriated; and the only stimulus to the revival of such obsolete sentiments depended on their influence in enhancing the marketable value of this singular family inheritance. I have accordingly looked forward with anxiety to the transfer of its custody to a younger generation as the mere transitional stage to its acquisition by Barnum, or some other American curiosity hunter; and so its last stage of degradation would be as a showman's prize, before its final passing to the melting pot. Once it is safely restored to Scotland, very different fortunes may now be anticipated for the Quigrich; for I venture to think

that you possess very few national relics of greater antiquity or more genuine interest. Its associations with the Scottish monarchy are older than the Regalia, so sacredly guarded in the Castle of Edinburgh; while more sacred memories carry back the fancy to the primitive missionaries of the Christian faith, when the son of St Kentigerna, of the royal race of Leinster, withdrew to the wilderness of Glendochart, and there initiated the good work which has ever since made Strathfillan, with its ruined cell, its miraculous pool, and its no less potent bell, famous in the legendary history of the early Scottish Church.

It is now not far short of a century since, in the year 1782, Mr William Thompson, an Oxford undergraduate, was shown, in the house of Malice Doire, at the village of Killin, on the banks of Loch Tay, the Quigrich, or crozier of St Fillan, from whom the neighbouring strath received its name. The official transcript of the letters of gift by James III., produced for registration by Malice Doire in 1734, as a probative writ, and shown to Mr Thompson along with the relic, has ever since been preserved; and is now in my possession, for the purpose of restoring it to Scottish custody, along with the national relic to which it refers. Doubtless you will take due care to secure thereby recognition of all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the hereditary custodiers for their successors, so that you, and the venerable fraternity of Scottish Antiquaries, to which I have the honour to belong, shall make "nane obedience nor ansuere to na persoun spirituale nor temporale in ony thing concernyng the said haly Relik, uthir wayis than is contenit in the auld infestmentis thereof." Also it will be for that same venerable body, as the corporate "lator," or custodian of the said relic, to determine how far it may be wise to reclaim the ancient awmous, or annual dole of meal due to you from every inhabiter of Glendochart; and whether, in consideration of pennies Scots, or a pair of shoes, as set forth in the inquisition of 1428, in the Black Book of Taymouth, you will undertake the oversight of all the reevers of Strathfillan; and make pursuit for the recovery of pilfered chattels throughout the realm of Scotland. I need only remark here that you will find that the old parchment which I send to you, though fairly copied as a whole in the version printed in the 3d vol. of the Society's Transactions, differs in some of its details, especially in orthography and abbreviations.

It is altogether unnecessary for me to trouble you with a description of

the Quigrich, or to enter into any discussion as to its probable age as a specimen of Celtic art, since I hope that, before this is perused by you, the prized relic itself will be in your possession. The only fact worthy of note is, that in the zeal of its late custodiers to make it look at its best, it appears to have been rubbed, or rather scoured, till the traces of gilding which I remember to have noted when I first saw it eighteen years ago, are now very slightly traceable. It would be still more superfluous for me to aim at any illustration of the history of the venerated abbot, and his bachul or crook, by references to Boetius, Bellenden, or Camerarius; to the Aberdeen Breviary, or the Black Book of Taymouth. The subject has already been made your own in the Spalding Miscellany, and will doubtless receive ample illustration, when the crozier of the saint has followed his bell, in evidence of their fidelity to the sacred soil of Scotland.

But there remains one branch of illustration of the subject which you will naturally look for from me. The Dewars, from the eldest of the line of Finlay Jore, the lator or custodian in 1428, or of Malise Doire, King James's servitour in 1487, to Alexander Dewar, the last of the hereditary keepers of the Quigrich, by whom it is now transferred to the custody of the Scottish Antiquaries, are a just subject of interest in connection with this national relic.

The Dewars of Glendochart, though retaining their charge of the crozier of St Fillan, had belonged for generations to the Presbyterian Church; and when the chief perquisites and responsibilities of the custodiers had alike ceased to accompany their tenure, the Dewars, as already noted, were tempted to alienate their charge in favour of others, who, as adherents of the ancient faith, doubtless cherished a stronger belief in the virtues of the saint's relics. But prosperity vanished with that act of the unfaithful steward; until, attributing their evil fortunes to their neglect of the sacred trust, they succeeded in recovering its possession.

But the good-will of the saint, to which Scotland owes so much, was more easily forfeited than restored. Malice Doire, the hereditary keeper, in whose custody the Quigrich was found in 1782, though then described as "the envied possessor of the relic," had sunk to the condition of a mere day labourer; and the presumptive heir, then a youth of nineteen, lay drooping in the last stage of consumption. Occasional gleams of

better fortune followed, but they were transient ; and the sole inheritance the Doires were able to transmit to younger generations was a pedigree richer in historical interest than many of those whose ancestors figure in the Ragman Roll, and a test of fidelity, which they have faithfully sustained, in prosperity and adversity, for upwards of five centuries and a half. At length, in 1818, the Doires of Glendochart, driven forth by poverty from the glen where they had seemed in so peculiar a sense *glebæ adscripti*, turning their backs on Strathfillan and on Scotland, carried with them to the New World the curious memorial of obsolete rites and venerable superstitions.

The following narrative embodies the accounts which I have received from time to time from Mr Alexander Dewar, the last hereditary custodier of the Quigrich :—Alexander Doire, or Dewar, of Killin, the younger brother apparently of Malice Doire, succeeded to the hereditary keepership on the failure of the elder line. His son, Archibald, born at Killin in 1756, and the only survivor in the direct line, removed from Killin to Comrie while still a young man. There he was employed by Campbell of Edinchip as manager of a sheep-farm, and retained this charge for twenty years. Thereafter he rented two small farms on the Edinchip property, in the valley of Balquhiddel.

This inland pastoral parish, lying up among the Grampians, in the western extremity of Perthshire, beautiful for its diversified mountains, declivities, and lakes, and famous in Scottish song as the Braes of Balquhiddel, seems better fitted for the minstrel or the artist than the farmer.

But the experience of Archibald Dewar well fitted him for sheep-farming, and he made money there. But on the death of his old master in 1808 he lost his holding, and had to quit Balquhiddel. He thereupon rented another farm in Glenartney, in Strathearn, where he remained for the next ten years. “But,” as his son writes to me, “after the close of the French war in the year 1815, times got very bad, the price of cattle got very low, and thousands of farmers were ruined. For three years my father had to add £100 to the rent ; and at the end of the lease we were all tired of it. A number petitioned the Government for a free passage and a free grant of land in Canada, which was granted on condition of every male over eighteen years of age

depositing £10 in the hands of Government, which was to be returned after they settled on the land. This was faithfully done. My mother and he settled in the township of Beckwith, where he died at the age of seventy-five. He was considered a smart, clever man, and a good judge of cattle, for which he was oftentimes called out as judge. I being the eldest son, was left at home to settle up everything, and dispose of the crop, which belonged to the outgoing tenant. When everything was sold, I left my native country on the 14th of April 1819, and on the 1st of June arrived at Quebec. I pushed on to my father's place, where I arrived on the 20th. I secured one hundred acres of land, which I got from the Government; but for some time I made no improvements on it, for I did not like the country nor the work."

A greater contrast, indeed, cannot well be conceived than the transfer from a pastoral farm on the Braes of Balquhiddy, or in the vale of Strathearn, to an uncleared farm in one of the flattest regions of Western Canada. All his own or his father's experience in Scottish farming was unavailing; and like many another emigrant, he pined for his native land, and only tarried in his new home because it was no longer possible to return.

But a brief experience inures to the novel life of a bush farm; and so Mr Dewar states:—"At last I married a girl from my own country, settled, and cleared my lot, so far as it could be done; that is about fifty acres, the rest of it being swamp. By this time my family was very large, being seven sons and four daughters, all of whom still survive, except my eldest daughter."

But in Canada a large family is a blessing. Mr Dewar prospered. In 1850 he bought his present farm of two hundred acres in the township of Plympton; and when he had cleared and brought into cultivation one hundred acres, he was able to pay \$2000 for a neighbour's farm, who had fallen into arrears with the Trust and Loan Company. On this he settled one of his sons, who is now its successful owner. At a later date he purchased a hundred acres adjoining, and settled another of his sons there. "All of my family," he adds, "except one son who is living with me, have married and are doing well. Four sons are settled in Ontario, one is in British Columbia, and two are in the State of Michigan. I have thirty-one grandchildren.

Of these eighteen are males and thirteen females. I have one brother living in Plympton, the only other survivor of my father's family of four sons and one daughter, all of whom had large families. Of nephews and nieces I cannot tell the number. We have done well in coming out West." All the sons are farmers except the eldest, Archibald, who unites with his father in the resignation of the custodiership of the Quigrich. He met with an accident in farming, which ultimately involved the amputation of his right leg: and so compelled him to choose another occupation. Availing himself of the educational advantages of Canada, he for the first time acquired the power to speak the English language, and having acquired the requisite training for a school teacher, he now occupies the honourable position of Provincial Public School Inspector for East Huron.

Alexander Dewar, the last of the hereditary custodians of St Fillan's crook, as already stated, is now in his eighty-seventh year. But he is still hale and hearty, with full command of his faculties; and even taking pleasure in bearing a share in the work of the farm. At my request he has promised to have his photograph taken; in which case I shall forward it to you as an appropriate accompaniment of his resignation of his "latorskip" into your hands. His son remarked to me that in his earlier days they lived out of the world, and beyond the range of newspapers. Their books were those that had formed the little library at Strathearn; the whole home talk, entirely in Gaelic, was of old Scottish memories and traditions; and so, though himself a native of Canada, he was more familiar with Glendochart and Balquhiddy, than with anything transpiring in the New World. But while the general impression survives in the Canadian Scot, he has too vague a recollection of the old tales and legends of St Fillan, and his bell and crozier, to be able now to reproduce them in detail. Such recollections, however, as I have been able to glean, I shall note here, at the risk of tedium.

The virtues ascribed to the bell are familiar to you; and have received renewed attention owing to the unlooked for recovery of the long lost relic. Those ascribed to the Quigrich appear to have been of a very varied description. The water in which it had been dipped was regarded as an effectual remedy for fever, either when sprinkled on the patient, or administered as a draught. In cases of scrofula, or the King's Evil, it

was reputed to be no less efficacious in its curative powers when rubbed on the affected parts. It was even more in repute for diseases of cattle; and the tradition of the ancient obligation of its custodians to make pursuit after the stolen cattle of the dwellers in Glendochart, survived in the form of a belief in its virtues as a charm for their discovery and restoration. On this point Mr Dewar writes to me:—"It is quite true that the relic was looked on as a charm; but since it came into my possession I have not been much troubled with it in that way, except for diseases of cattle. Two men,"—Canadian Highlanders it may be presumed,—“who had sick cattle, came to get water of it for them; but I never inquired whether it cured them or not.” There are also vaguer recollections of tales of the relic being resorted to, to give binding sanctity to an oath. The tradition is that any one who swore an oath on the crook of St Fillan and proved false, lost the power of speech on each returning anniversary of the day on which he had forsworn himself.

Mr Dewar also refers to another class of cures more correctly associated with the bell of St Fillan, which I may as well note here. “St Fillan,” he says, “had been through Perthshire; and there are several places there named after him, such as Dun-fhaolin: the hill of St Fillan, at the east end of Loch Earn, where women with sickly children used to attend on the morning of the 1st of August, and bathe them in a spring that rose at the foot of the hill, believing that there was some virtue in the water, and there they left some of the clothes that they had had on the child. On the top of the hill there is the form of a large arm-chair cut out of the rock, where St Fillan sat and preached to the people. There is likewise, in Strathfillan, still standing, or at least was when I left Scotland, the walls of an old chapel where people used to go with those who were out of their mind, and after dipping them two or three times in a deep pool of water that is in Uisge-fhaolin, they would leave them tied for the night in the old chapel, and such as got loose through the night they believed would get better, but those that remained bound were concluded incurable.”

The name of Jore, Deor, Doire, or Dewar,—originally signifying a wanderer, or pilgrim,—has been borne by various hereditary custodiers of ecclesiastical relics, as by the Dewars of Monivaird, the keepers

of St Rowan's bell ; and was no doubt applied in reference to the official duties of the lator of such venerated relics of primitive Scottish saints. The terms applied to the crozier itself, in the official copy of 1734 of the royal letters of 1487, is Quegrich—not Quigrith, as latterly printed. Looking to its connection in that and other early notices with the great king, I was led to look for the significance of the name, as a descriptive memorial of such historical associations, in a compound of *Cuag-Righ*, or “The King's Crook.” But the learned Celtic antiquary, the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., recognises in it no more than a modification of the Erse “coigreach,” “stranger.” However inapplicable such a name may have appeared to the Quigrich during all the long centuries during which it tarried in Strathfillan, it has well merited the title for the last fifty-nine years, during which it has proved a stranger to its native strath and to the Land of the Bruce. But since the bell of the venerable saint, after a still longer exile, has at length found its way back to Scotland, and the Quigrich is now following its example, your next quest must be for the famous Black Rood of St Margaret, long regarded as our Scottish palladium. Meanwhile, if I were only fully assured of the restoration of the Quigrich to the sacred soil as an accomplished fact, I might be allowed to indulge in the pleasant fancy that it is an omen of good hope for other exiles from Scotland. I shall, at any rate, comfort myself with the feeling that my long absence from my native shore has not been wholly purposeless, since it has been the means of securing the restoration to Scotland of an historical relic of such interest and value.—Believe me, my dear Dr Stuart, yours faithfully,

DAN. WILSON.

JOHN STUART, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.,
Register House, Edinburgh.

II.

DEED OF CONVEYANCE OF THE QUIGRICH BY THE LAST HEREDITARY KEEPER, WITH CONSENT OF HIS SON, TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, FOR THE NATIONAL MUSEUM. BY ALEXANDER AND ARCHIBALD DEWAR.

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, I, Alexander Dewar of the township of Plympton, in the county of Lambton, in the province of Ontario, and Dominion of Canada, farmer, send greeting :—

WHEREAS I am possessed of that ancient Scottish relic known as the "*Quigrich*," or Crozier of St Fillan, which has been in possession of my ancestors and family, as I believe, from the time of Robert the Bruce.

AND WHEREAS the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have applied to me, through Daniel Wilson, of the city of Toronto, LL.D., professor in University College, Toronto, for the surrender to them of said "*Quigrich*."

AND WHEREAS I have consented to dispose of my right and title to said "*Quigrich*" to the said Society of Antiquaries for the consideration following, that is to say, the price or sum of seven hundred dollars, to be paid in manner following, videlicet: five hundred dollars, and the remaining two hundred dollars of said sum to be credited to me by the said Society of Antiquaries as my contribution or donation towards the acquisition of said relic, and on the further express considerations that the said Society shall permanently deposit said "*Quigrich*" in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, and shall record my name in the archives of said Society and Museum as joint donor of said relic.

NOW KNOW YE AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS, that in consideration of said sum of five hundred dollars, now paid to me by the said Society by the hands of the said Dr Daniel Wilson, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and of the said agreements on the part of the said Society of

Antiquaries above set forth, I, the said Alexander Dewar, have granted, sold, assigned, and transferred, and do grant, bargain, sell, transfer, set over, and surrender unto the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland the said "Quigrich," to hold the same unto the said Society of Antiquaries and their successors on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come, for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation.

AND THESE PRESENTS FURTHER WITNESS, that I, Archibald Dewar, son and heir of the said Alexander Dewar, for the considerations aforesaid, do expressly assent to the foregoing destination of the said "Quigrich," and do hereby resign and release to the said Society of Antiquaries of Scotland all my right and title to the said "Quigrich," and the possession and custody thereof on the trusts above set forth.

Witness our hands and seals this thirtieth day of December, A.D. 1876.

ALEX. DEWAR.
ARCHD. DEWAR.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of

MALCOLM. DEWAR.
ALEX. DEWAR.

III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ST FILLAN'S CROZIER, AND OF THE DEVOTION OF KING ROBERT BRUCE TO ST FILLAN. BY JOHN STUART, LL.D., SEC. SOC. ANTIQ. SCOT. (PLATES V., VI.).

Before proceeding to the more immediate object of the present paper, it may be well to say a few words on the history of the Saint, whose relic we are now met to receive and welcome, and the keepership of which, as Dr Wilson has told us, has added so greatly to the responsibilities of the Society.

St Fillan was the son of St Kentigerna, the daughter of a prince of Leinster, who, in the early part of the 8th century, retired to Inch Cail-leach, one of the little islands of Loch Lomond, the church of which was dedicated to her. Her brother was St Congan, the founder of the monastic church of Turriff, in Aberdeenshire, two of whose clerics are mentioned in the Book of Deir, namely, Cormac the Abbot, and Domen-gart, the ferleginn or lecturer.

They were, in short, two of the band of Irish missionaries who came from their own land to carry on the work begun by St Columba, the Christianising of the Pictish tribes.

St Fillan, having been educated under St Ibar, became a member of the monastic community presided over by St Mund, as abbot, on the Holy Loch, and on the death of St Mund he was elected to be his successor. According to his legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen, and according to a custom which we find to have been common to many of the missionary saints of the time, he did not regard the cloister life as sufficiently secluded, and with the view of securing to himself opportunity for uninterrupted devotion he constructed a cell not far from his monastery, to which he could retire and be alone. On one occasion a servant of the monastery who went to the cell to warn St Fillan that supper was ready, looked through a chink of the wall from the outside, when he saw the Saint engaged in writing by a light which streamed from the unoccupied hand.

After this we are told by the Breviary that he betook himself to his uncle, St Congan, at a place called Siracht, in the upper parts of Glendochart, in which place he was divinely warned to build a church for himself and his seven serving clerics. This he did, and after a life of piety and miraculous works he departed to Christ on the fifth of the Ides of January (9th), and was honourably buried in his church, which is in Strathfillan.¹

While the labours of the Saint thus secured for him the grateful commemoration of the early Scottish Church, the popular regard which gathered around him in later times may be traced to the aid which he was supposed to have lent to the cause of freedom in the struggles of King Robert Bruce against the power of England.

The reverence entertained by the Celtic people of Scotland for the relics of their early saints is well known.² One form in which it was manifested was a regard for their pastoral staves, and the Legends of the Saints in the Breviary of Aberdeen furnish us with various examples of the miraculous powers attributed to these relics, while elsewhere we can detect the feelings of importance with which they continued to be regarded, in notices of the hereditary keepers on whom the custody of these relics was bestowed with lands and dues of considerable value.

Amongst these may be mentioned the staff of St Fergus, which would seem to have been preserved in the parish of that name in Aberdeenshire. On one occasion we read of its efficacy in allaying the boiling waves of the sea on the rocky coast of Buchan.³ The staff of St Ninian as well as that of St Serf⁴ are spoken of in the lives of these saints as the instru-

¹ Brev. Aberd. pars. hyem. f. xxvi.

² The trust in relics associated with our early saints was very prominent, but was not confined to their relics or to very early times. We find that in the fourteenth century the Earls of Ross went to battle in the shirt of St Duthac, which hung in one of the churches within his sanctuary at Tain, and the shirt of St Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, which was kept beside her shrine in Dunfermline, continued to be used by the Queens of Scotland in their hours of travail in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the belief that the wearing of it would mitigate their pains. (Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots, p. xiv.)

³ Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars estiv. fol. clxiii. Life of St Ninian by Joceline, p. 19 (Edn. of Bishop of Brechin).

⁴ Brev. Aberd. Prop. Sanct. pars estiv. fol. xvi.

ments of various miracles ; and in our early records we have notices of the keepers of the staves of St Moluag of Lismore, and of St Lolan, at Kincardine-on-the-Forth, as well as of the lands attached to these offices.

The reverence for these baculs or staffs emanated from the halo of sanctity which surrounded the men who had used them.¹

The staff of St Moluag, known as the *Bacul more*, now belonging to the Duke of Argyll, was a plain walking stick of yew, with a slightly curved head, which might have been grasped in the hand. It had originally been covered with plates of copper, probably gilt, which are now only represented by little fragments of copper and the many studs used in fastening the metal to the wood. If the head had ever been surmounted with a cover of silver like that of St Fillan's relic, it has been lost.

We learn from Joceline, a monk of Furness, who in the 12th century composed a life of St Kentigern, that the pastoral staff of that saint resembled that of St Moluag, in being neither gilt nor gemmed, as was the fashion when he wrote, but a plain staff with a curved top.

When St Columba came to visit St Kentigern in his settlement on the Molendinar, the saints exchanged *bachuls* in token of their mutual affection ; and we read that in Fordun's time the staff of St Columba was still preserved, and held in great reverence in the church of St Wilfred, at Ripon. It is described as "*aureis crustulis inclusus ac margaritarum diversitate circumstellatus.*"²

The staff of St Fillan was no doubt of the simple character of St Ken-

¹ St Bernard, in his *Life of St Malachy*, when describing the struggle which occurred for the primacy of Armagh in the twelfth century between the supporters of Malachy and the Irish family who had for generations occupied the office of Abbots and Bishops of Armagh by hereditary succession, refers to the possession of the Book of Armagh and the staff of St Patrick as conferring more power than the highest canonical sanction. Of the staff he says it was overlaid with gold and adorned with most precious jewels, and that these symbols were regarded by the Irish as objects of the highest dignity and veneration. "For," adds he, "they are universally known, and of the greatest possible celebrity among the various tribes, and held in such reverence by them all that whomsoever they see to be in possession of them, him that brutish and senseless people are wont to receive as their bishop." (*S. Bernardi vita S. Malachie*, cap. xii. ap. opera, tom. i. p. 1089, Migne.)

² Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. cap 30.

tigern's at first, and the successive crozier heads would be additions made at successive eras in its history.

On the Round Tower of Brechin, one of the abbatial figures holds in his hand a plain staff with curved top, and on the Bressay stone in the Museum the two clerics seem to be in the act of exchanging baculus of a like character.

I have noticed the staff of St Serf, and I may refer to an incident recorded in his life which is sufficient to illustrate the popular reverence for the staff while in use by the Saint himself ; and of course as independent of any of his bones or relics.

St Serf at one period of his labours was living at Airthrey, near Stirling, when a thief came and stole his sheep, an animal which he loved and fed in the house. After a search in the district the culprit was brought before the Saint, and on being accused of the theft he denied with an oath ; but on commencing to swear on the staff of the Saint, "*per baculum sancti viri jurare*," the sheep bleated in his stomach,¹ or, as Wyntoun gives it—

Bot sone he worthyd rede for schame
The schepe thare bletyd in his wame.²

It was the oath "*super baculum*" which led to such results, from which we may infer the popular belief in the greater solemnity of an oath with such a sanction than of an ordinary oath.

Dr Petrie has noticed that in early times the relics of saints in Ireland used to be carried to distant places on solemn occasions, in order that rival chieftains might be sworn upon them, so much that the word *mionna*, which means enshrined relics, came to denote both a relic and an oath, and he adds "this ancient custom of swearing on the relics of the saints of the ancient Irish Church is still continued amongst the peasantry in many parts of Ireland, by whom it is often supposed that thieves would exonerate themselves from the guilt of which they were suspected by a false oath on the Holy Gospels, but would not dare to do so by an oath on one of these ancient reliquaries."³

One of the bells associated with St Patrick, and said to have been

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, Life of St Serf, p. 419.

² Wyntounis Cronykil, vol i. p. 120.

³ Petrie's Round Towers, p. 338.

found in his tomb, was the Clog-an-Uidheachta, or "The Bell of the Will," and a transaction recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1044, shows the high regard in which it was held, by the nature of the penalties which were inflicted for its profanation—that is the breach of treaty or oath made under its sanction :—

"A.D. 1044.—A predatory excursion was made by Niall, son of Mael-eachlainn, lord of Ailech [near Derry, the principal royal residence of the north of Ireland] into Omeath and Cooley [Carlingford parish, county Louth], whence he carried off 1200 cows, and brought away numbers of captives, to revenge the profaning of the Clog-an-Eadhachta. Another predatory excursion was made by Murtoigh O'Neill into Mourne, whence he brought away a cattle spoil and prisoners, in vengeance for the profanation of the same bell."¹

In the Book of Clonmacnoise, we read that in the year 1136 Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, put several persons under arrest, though under the protection of the Coarb of St Jarlath (*i.e.* the Archbishop of Tuam) and of O'Duffy, and of the Bachall Buee, or the Yellow Staff; and three years later the same Turlough took prisoner the King of Meath after he had agreed with him that each of them would be true to one another. These were the oaths and sureties between them :—the altar of St Ciaran's shrine; relics Norannagh; two prelates of every several house, with the Archbishop of Connaught; Primate of Armagh, the staff of Jesus, the Cowarb of St Fechin's bell, and the boban of St Kevin—all of which had been disregarded by Turlough in taking his prisoner.

We must recollect, however, that this feeling of enhanced solemnity to an oath when taken on the relics of saints pervaded all ranks of people in early times. Thus when Edward I. carried off the cross of St Margaret, "The Black Rood of Scotland," he made use of it to give increased sanction to the oaths of fealty which he exacted from the magnates of Scotland; and knowing the veneration of the Scottish people for such relics when he made spoil of the Stone of Destiny at Scone, he carried off at the same time the crozier and the bell of its unknown saint.²

¹ King's Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, p. 41, quoting "Annals of the Four Masters," Proc. R. I. Acad. IV. p. 582.

² Mr Joseph Robertson in "Chambers's Encyclopædia," *vocæ* The Black Rood of

This entirely corresponds with the description of Giraldus Cambrensis in the 12th century of the use of such objects in Wales as well as in Ireland :—

“The people and clergy of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, are wont to have in great reverence the hand bells, and staves curved in the top and covered with gold, silver, and copper, and other relics of their saints, to such an extent that they are much more afraid of giving an oath or violating one given on such relics than if taken on the gospels.”¹

The system of the early Celtic Church in Scotland having been borrowed from that of Ireland, and the tribal arrangements and ideas of both countries being identical, it is not difficult to understand the origin of a devotion among the people of Breadalbane to the pastoral staff of the great saint who had first carried the Christian light into their wild country, and founded a monastery in their midst. And if we trust to the analogy from Irish institutions we may believe that from a very early period a hereditary keeper had been appointed to it.

The Church founded by St Fillan in the 8th century would seem to have shared the fate of most of our early ecclesiastical foundations, and to have become secularised before the light of record dawns on them in the 12th century. In this respect these primitive monasteries only shared the fate of similar institutions in Ireland, in England, in Wales, and in France but there were peculiarities in the clan monasteries of the Celtic tribes, which gave a direction to the line of their secularisation. The process may be described in the words of my early friend Mr Joseph

Scotland. The keepership of the celebrated Book of the Gospels, called the Canoin Patraic, or Patrick's Canons, became an hereditary office of dignity in a family connected with the Church of Armagh, who derived their name MacMoyre, or son of the Stewart, from this circumstance, and as remuneration for which they held no less than eight townlands in the county still known as the lands of Bally MacMoyre, or MacMoyre's Town. With regard to the Missagh or Miosach a shrine of like character, which covered a MS. of the Gospels or Psalms associated with St Columba, we find that its custody belonged in the beginning of the 17th century to Donohg O'Morreessen, whose ancestors are said in those days to have been servants to St Columkill, and to whom four gortes of land were assigned for the keeping of the relic, the keeper being, as Dr Todd remarks, “the herenach of the bishop and coarb of the abbot, according to the ancient usage of the Irish Church.” (Petrie's “Round Towers,” p. 330. Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. v. p. 465.)

¹ Itin. Camb. Lond. 1804, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14.

Robertson, who did so much to illustrate the antiquities of the Scottish Church.

He was writing of the Scoloces of Ellon, and of the diversion of the lands originally set apart for their maintenance, much in the same way as had happened to the possessions of so many religious foundations in Scotland. Taking as examples the ancient abbeys of Abernethy and Brechin, as they appeared in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, he proceeds: "Their endowments had been divided into two parts. The larger and better portion, together with the name of Abbot, had been usurped by laymen, who transmitted the benefice and title as a heritage to their children. What remained, with the name of Prior, was possessed by ecclesiastics, who discharged perfunctorily enough perhaps, the duties for the performance of which the whole revenues had been originally assigned by the founders. Such was the condition into which most or all of the ancient monasteries of Scotland had fallen before the 12th century."¹

It is thus that when the light of record next falls on St Fillan's monastery, we find his successor represented by a great lay lord, who, although styled "Abbot of Glendochart," had no more of the spiritual character than his neighbour Crinan, known in history as abbot of Dunkeld and Dull, but who was in reality a great chief and warrior, and who, by marriage with the daughter of our second Malcolm, may be said to be the ancestor of the subsequent monarchs of Scotland, including the present occupant of the throne of Great Britain.

The first abbot of Glendochart of the new school, appears in an assize of King William the Lion, where he takes rank with the Earl of Athol. The record is entitled, "Of the law that is callyt Claremathane," and commencing with a narrative "of catal stollyn, and challangyt, the King hes statut, that in quhatsumever cuntre that catal or that thing challangyt be fundin, sall be brocht to that stede in ilke schirefdome quhar the King David statut and stablyst catal challangyt to be brocht," goes on to enact, "gif he that is challangyt callis ony man till his warrande in Argyl quhilk pertenis to Scotlande, than sall he cum to the Erl of Atholl or the Abbot of Glendochir, and thai sall send wyth hym thar men, that sall ber witnes to the forsayd assize."²

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. p. 60.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 372.

It is impossible to say anything certain as to the custody of the crozier of St Fillan or its use during the period of this lay usurpation, but it is plain that in the first years of the fourteenth century the original establishment of St Fillan had come to be represented merely by a chapel, and that while some time after this it entered on a new sphere of spiritual importance, the keeper of the crozier at the same time emerges into light with defined rights and tokens of popular veneration. Both of these events may be traced to the action of the great restorer of Scottish freedom, which renders it necessary to bring into notice a series of records where his influence on both points may be traced.

According to a legend in some of our early historians, a miraculous event occurred in connection with a relic of St Fillan on the eve of the battle of Bannockburn, which contributed greatly to the success of that glorious fight, and in estimating the amount of weight which we are to accord to the story, we have to trace its origin and attend to the shape which it ultimately assumed in the pages of the chronicles.

The earliest of these is the work of Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who wrote his "Book of the Deeds of King Robert the First," within fifty years of the death of that monarch. In it no allusion is made to the miraculous intervention of St Fillan. He states that on the morning of Bannockburn,

The Scottismen, quhen it wes day,
Thar mes devoutly herd tha say,
Syne tuk ane sop.¹

And afterwards,

"The Scottismen all full devoutly
Tha knelit down to God to pray,
And ane schort prayer thar made tha
To God till help tham in that ficht.
And, quhen the Inglis king had sicht
Of tham kneland, he said in hy
'Yhon folk knelis till ask mersy'
Schir Ingeram said 'Yhe say suth now ;
Tha ask mersy, but nocht at yhou ;
For thar trespas to God tha cry,
I tell yhou a thing sekirly,

¹ "The Brus," p. 287. (Spalding Club.)

That yhon men will win all or de,
 For dout of ded tha sall nocht fle.'
 ' Now be it sa,' than said the king
 ' We sall it se.'"¹

Wyntoun, who wrote his *Cronykil* about fifty years after that of Barbour, was so impressed with the authenticity and full details of his predecessor's work, that he omitted an account of Bruce's exploits, on the ground that they were there

" Mare wysly tretim in-to wryt
 Than I can thynk wyth all my wyt."²

Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, which seems to have been finished about 1385, was only brought down by the author to the death of David I., but materials for a continuation were left by him, in which is a short account of the battle of Bannockburn,—and here there is no reference to anything of a religious character beyond a statement that the king's trust was not in the multitude of the people, but in the Lord his God.³

Walter Bowmaker or Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm,—who shortly before the year 1449 (in which he died) prepared a continuation of Fordun's *Chronicles*, based on the materials which Fordun had left, with additions and interpolations of his own,—in his account of the battle of Bannockburn lays the foundation on which the miraculous part of the legend came to be grafted.

From him we learn that having on the night before the battle given orders for making covered pits all over the field of expected conflict, the king exhorted his troops to make confession and devoutly hear masses, and having partaken of the viaticum of the body of Christ, to place all their trust in God.

He introduces also into his own description of the conflict a set of metrical lines, written by Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath, where, after a reference to the celebration of mass in the early morn by the persuasion of the king, is related the address made by that monarch to cheer and animate his troops.

Here the king is made to refer to the saints of Scotland, who will fight

¹ "The Brus," p. 290.

² *Wyntounis Cronykil*, vol. ii. p. 128.

³ *Forduni Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 347.

or their country's honour; to St John the Baptist, on whose festival the battle took place; to St Andrew and to St Thomas of Canterbury, but there is no mention of St Fillan.

Bower proceeds to tell us that on the conclusion of the king's address, a venerable Father Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, and afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, who had heard the king's confession and celebrated mass to the Scots on a high ground, also addressed the troops in a few words calculated to rouse their courage and fortify their resolution to fight to the last for their liberties. He then, with bare feet and vested in his ecclesiastical robes, with a cross in his hand, went before the soldiers, teaching them that before they entered into the battle they should devoutly kneel and supplicate God in prayer.¹

It will be observed how much the story has here gained in minute description over the account given by Barbour, but when we reach the pages of Boece it will be found that they abound in picturesque details which were unknown even to Bower.

Boece wrote at an interval of about two hundred years after the battle, and it is from him that we for the first time learn that King Robert, after exhorting his soldiers to confess and partake of the body of Christ, as we have it in the earlier narratives, was spending the night before the battle in restless solicitude and earnest devotion, praying for victory to God and St Fillan, whose arm, enclosed in silver, he believed to be in the army, when suddenly its case of silver was seen to open, and in the twinkling of an eye to shut without any one being near it. On seeing this miraculous event, the priest approached the altar, and on inspecting the case he found that it contained the arm-bone of St Fillan. He then confessed to the king that out of fear for the safety of the relic—lest it should be lost amid the tumult of a battlefield—he had only brought the empty case. The king, filled with hope, persevered in prayers and thanksgivings through the rest of the night; and on the morning of the fight he called together his soldiers, ordering them to partake of the body of Christ that they might be the stronger in spirit.

There was in the army Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, who on a high ground celebrated the holy mysteries, administering the Eucharist to the king and his nobles, after which the same was done by other priests to

¹ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xii. cap. xxi. (*Goodal*), vol. ii. pp. 249-250.

the rest of the troops. After this the king is made to address his troops with the view of animating their courage, and hatred of foes who had been guilty of so many cruel and odious deeds, exhorting them to put their trust in God, who had shown his favour to them by singular miracles, of which he was sure they had heard.

Maurice is then described as marching before the troops holding a crucifix¹ in his two hands, and exhorting the soldiers to commend themselves to God prostrate on the ground². This they did, and the enemies mistook the act for a token of surrender, but they, immediately arising, threw themselves with impetuosity into the battle.

It will be seen that the miracle and the appearance of a relic of St Fillan are only to be found in the account of Boece, the latest and least trustworthy of all the chroniclers from whom I have quoted. Even if we may be led to think it probable that some relic of St Fillan had been on the field of battle, the legend of Boece would exclude the only one of which we know, and require us to believe in an enshrined arm-bone which was only known to himself, and this seems fatal to any reliance on this author's version of the king's connection with St Fillan.

But this being so, it becomes necessary to consider the probability of the crozier of this Saint having been carried to the battle, because if we are led to the conclusion that it was, we may be able to understand the addition of the story by Boece, of the arm-bone and its miraculous passage from Strathfillan.

This requires us to keep in view two points, viz., first, would such a circumstance have been in keeping with the ideas and feelings of the period in regard to the virtue of such relics in battle, and was there anything in the previous history of Bruce to render it probable that he would have selected for such a purpose the relics of St Fillan?

It will, perhaps, be the best course to consider the last point first. The ordinary accounts of the chronicles give no clue to any circumstances which would tend to account for Bruce's devotion to St Fillan, and the writers of more recent times do not refer to anything in his history in connection with such devotion, previous to the supposed intervention of the Saint at Bannockburn.

¹ *Scotorum Historiæ*. Paris, 1526, fol. cccxiii.

² *Arrepta duabus manibus Cruce in qua Christus crucifixus pendebat.* (*Ibid.*)

Thus Macpherson, in his "Geographical Illustrations,"¹ states with regard to Strathfillan, that it was a priory founded by King Robert I. in gratitude to St Fillan for a miraculous interposition (politically ascribed to him) previous to the splendid and decisive victory at Bannockburn, and this statement is repeated by Spottiswoode in his Account of the Religious Houses;² but it seems obvious that there must have been some antecedent circumstance which would account for the king's reverence for St Fillan, for his selecting the church of that saint as an object of his benefactions, and for the subjects of the gifts being situated in Glendochart.

This, I think, we shall find in the events of one of Bruce's early fights in his passage through Breadalbane, which came to be known as the battle of Dalry, where the monarch, in his conflict with the men of the Lord of Lorn was frequently in great danger, and was barely able to extricate his forces after prodigies of personal valour, as we may read in the glowing page of Barbour, where the description of the struggle is so minute as to justify the belief that the details had been gathered from an actor and eye-witness:—

For the king full chevelrously
 Defendit all his cumpany,
 And was set in full gret danger,
 And yhet eschapit hale and fer.
 For twa brethir war in that land
 That war the hardyast of hand
 That war intill all that cuntre,
 And tha had sworn, gif tha nicht se
 The Brus quhar tha nicht him curta
 That tha suld de or than him sla.
 Thar surnam was Makyndrosser
 That is all sa mekill to say her
 As the Durwarth sonnis perfoy :
 Of thar covyn the thrid had tha
 That was richt stout, ill, and feloun.
 Quhen tha the king of gud renoun
 Saw sa behind his menyhe rid,
 And saw him turn so many tid,

¹ Macpherson voce Strathfillan.

² Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 393.

Tha abad quhill that he was
Enterit in ane narrow plas
Betuix ane lochside and ane bra
That was sa strat, I undirta,
That he nicht nocht wele turn his sted.
Than with ane will till him tha yhed
And ane him be the brydill hynt,
Bot he raucht till him sic ane dint
That arm and schuldir flaw him fra.
With that ane othir can him ta
Be the leg, and his hand can schut
Betuix the sterap and his fut
And, quhen the king feld thar his hand,
In his sterapis stithly can he stand,
And strak with spuris the sted in hy,
And he lansir furth deliverly,
Sa that the tothir falyheit fet,
And nocht forthi his hand was yhet
Undir the sterap magre his.
The thrid with full gret hy with this
Richt to the bra-sid he yhed,
And stert behind him on his sted.
The king was than in full gret pres ;
The quethir he thoct, as he that wes
In all his dedis avise,
To do ane outrageous bounte.
He hynt him that behind him was,
And magre his him can he ras
Fra behind him, thouch he had sworn
And laid him evin him befor,
Syn with the suerd sic dint him gaf
That he the hed to the harnis elaf.
He ruschit down of blud all red
As he that stound feld of ded
And than the king in full gret hy
Strak at the tothir vigorously
That he eftir his sterap drew,
That at the first strak he him slew,
On this wis him deliverit he
Of all tha feloun fais thre.¹

¹ Barbour's "The Brus," pp. 50-52.

This fight occurred in the neighbourhood of St Fillan's church, in a country where the saint's memory was in high veneration. If the king, under a sense of the greatness of the danger which he had escaped, and animated by a corresponding thankfulness for his safety, felt impelled to commemorate his gratitude by some act of devotion, there was a propriety in his selection of this site of early sanctity, so near to the scene of his great peril, for the purpose. If such may be supposed to have been the origin of Bruce's veneration for St Fillan, the mode in which that feeling was expressed will harmonise with it.

It could only be after his final victory over the English, and after his Government had assumed something of shape and stability, that he could carry out the foundation of the religious house ascribed to him.

It was one of the results of Bannockburn that the lands of his great enemy the Lord of Lorn, and of those who fought with him against the king, were forfeited to the Crown.

Among the latter were the Lords of Glendochart¹ and the Macnabs.

In the place of the former, we find that the barony of Glendochart was conferred on Alexander Menzies, who had married Egidia, sister to the High Steward, husband of the Princess Marjory Bruce, and the Macnabs, who would seem to have been a powerful sept, were confined thereafter to the lower part of Glendochart, where they continued for long to be owners of the lands of Bovane and Auchlyne.

While the barony of Glendochart was in the Crown, King Robert granted to the monastery or chapel of St Fillan the five pound land of Auchtertyre, which lies in the neighbourhood of Dalry and of St Fillan's church. The king's charter is not on record, but a charter by King James IV., and dated 2d October 1498, which proceeds on a narrative of his own devotion to St Fillan² and regard for the prior, and confirms the

¹ Malcolm of Glendochred is witness to a Charter of Malise Earl of Strathern, to William de Moravia, and to a Charter by Henry, son of Malise Seneschal of Strathern, to the same (*Liber Insule Missarum*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.). Malcolm and Patrick de Glendochart did homage to Edward I., A.D. 1296 (*The Ragman Rolls*, pp. 125, 128). My predecessor as Secretary of the Society, the learned Mr Donald Gregory, thinks it probable that these Lords of Glendochart were Macgregors. (*Arch. Scot.* vol. iv p. 132.)

² The devotion of James IV. to St Fillan seems to have been more than formal, for his Bell was brought from Glendochart to grace the King's coronation, on which

charter of King Robert Bruce, is in the Register of the Great Seal. Its only *reddendum* consists of the prayers and devout suffrages specified in the first grant by Bruce. The charter will be found in full in the appendix to this paper.

We cannot be sure of the date of Bruce's charter, and therefore we cannot say whether it preceded or followed another gift by the king for the behoof of St Fillan's church, which he made to the abbot and convent of Inchaffray in the year 1318.

This gift consisted of the patronage of Killin, a church dedicated to St Fillan, and was subject to the condition that the abbot and convent should find a Canon for the performance of divine service in the church of Strathfillan for ever.¹

In this gift there is no reference to the existence of a priory, and the document which succeeds it in the chartulary containing a confirmation of the grant by the bishop and chapter of Dunkeld, and which first indicates the existence of a priory is only partially engrossed, so that but for the discovery in another quarter of the original deed of confirmation, we might never have known the constitution of the restored priory.

In the course of recent investigations among the charters at Panmure House, I, however, discovered the original instrument itself, which is dated on the Thursday before the feast of the apostles St Simon and St Jude, in the year 1318, and is now printed in full in the appendix. By it William, Bishop of Dunkeld, with the consent of his chapter, for the increase of divine service and keeping of hospitality, granted and confirmed to the abbot and convent of Inchaffray and the canons of that monastery, who by disposition of the abbot should be sent to perform service in the chapel of St Fillan in Glendochart, so that a sufficient number of canons should be there ordained and found according to the situation and revenues of the place, the church of Killin, the patronage whereof had been already conferred on the said abbot and con-

occasion (June 1488), there is entered in the Lord Treasurer's accounts a payment of 18s. "til a man that beyris Sanct Fyllanis bell at the kingis commande." When the same king was on pilgrimage to the shrine of St Duthae at Tain, in 1504, "the man that beris Sanct Duthois bell" got three shillings.

¹ Registrum de Inchaffray, p. 79. There are two grants of the Patronage engrossed in the Chartulary, one under the Privy Seal, dated 26th February 1318, and the other under the Great Seal, dated 12th April 1319.

vent by King Robert Bruce, the undoubted patron thereof, with this condition, that the whole fruits and profits of the said church should be used at the sight of the abbot for behoof of the priest and canons abiding at the said chapel for divine worship, and that the bishop should have the right of presenting and instituting the prior so often as a vacancy in his office should occur.

The grant of the lands of Auchtertyre made by King Robert Bruce would seem to have been made *directly* to the church of St Fillan, if we may judge by the terms of his successor's charter of confirmation; while the patronage of Killin was conferred on the monastery of Inchaffray, with a condition in favour of St Fillan's church.

The old establishment of St Fillan would appear in Bruce's time to have been represented by a chapel,—for the service of which he first secured one canon,—and then procured its establishment as a cell of Inchaffray, with a prior and an additional number of canons.

We have notices in records of the names of several priors, but know little beyond the following:—

John Murray, the prior, to whom the charter of King James IV. was granted, appears as a witness to some of the Breadalbane charters. In 1588, Donaldson Makpersone, prior of Strathfillane, appears as a witness in a bond of manrent and calpis, granted to Sir Duncan Campbell by the clan V'illewene, in Breadalbane.

In 1569 John M'Cordakill, who was exhorter at Killin, is said then to be prior of Strafillan.¹

The kirklands and teinds as pertinents of the abbacy of Inchaffray were confirmed to General William Drummond in 1669.²

It may strengthen the probability that we are to regard the king's restoration of St Fillan's church as an expression of *personal* feeling, if I refer to other instances where events of striking import in his career of struggle were commemorated by pious foundations or benefactions.

One of these arose out of his outraged feelings of love and esteem through the violent death of his gallant brother-in-law Sir Christopher of Seton.

This chivalrous and faithful adherent, who had delivered the king

¹ Register of Ministers (Maitland Club), p. 30.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vii. 619.

from a great peril at the battle of Methven, had fallen into the hands of the English, and by the cruel orders of the King of England

"That gert draw hym and hede and hing
For owtyn pete or mercy"¹

was hung as a felon near the town of Dumfries.

Sometime afterwards Bruce caused a chapel to be erected on the spot where the foul deed was done, and settled an endowment on it out of the lands of Carlawerock.²

Perhaps a more striking instance of the magnanimous and devout feelings of the warrior king may be traced in his dealings towards the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, in Aberdeenshire, as they are recorded in a charter which I recently discovered among Sir Patrick Keith Murray's Ravelston papers, and which has never been printed.

On two occasions during his struggles for the crown, Bruce had defeated the forces of his northern adversary, John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, in the years 1307 and 1308. After the last skirmish between the parties, Bruce carried the warfare into the territories of Comyn in the district of Buchan in Aberdeenshire, wasting the land with fire and sword, and with such cruel severity that, in the language of Barbour,

"Eftre that weile fifty yer
Men menyt the herschip of Bouchane."

In this raid Bruce had devastated the rich possessions of the Abbey of Deer (a Cistercian house founded by the rival house of Comyns in the early part of the previous century, on the site of St Drostan's monastery, and whose abbot had taken the oath of fealty to Edward I.), and being animated with feelings of compunction and desirous of making amends, he within a year of his great victory at Bannockburn, and while full of the cares of re-establishing the kingdom, granted a charter to the monastery of Deer, for the weal of his own soul and the souls of all his predecessors and successors, Kings of Scotland, "*Nec non*," as the charter proceeds, "*in recompensacionem dampnorum que monasterium de Dere*

¹ Barbour's "Bruce," p. 66 (Jamieson).

² Charter of the foundation of a chapel near Dumfries, and £5 striveling dotted thereto by the king out of the lands of Carlawerok, where Christopher Seton his good brother was slain in his Majestie's service. (Robertson's "Index of Charters," p. 13. No. 89.)

in Buchan, *causa guerre nostre sustinuit*," he confirmed to the monastery all the churches, lands, and possessions which had been conferred on it by William, Earl of Buchan, and Margery his wife, as also by Alexander, and John, Earls of Buchan, and other nobles of the realm, to be held in free alms, with as much freedom as any other house of the Cistercians in Scotland, held their property.¹

Another instance of the susceptibility of Bruce to the evils resulting from the national turmoils, occurs in a letter which he addressed to the Bishop of St Andrews on 16th November 1315, wherein, after lamenting the dilapidated condition of the Monastery of Dunfermline, which had resulted from the continual wars of the time, and expressing his compassion therefor, he conveyed to the Monastery, for the increase of its hospitality, the Church of Kynros, with the Chapel of Urwell, in honour of the sepulchres of the kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who are there buried, and of his own place of rest, which he has specially chosen to be there, and requests the intervention of the bishop for carrying out his intentions.²

If, then, we may think that the facts which I have detailed are sufficient to account for King Robert's regard for St Fillan and his church, we may consider whether the presence of his crozier on the battlefield in behalf of the king would have been in harmony with the beliefs and feelings of the times.

It will be borne in mind that the carrying of the croziers and relics of saints in battlefields was a familiar idea in early times.

One of the reliquaries of St Columba is a silver case, enshrining what was believed to be the copy of the Psalms, copied by the saint from St Finian's original, an act which resulted in St Columba's expatriation and mission to Alba. This case, known as the Cathach, Praeliator, or Fighter, was the chief relic of Columcille in the territory of Cinel Conaill Gultbain, and it was believed that if it be sent thrice rightways around the army of the Cinell Conaill, when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory; and it is on the breast of a cowar or cleric, who is to the best of his power free from mortal sin.³

¹ Report of Hist. MSS. Commission No. 3, p. 411. The Charter is printed in full in the appendix in this paper.

² Registr. de Dunfermlyn, p. 229.

³ Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," Reeves, pp. 249, note 250.

Another was known as Cath-Bhuaidh, that is battle victory, being the name of a crozier, which in a battle between the men of Pictland and the Norwegians, fought in the year 918, was believed to have procured the victory for the men of Alban, as it often did thereafter when they placed their hope in Columbkille.¹

The black rood of Scotland, the sacred Cross of St Margaret, was carried with him by David II. when he invaded England in 1346, in the belief that it would insure safety to his person, or victory to his arms, and was taken by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross. It formed part of the spoils offered up at the shrine of St Cuthbert in the Cathedral of Durham, where it hung till the Reformation, when all trace of it disappeared.

At the head of the troops of Edward I., on their invasion of Scotland in 1296, another "cathach" was carried, the consecrated banner of St Cuthbert, with that of St John of Beverley, both being held in such veneration by the soldiers that they regarded their presence in the van as a pledge of victory.

A banner associated with St Columba, called the Brechbennoch, had the barony of Forglen, in Banffshire, annexed to its keepership; and William the Lion, by a charter to the monks of Arbroath, conveyed to them the keeping of the Brechbennoch, with the lands of Forglen dedicated to God and St Columba and the Brechbennoch, on condition of their performing the service in the king's army due from the said lands and banner.² We find that these services continued to be exacted in the end of the fifteenth century, when, on the then owner of the lands (Irvine of Drum), doing homage for them to the abbot, it was declared by the latter that all the tenants of his regality should be bound to follow the said Alexander Irvine in the king's army, under the Brechbennoch.³

It may be thought, therefore, that the presence of such a relic as the pastoral staff of St Fillan, on the field of Bannockburn, would be a circumstance in keeping with the ideas of the time;⁴ and if we may assume

¹ Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," p. 333. ² Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 10.

³ Collections on the "Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," vol. i. p. 515. (Spalding Club.)

⁴ Dr Jamieson records a tradition of the country to the effect that under the relique of the Quigrieh, King Robert and his army received the sacrament before the battle of Bannockburn. ("The Bruce," p. 484.)

the existence of the king's earlier devotion to St Fillan, that it would be also in harmony with his personal feelings and belief.

We may be sure that nothing would be omitted by our great hero in preparing for this final struggle with the English, which could animate the courage of his followers, by leading them to feel that they would not be alone in the fight, but would have associated with them the great saints of their country. It is thus that the presence of the crozier of St Fillan may have been regarded as a pledge of his own presence.¹

If, therefore, we may recognise in the priest of Boece's description, the keeper of St Fillan's crozier in Glendochart, and in the reliquary of his miracle, the crozier itself, the conclusion will not be weakened by the appearance on the field of battle of the Abbot of Inchaffray, whose connection with St Fillan's church, would seem to have been in existence before the date of its formal erection into a priory, as a cell of the house of Inchaffray.

It is the characteristic of Boece, as a historical writer, to add to and disguise the facts which he recorded, to surround his statements with marvels, and to give his authority to fables, while in many cases he had an undoubted foundation to work upon, with access to authorities which have not been preserved. I am therefore prepared to believe that there may have survived to his day some statement regarding the influence of St Fillan and his relic on behalf of the Scottish king at Bannockburn; and if so, the addition of the miracle would harmonise with the writer's idea of emphatic description, while the reliquary of his legend would be more in keeping with the ideas of *his* day than the pastoral staff of an earlier time.

The idea of enshrining such relics had come to be more operative in

¹ Bower, in his additions to Fordun, preserves the notice of a vision which revealed to a certain soldier, John Wemys, the fact that at the battle of Largs, there fought on the part of Scotland, St Margaret, her husband, and children; so in the picturesque translation of Mr Joseph Robertson, "it was believed by the Scots that on the eve of the dreaded day of Largs, the tombs of Dunfermline gave up their dead, and there passed through the northern porch to war against the might of Norway, 'a lofty and blooming matron in royal attire, leading in her right hand a noble knight, refulgent in arms, wearing a crown upon his head, and followed by three heroic warriors, like armed and like crowned,' an illustrious army, in which it was easy to recognise 'the Protectress of Scotland,' her consort, and her sons." (Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 97. Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals. Quart. Review, June 1849.)

the time of Boece than in the time of Bruce,¹ and the reliance which originally rested on the continued action and presence of the saints themselves seemed now rather to derive its strength from their enshrined bones.

The miraculous circumstances with which the learned and first Principal of the University of Aberdeen has invested the transport of St Fillan's arm-bone from Glendochart, and which may have been suggested by the story of the miraculous light given by the one hand to the other in the early days of the saint, must have been to some extent recognised by Bishop Elphinstone, the munificent founder of that University, under whose auspices the "Legends of the Saints," which abound in similar statements, were collected and digested for the Breviary of Aberdeen; while the reigning monarch, under whose patronage the University was commenced, had various favourite saints, whose aid he invoked, and to whose shrines he made frequent pilgrimages for purposes of devotion.

Thus, in 1516, we find in the treasurer's accounts an entry of disbursements "for ane relique quhilk the King offerit at Quhithern maid of the Kinges awn silver weyand xxviii $\frac{1}{2}$ unce," and "for xi hary nobles and quik siluer to gilt the samyn." Another entry records a payment to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth "for 11 peces of siluer weyand xvi unce quhilk was ane relique quhilk the King offerit to Sanct Dutho in the moneth of October 1504 and nocht payit quhil nou, ilk unce 13s. 4d.;" while the offerings which he made at the relics at Whithorn, at St Andrews, at Dunfermline, and at Tain, are of very frequent occurrence.

The taste which had come to prevail of enshrining such relics as the arm-bone of a saint, may be illustrated by the case of St Giles of Edinburgh. It was about the middle of the fifteenth century when William Preston of Gorton, brought from France an arm-bone of this saint, which, as it is related, he had procured by the aid of the French king, as well as his own diligent labour and expense.

¹ We have, however, early Irish examples of enshrining arms and hands. Such was the shrine which contained the arm of St Lachtin, an Irish Bishop, who died A.D. 622, and of which, through the courtesy of Mr Watson, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I am able to show a full-size engraving. It is described as composed of brass and silver, of exquisite workmanship, covered with interlaced tracery and knots. Of a like character is the shrine, known as "the Hand of St Patrick," which is formed of massive silver and antique workmanship, in the shape of a hand and arm. (Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii. pp. 207-215.)

So greatly was Preston's gift of the relic to the church of St Giles valued, that the magistrates, by a formal deed, undertook to build an aisle and erect a monument with a suitable inscription, commemorative of the donor's services and merits, as also to found a chaplainry where a priest should for ever sing for him; and finally, they granted to Preston and his nearest heir the privilege of carrying the relic in all public processions.

I may add that the arm-bone of St Giles, which was enshrined in a cross of silver, was sold with "the ringe on the finger of the samyn" in the year 1560.

But to return to the history of the crozier and the keepers, after the restored importance of the church of St Fillan by King Robert Bruce.

It is likely that at least for a time the keeper was favourably affected by the change, but it seems apparent from the documents which I am now to describe, that ere long his position required the sanction of law and record, in place of the reverence and consuetude on which it had principally rested.

These records are preserved among the Breadalbane papers, and have been printed by Mr Innes in the Black Book of Taymouth, but will be reprinted in my appendix.

But besides these documents we find in one of the Breadalbane Chartularies, begun in 1587, and which contains copies and descriptions of the family papers, the note of a document (apparently part of the series above referred to), of which the original cannot now be traced.¹

It occurs under the section of the Chartulary headed, "Eyich in Glendochart," and is entitled, "ane letter made be Alexander Lorde of Glendochart to Donald M'Sobrell dewar Cogerach off the dait one thousand three hundreth threttie-six yeiris."

The Lord of Glendochart, at this date, was Alexander Menzies, and his letter may have been a confirmation to the Dewar of the lands of Eyich, which I think it probable were the original lands of the keepership, and are in the neighbourhood of the Clachan of St Fillan.

It will be seen from one of the documents now to be quoted, that the

¹ Mr Innes, who has printed the others in the Black Book, does not refer to it, and a pretty minute examination of the papers by myself leads me to think that it has been lost.

tenant of Coreyhenan declined to pay rent for his lands to the Lady of Glenurchy, on the ground that he held them not from her, but from "Deore de Meser." This place of Coreyhenan lies to the north of Auchtertyre, and may have formed part of the lands of Eyich.

These lands, which I have supposed to have been given by the successor of St Fillan, with the keeping of his crozier, in early times to the Dewars, are described in these early records as in their possession; and it appears from charters in the Breadalbane collection that they continued to be the property of the family till nearly the end of the sixteenth century.

By one of these, Queen Mary, on 4th March 1551, confirmed to Malice Dewar and his heirs male the forty shilling lands, of old extent, of Eyeich, Cretindewar, in Aucharne, and half merk land called Craigwokin, in Glendochart. On 2d December 1575 these lands were conveyed by Donald Dewar to Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, and it would seem, that as part of the title, he had delivered up the papers connected with Eyeich and the Coggerach, as we find them all entered in the chartulary of writs, begun in 1587, and ending in 1612.

The first of the series of documents bearing on the history of St Fillan's crozier, to which I have just referred, is an instrument recording the proceedings of an inquest, held at Kandrochit on 22d April 1428, before the bailie of Glendochart, on the authority and privileges of a certain relic of St Fillan, commonly called the Coygerach.¹ The jury reported that the bearer of the relic of the Coygerach, who went by the name of Jore, ought to have yearly and heritably from every one in the parish of Glendochart, having or labouring a merk of land, either free or in farm, a half-boll of meal, and of every one having in like manner a half-merk of land, a firiot of meal; and of every one having a forty penny land, a half-firiot of meal; but although such persons should have more than a merk land they should pay nothing more. Further, that the office of carrying the relic had been conferred in heritage on a certain ancestor of Finlay Jore, the present bearer, by the successor of St Fillan, and that the said Finlay was his lawful heir in the said office. They farther said that these privileges were enjoyed and in use in the time of King Robert Bruce, and in the times of the kings who had resigned after him. For

¹ Printed in the Appendix to the present paper, No. viii.

which privilege the jury declared, that if it happened that any goods or cattle were stolen or carried off from any one dwelling in Glendochart, and he from whom they were stolen, whether in doubt of the culprit, or from the feud of his enemies, did not dare to follow after his property, then he should send a messenger to the said Jore of the Cogerach, with fourpence, or a pair of shoes, with food for the first night, and then the said Jore, on his own charges, ought to follow the said cattle wherever they were to be found within the kingdom of Scotland.

The second document preserves the record of the court of Glendochart, held at Kandrocht on 9th February 1468, when the Lady of Glenurchy demanded from John M'Molcalum M'Gregour the rents of his lands of Coreheynan, to which the said John replied that he held his lands not from the Lady of Glenurchy, but "a deore de Meser," and that he was not liable for any past rents, because he had paid them to the said "deore," from whom he held the lands.¹

The third is a letter in favour of Malise Doire, residing at Strathfillane, granted on 6th July 1487 by king James III., setting forth that Malise and his forefathers have had a relic of St Fillan, called the Quigrich, in keeping of the king and his progenitors since the time of King Robert the Bruce and before, and made no obedience nor answer to any person, spiritual or temporal, in anything concerning the said holy relic, otherways than was contained in the old infeftments made by the king's said royal progenitors, and therefore his majesty commanded all his subjects "to answeire intend and obey to the said Malise Doire in the peccable broiking and joicing of the said reliq," and in noways to "compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience nor ansuere to you, nor till any other, but allenarly to us and our successouris, according to the said infeftment and foundation of the said relik," and that none should make impediment to the said Malise "in the passing with the said relik throu the contre as he and his forbearis wes wount to do."²

It will be observed that while the men of Glendochart by their inquest found that the office of carrying the Quigrich had been instituted by a successor of St Fillan (by which term we must understand one of the

¹ Black Book of Taymouth (Bannatyne Club), Preface, p. xxxvi.

² Printed in the Appendix to the present paper, No. ix.

Comharbas or heirs of the saint in the monastery), and had been conferred on an ancestor of Finlay Jore, they do not carry back the exercise of his rights beyond the time of King Robert Bruce. The letter of privilege by King James III. in favour of Malise Doire, in like manner, narrates that he and his forefathers have had the Quigrich in keeping of the king and his forefathers since the time of Robert the Bruce and before.

The prominent reference to this monarch harmonises with what has been advanced on the subject of his devotion to St Fillan, and of the enhanced importance which resulted to his church and all connected with it, through the several benefactions of the king, which did not terminate with those already noticed, for in the Chamberlain Rolls there is entered a payment in 1329 (in which year the great monarch died), of £20 to the fabric of the Church of St Fillan, so that his devotion to the saint may be said to have retained its fervour to the end of his days.

It seems natural, in conclusion, to say something about the Quigrich itself: and first as to its name, and the names of its keepers. There seems no reason to doubt that the word which appears on record under the various forms of "Coygerach" and "the Quigrich," means "a stranger."¹

¹ See Gaelic Dict. of Highland Society, voce Coigreach, a stranger; and Adamnan's "Life of St Columba," p. 366. Note by Dr Reeves. Many fanciful guesses have been suggested of the meaning of the word "Coygerach," founded on the shape or supposed use of the relic by persons familiar with modern Gaelic, but forgetful of the historical conditions of the question.

It was long ago pointed out by the sagacious Thomas Innes that the Irish must have derived the use of letters from those using the Latin language, for as the early missionaries to Ireland found no words among the Irish Gaels denoting such things as a *letter*, a *book*, to *read*, to *write*, and the like, they expressed them in Latin terms, giving them only an Irish inflexion ("Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland," p. 444).

In the same manner all sacred things belonging to Christianity, of which the Irish people first got their knowledge from the early missionaries, such as *church*, *cross*, *bishop*, *baptism*, and the like, were expressed in Latin words with Irish inflexions. We thus discover that the word invariably applied by the Celtic people of Ireland to the pastoral staff of a bishop or abbot was *bachall*, being the Irish form of the Latin word *baculus*. In this way the Irish annalists speak of the crozier of St Patrick as the *Bachall Isa*—that is, Staff of Jesus, or *Bachall Phadruig*—that is, Patrick's crozier (King's "Primacy of Armagh," quoting the Annals, pp. 33, 77). Dr Petrie states that the word *bachall* is used in the Irish authorities not only to denote the crozier of a bishop, abbot, or abbess, but also the penitential staff of a pilgrim. (Round Towers of Ireland, p. 304.)

That the same Latin word for a crozier was used by the early Scottish Church as

With regard to the term applied to designate its keepers, under the various forms of "Jore," "Deore," and "Doire," there may be more cause for hesitation.

We learn from Dr Reeves that the word Deoraid in Irish signifies an "exile," "outlaw," "pilgrim," while he adds that both in Ireland and Scotland, the word assumed a religious limitation, and from an official became a family name, now known as "Dewar." He then refers to the records which show that the bearer of the relic of the Coygerach was known as "Jore," "Doire," "Deore;" that lands in St Munna's parish of Kilmun held by a certain officer with the staff of St Mund, were called in Gaelic "Deowray;" while Donald Dewar in 1572 had a grant of the lands of Garrindewar (which means "the garden of the pilgrim") dedicated in former times for the ringing of a bell at funerals within the parish of Kilmaluig, adding "that these Deorays" or "Dewars" were probably descended from sons of Irish families, whose proper names merged

by the Irish is plain from Adamnan's reference to St Columba's staff as his *baculus* ("Vita Sancti Columbæ," ed. Reeves, p. 62), and from the Pictish Chronicle, which in relating that Constantine the king in his old age became Abbot of the Culdees at St Andrews, by taking the staff or crozier, uses the term *baculum cepit*. ("Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," p. 9).

It seems a fair inference that the Celtic people of Scotland, in speaking of a crozier, would have converted the *baculus* into *bachall* as was done in Ireland, and indeed we have evidence that they did so, for the term by which they designated the crozier of St Moluag was the *Bachuill more*, while they called its hereditary keepers the *Barons of Bachuill* ("Orig. Paroch. Scot." vol. ii. p. 163). Another Middle Age Latin word for a pastoral staff was *cambruta*. Fordun refers to the staff of St Columba which the saint gave in exchange for that of St Kentigern as his "cambo," and we find the word in the Scotch form of "cabok," applied to the crozier of St Duthac. In 1506, James IV., who was then on pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint at Tain, gave "to ane man that bure Sant Duthois' cabok, iiis." (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. ii. p. 15).

I am therefore of opinion that the word "Coygerach," which has been of late tortured into so many different meanings, as necessarily expressing the curved shape or pastoral use of the staff, can have no such reference, but has been applied to characterise the crozier as "The Stranger," from whatever circumstances that *strangeness* may have been derived.

I may add, that the last hereditary keeper of the "Quigrich," who was brought up in a district where only Gaelic was used, does not profess to know the meaning of the term "Quigrich." He inclines to think that it is not a Gaelic word, "and the name *cogarach*, if it means 'stranger,' they had a different way of spelling than we have. It is spelt now 'coigreach.'" (Letter, Mr Alex. Dewar to Dr Wilson.)

in their official title (as with the MacMoyres in Armagh), and who derived their peculiar name of office, either from the circumstance of being themselves originally aliens, or being representatives of three saints, "Faolan," "Munna," and "Molua," each of whom probably, to use the technical expression, "took the (pilgrim's) staff and died in his pilgrimage."¹

If I am right in supposing that the term Coygerach was originally applied to the crozier of St Fillan, as indicative of its introduction from abroad, it is possible that by the Dewar of the Coygerach may originally have been meant the "pilgrim" who brought it; that is, who brought the metal head which was to add dignity to the staff of St Fillan, and give honour to his memory.

But if so, it would seem that, in Scotland in process of time, the word acquired a much wider meaning. It is plain that in Glendochart, the term Dewar, in relation to the Coggerach, became a family name. The letter of 1336 is addressed to Donald M'Sobrell dewar Coggerach, in which, perhaps, we are rather to recognise the official than the family name. In the inquest of 1428, it is stated that the bearer of the Coggerach is commonly called "Jore," another form of Dewar, while, at the same time, the then bearer of the relic is called Finlay Jore, and his descendant, in 1487, has the name of Malice Doire or Dewar.

A writ in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, dated about 1250, by Robert the Abbot, grants the office of "Dereth," that is, as the title of the deed explains, "the office of Serjeant" to Symon called Dereth, son of the late Thomas Dereth of Kynglassy.²

In 1466 the Abbot of Arbroath granted to Thomas of Lochan the office of Derethy of Tarves, and in 1527 the abbot granted a lease to William Gray and his wife of the office of the deray within the parish of Tarves, and the croft belonging to it, where the duties of the deray are described as the keeping of the oxen and cows of the abbey.³

The hereditary dempsters of Edzell were Durays or Dirrows, and their

¹ Adamnan's "St Columba." Notes, pp. 366-7

² Regist. de Dunferm., p. 149. In a subsequent deed lands are granted by the Abbot, where the vassal has liberty from the abbot's mill and smithy, and is to be free from payment of dereth or slother. *Id.* p. 227.

³ Registr. Nigrum de Aberbrothock, pp. 128, 474.

farm was called the Durayhill, while it would seem to have been part of their office to ring the bell of St Lawrence.¹

A croft near the Church of Fordoun was called Diray Croft, and it was a pertinent of the chapel of St Palladius, in the churchyard of Fordoun.²

The keeping of the bell of St Rowan, in the parish of Strowan, with a croft of land, were vested in a family of Dewars; and it is stated in an account of the parish that the term Dewar in Gaelic signifies a bellman.³ While this limitation cannot be maintained as universal, it would seem that in the parish of Conveth or Laurencekirk, a like meaning has been attached to the lands of the Diracroft there, which are described otherwise as "Bel-aikers," with the houses of the Kirkton; here again the bell is probably to be recognised as that of St Laurence.⁴

The keeper of St Munna's staff, we have seen was called Deowray, while the keeper of the bell of St Molway had come to assume the term of Dewar as their family name.

In Glendochart, besides a place called Cretindewar, apparently part of the lands of Eyich, we find notices of a croft in Killin, called Dewar-namayne's Croft; a croft in Auchlyne, called Dewarnaferg's Croft; and Dewar's Croft in Sluy, in the same barony.⁵

¹ Land of the Lindsays, by Jervise, p. 51.

² Index of Retours (Kincardine), April 30, 1607 (No. 21).

³ Arch. Scot. vol. ii. p. 75.

⁴ Index of Retours (Kincardine) April 30, 1672 (No. 119).

⁵ Index of Retours, Perth, October 27, 1640, No. 494. On 16th September 1407 John M'Nab got a charter from the Duke of Albany of the lands of Bowane and others, and of the office of ferbalschip of the lands of Arthalzie, in the barony of Glendochart. Dr Jamieson, in his notes to his edition of "The Bruce," states that he saw the crozier of St Fillan in the possession of one of the name of Dewar in Glenartney, and was told that it had belonged to his ancestors from time immemorial, "one of whom found it in the old burying-ground at Auchlyne, in Glendochart, whence the chapel is still called *Caipal na Farige* or *farechd*, i.e., the Chapel of the Crozier. From this valuable relique the hereditary possessor has the distinctive designation of Mac in Deora na Farige, "the son of Dewar of the Crozier." ("The Bruce," notes, p. 484.)

Of another croft of land in Killin, there are several records among the Breadalbane papers, where we discover a notice of an image of St Fillan at Killin. The first, dated 20th November 1488, is a charter of the Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Perth (who, by grants from the Crown, had come to be owners of part of Glendochart) to Donald M'Claude, of an acre or croft of land in the town of Killin, with

As the son of the Abbot of Glendochart was the root from which the tribe of Macnabs derived their origin, so from the Dewar of the Cogerah various families of the name of Dewar were descended, and may be traced as witnesses of charters among the Breadalbane papers. In 1575, Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay granted a charter of the lands of Moyerlonycht to Donald Makindeora vic Cogerah, and among the witnesses is the Constable of Glenurchay, and John Deora, in Sluy.¹

On the whole, I conclude that if the first Dewar of the Cogerah had an ecclesiastical character, there is no reason to think such character long remained, or survived the secularisation of the old foundation, and I infer that the term "Dewar" implied nothing in later times beyond "an officer," who might be the bearer of a crozier, the ringer of a bell, the dempster or sergeant of a barony, the guardian of cattle, or the hereditary performer of some work or duties, to which lands and perquisites were annexed²—the analogous word used in Ireland for such an officer being "mair" or "steward."

With regard to the style of art of the crozier, and consequently of its date, I feel unable to speak with much certainty.

The style common to the shrines, bell cases, and other relics of the early saints of Ireland, is that which is also found in the enrichment of their manuscripts, and in the sculptures of the stone crosses both of Ireland and Scotland. It consists mainly of interlacing patterns wrought into geometrical figures, with the frequent use of serpents and lacertine animals, and seems referred to as "*Opus Ibernorum*" in the description of a silver gilt cross in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Aberdeen in the year 1549.³

the house and garden and pasturings of four cows and two horses, with power to bake, brew, and sell flesh, and to buy and sell within the lordship of Glendochart, according to the assize of the country, paying yearly to the parish church of Killin three pounds of wax, in honour of the blessed Virgin and St Fillan and all saints, and for the increase of St Fillan's lights before his image, one pound whereof, at the feast of St Fillan in summer, and another at the feast of St Fillan in winter.

¹ Charters at Taymouth.

² The smith of a barony had a croft, and his smiddy was sometimes called his "office hous." (Regist. nig. de. Aberbrothoc, p. 106.)

³ Registr. Aberd., vol. ii. p. 182.

Examples of this style occur in the ancient Irish crozier (fig. 1) which formed part of the Bell collection, and is now in the Museum, as well as in the front part of another Celtic crozier of early date in the Museum (fig. 2), of which the history is not known further than that it formed



Fig. 1. Bronze Crozier in the Museum (Bell Collection).

7½ inches high.

part of the collection of the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and was by him said to have been found in the ruins of Hoddam church.

Representations of croziers of the same character of art will be found in Professor Westwood's great work, "The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts," Plate 53.

It appears to me that the ornamentation of the Quigrich is of an entirely different style, nor can I recognise any distinctively Celtic features in it, except in the triquetra and pellet ornament on the boss or socket (fig. 5), which, in general idea, harmonises in style with two bosses of an ancient Irish crozier belonging to the late Dr Petrie (figs. 3 and 4), as represented in his great work on the "Round Towers of



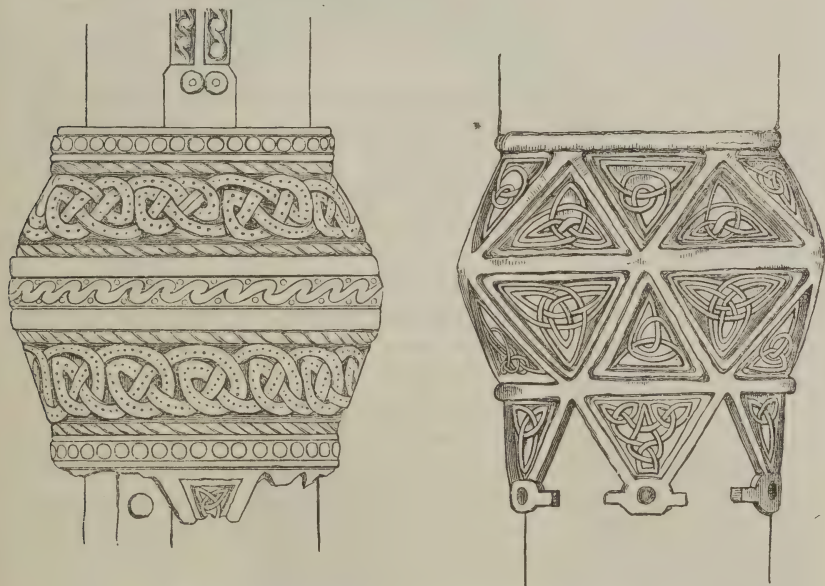
Fig. 2. Front part of Bronze Crozier found at Hoddam Church, Dumfriesshire.
(Actual size.)

Ireland"—where he supposes that from the form, size, and ornaments of the crozier, it indicates an age not later than the tenth century.¹ The occurrence of the triquetra on these bosses, as well as on the boss or socket of St Fillan's crozier (fig. 5), and one of the plaques on its side, may be remarked. The triquetra was an ornament much used by the Celtic artists of Ireland in their illuminated manuscripts and on

¹ "Round Towers of Ireland," pp. 320, 321.

their tombstones up to the tenth century, after which time Dr Petrie did not observe any specimen.¹

The late Lord Dunraven has attributed to the crozier of St Fillan (but without assigning any authority) the date of A.D. 962,² and to that of the shrine of St Lachtan's Arm, in which I can trace some resemblance to the filigree work of the Quigrich, the date of A.D. 1166.



Figs. 3 and 4. Bosses of an Irish Crozier of tenth century.

On the other hand, Professor Westwood, while recognising the dissimilarity between the Quigrich and the ordinary Irish style of art, states that there are instances of the filigree work and general treatment of the Quigrich on several relics of metal work evidently of a more recent date than the 12th or 13th century.³

If we should think that the Quigrich was not the product of Celtic art,

¹ "Round Towers of Ireland," p. 322.

² Transactions R. I. Acad. vol. xxiv. p. 451.

³ Arch. Journal, vol. xvi. p. 50.

and consequently was an importation from abroad, it will be well to pause in suggesting a date for the relic until a further comparison of its ornamentation with foreign styles, by those who have studied the subject, may justify a definite conclusion as to its period and school of art.

But in the meantime, viewing the art as not a native one, I am inclined to think that the term "Quigrich" or "Stranger" may have been originally used to mark its foreign origin, as we have seen the terms "Cathach" or "Fighter," and "Cath-Bhuaidh" or "Battle Victory" applied to reliquaries of St Columba.

Since the Coygerach came into possession of the Society, a discovery has been made, which greatly enhances its interest. The great weight of the crozier led to a careful examination of the structure and internal fitting, the result of which was that an earlier crozier of bronze (see Plate VI.) was found enclosed within the present one. It farther appeared that the silver plaques which had formed the ornamental covering of the earlier relic had been removed from it, and had been used for the covering and enrichment of the second one, so as to form the same patterns, and fill like, or almost like spaces as at first. In a few cases where the adjustment of the old plaques to their new position was not an exact fit, as we may say, the ornamental plate which overlapped the edges of the plaques was there made wider. It seems probable, however, that the first crozier had become to some extent dilapidated, and that some of its silver ornamental plates had been lost. Accordingly, in the spaces thus left vacant on the new crozier, additional silver plates have been introduced, but in a style of art sufficiently different from the others as to enable us to recognise them as additions.

When this was done the relic was adorned with an ornamental ridge, terminating in an animal's head, and with an enlarged bulbous socket of a style of art which seems to differ from that used in the ornaments of the silver plaques.¹ (See Plate V.)

¹ "The custom of terminating such ornaments in dragons' heads, and the introduction of the most unnatural forms of animals into the tracery of illuminated manuscripts, shrines of bronze and silver, as well as in the sculptured crosses of Ireland and Scotland, is a very prominent feature of Celtic art.

"The head of the animal on the crest of the crozier is much effaced and worn, but we may, I think, recognise a family resemblance between it and the animals' heads used in a similar way on the handle of the bell of St Fillan, to which my late

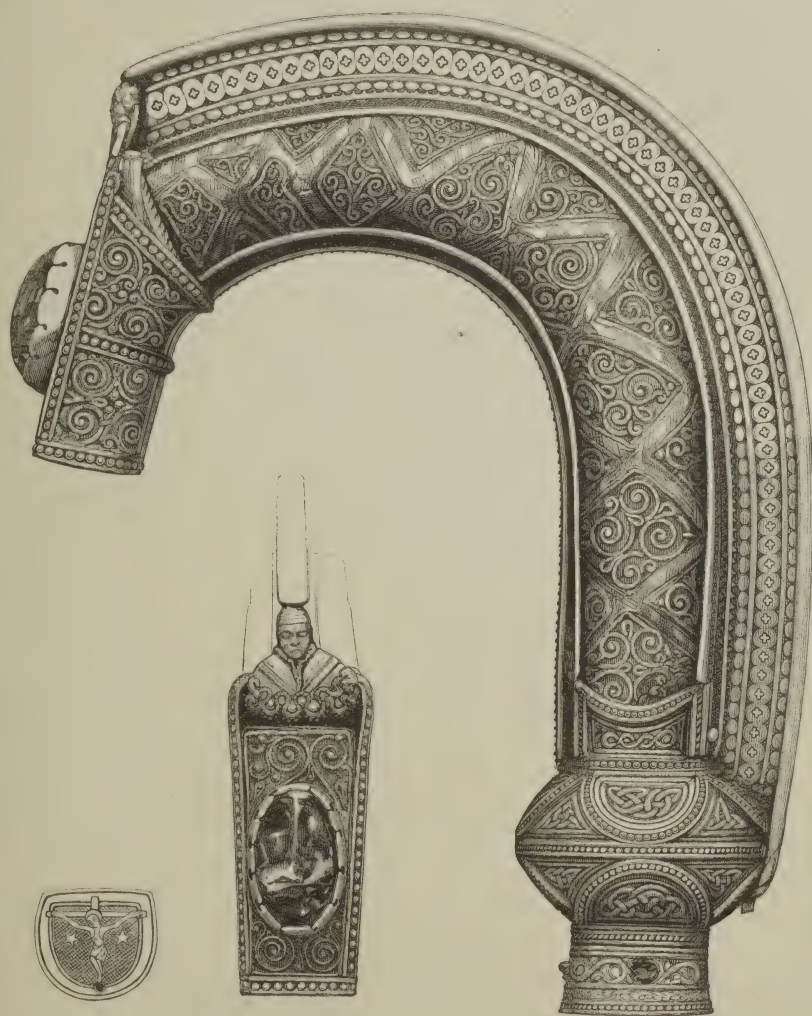


Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

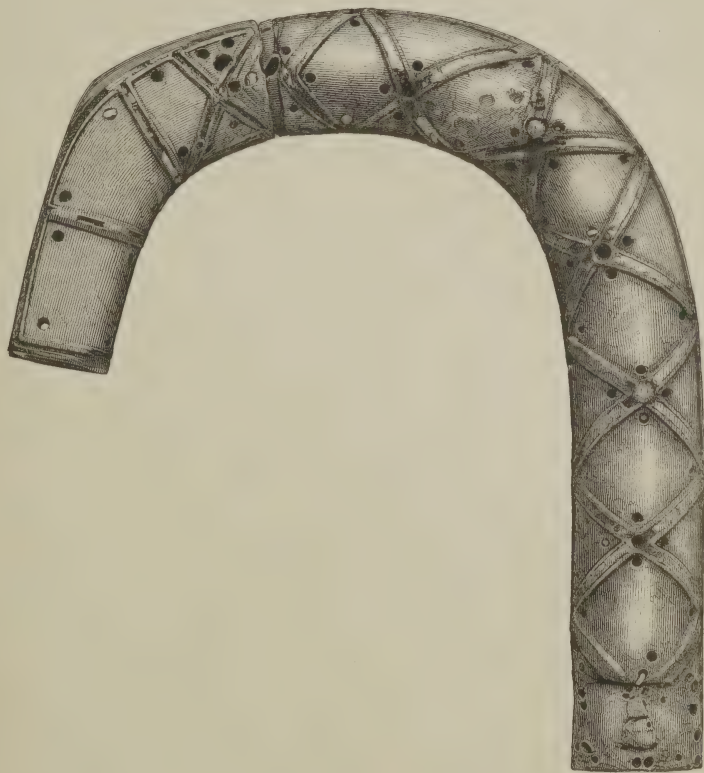
THE QUIGRICH, OR CROZIER OF ST FILLAN.

(Of Silver gilt, 9 inches high.)

Fig. 1. Side view of the Crozier.

Fig. 2. Front part of do.

Fig. 3. Terminal Plate of do.



THE OLDER CROZIER OF ST FILLAN.

(Of Bronze, inlaid with niello, 6½ inches high.)

The plates covering the front part of the first crozier were in like manner used for the same purpose on the second one,—the exposed side having a large oval piece of rock crystal inserted in its centre, and being surmounted by the figure of a saint.

Like progressive additions and adaptations can be traced in many of the more celebrated of the Irish relics of a like character with the Quigrich. The late Dr Petrie,—whose knowledge of the history and art of such objects was the result of a lifelong study,—on the occasion of the exhibi-



Fig. 5. Socket of St Fillan's Crozier.
(Actual size.)

tion to the Royal Irish Academy of the enshrined arm of St Lachtan, directed attention to the fact that such shrines or reliquaries usually exhibited work of different ages consequent upon repairs or restorations,

greatly regarded friend the Bishop of Brechin was led to ascribe a very different and as I believe groundless origin. The bishop's opinion was shared by the Earl of Crawford, to whose good offices, with those of the bishop, we are indebted for the rescue of the bell from its English captivity, and its gift to the Museum."—*Proceedings Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. viii. p. 265 *et seq.*

or from a desire to increase their beauty by additions according to the prevailing taste of the time, and he added that in such instances the original or more ancient work was invariably of a higher style of art and better execution than that of such subsequent additions. He also observed that the crucifixion, which is now so usually found on such reliquaries, is always obviously an addition of a later date, and is in all the instances which have come under his attention, in a more barbarous taste than that of the original or older work, and is besides of an inferior style of execution.¹

The progressive additions to such shrines generally form landmarks in their history; but in the case of the Coygerach, the art, and even the materials of the earlier relic are reproduced to a great extent on the case of its successor, so that we are unable from the comparison of styles to suggest any date as the period when the work may have been added to. We may, however, safely say that the engraving of the crucifixion in the front of the Quigrich is of comparatively recent date, and that it partakes of the character which Dr Petrie ascribes to like secondary additions to the early reliquaries of Ireland. The charter of King James III., in which he confirms the grant of King Robert of the lands of Auchtertyre to the monastery of Strathfillan, narrates his regard for John Murray, the prior at that date, being A.D. 1498, and I am inclined to recognise in the engraved crucifixion the work of this official, not merely from the rudeness of its execution, but from the appearance on the plate of two stars, which are the cognisance of the house of Murray. (See Plate V. fig. 3.)

If it should ultimately be found that so late a period as the beginning of the fourteenth century can be assigned for the reconstruction of the crozier, it may be an admissible speculation that Boece's story of the miraculous opening and shutting of a reliquary at Bannockburn had emerged from some cloudy account of the enclosure of the old crozier within the new one.

In whatever light we may regard the early history of the Quigrich, it is surrounded by an atmosphere of picturesque interest, and I regard its acquisition for the National Museum as one of the most pleasing incidents which has occurred since I came to be an office-bearer of the Society.

We must all feel that the intervention of Dr Daniel Wilson in bring-

¹ Proc. R. I. Acad. vol. v. pp. 467-8.

ing about this fortunate result has been invaluable, for I am persuaded that but for the concurrence of circumstances detailed in his letter to me, and the happy influences which he was able to exert in its acquisition, we might ere long have seen the Quigrich in other hands, where it would have been less appropriately placed, as it would assuredly have been less highly valued than in ours. Dr Wilson, since his settlement in Canada, has brought the subject of the Quigrich frequently under our notice, and not contented with this, he wrote a careful description of it for the *Canadian Journal*, in the hope of stirring up the Scotsmen of the province to join in acquiring the relic, and sending it home to the National Museum (*Canadian Journal*, October 1859).

The benefits which have accrued from Dr Wilson's labours to the archaeology of Scotland and our own institution, have long been thankfully appreciated, and this Society has already conferred on him the highest honour which it has in its power to grant—but it is impossible for me to conclude my paper without venturing to suggest that we should transmit to Professor Wilson a special resolution of thanks for this his crowning benefit, in securing the Quigrich for the Museum, and so for the nation—with the assurance that if the pilgrim whose heart still warms so truly to the land of his early efforts, should be drawn to follow the “relik of Sanct Fillan,” and return to spend among us the evening of his days, he will receive a cordial welcome from all.

It is equally our duty, at the same time, to convey to the late “Doire of the Quigrich” the thanks of the Society for his handsome arrangements in contributing part of the value of the relic, and for his public spirit in resolving that it should be placed in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The original letter of King James III., as I have stated, passed into the possession of the Breadalbane family before the end of the seventeenth century, but on 1st November 1734 it was recorded as a Probativè Writ in the Books of Council and Session (having been presented for registration by John Campbell, cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland), and the certified extract of the document has been carefully preserved by the “Dewars” ever since, and has been surrendered to the Society along with the relic itself.

APPENDIX.

I.

DE CONFLICTU DE BANNOKBURNE.

Rex Angliæ Edwardus secundus audiens et illos actus regis Roberti, vidensque innumera damna, et mala infinita, sibi et suis, per eundem regem illata, in vindictam præmissorum congregavit exercitum copiosum valde tam equitum bene armatorum quam peditum, balistariorum et sagittariorum, in arte pugnandi satis peritorum; quorum caterva circumvallatus, et gloria humanæ potentiae confisus, Scociam hostiliter intravit et ipsam circumquaque devastans usque Banokbourne pervenit. Cui rex Robertus cum paucis occurrens, non in multitudine populi sed in Domino Deo spem ponens, cum antedicto rege Angliæ bellum commisit, et ipsam cum suis auxiliante ipso cujus est victoriam dare in fugam convertit, in die natalis beati Johannis Baptistæ, anno Domini MCCCXIII. ubi comes Gloverniæ ac alii nobiles quamplures sunt interfecti quamplures aquis dimersi et foveis trucidati, quamplures diversi status sub diverso mortis genere extincti, multi etiam et quamplures nobiles capti quorum redemptione non solum regina et alii captivi de Scocia a carceribus sunt liberati, sed etiam ipsi Scoti omnes et singuli vehementer ditati. Inter quos etiam captus fuit Johannes de Britannia pro quo reddita est regina, et Robertus episcopus Glasguensis. Ab illo enim die et deinceps tota terra Scociæ semper de Anglis non solum ubique gaudebat victoria sed etiam infinitis abundebat divitiis.

Fordun, "Chronica Gentis Scotorum" (Skene's edition), p. 346.

II.

Processit itaque Rex Angliæ cum exercitibus pompose, cum his quæ eis sufficerent copiose boum quoque armenta, gregesque ovium et porcorum quorum non erat numerus, frumentum et hordeum cum molendinis portatilibus ad victum exercitus, et vinum in doliis atque cadiferreis parari constituit: aurum vero et argentum, vasa aurea et argentea, et omnem pretiosam supellectilem de aerario regis assumpsit. Profectusque est ipse cum satellitibus suis, curribus et quadrigis carris et equitibus, fundabilariis et sagittariis, albalastariis et valetis, armis, cum omnibus etiam instrumentis ad castrorum obsidiones imaginativis, utpote petrariis et ligonibus, trabienlis et mangonellis, scalis et ingeniis, pavilionibus et canopeis, fundis et bombardis, ceterisque

bellicis machinis, litubus et tubis clangentibus ut omnis regio quo pervenirent terrifico horrore pertimesceret. Sic quasi locustæ operuerunt superficiem universæ terræ quousque ad Bannokburn fit perventum. Quos cum rex Scotiæ explorari fecisset nocte præcedente conflictum forcas fieri, infixis sudibus acutis, et cespitibus viridibus imperceptibiliter coöperiri fecit; monetque suos ad confessionem, et missas devote audire, et suos omnes de viatico corporis Christi communicari, et solum in Deo spem suam ponere. Et, ut prædictus abbas Bernardus in metro suo innuit sic prosequitur, dicens:—

Tunc summo mane celebrantur in ordine missæ
 Rege movente suo, dicenteque corde benigno;
 A proceres et mi popule, quibus insolet esse
 Libertas magna, pro qua certamina multa
 Passi sunt reges Scotiæ, Domino morientes
 Cernite nunc omnes quot nos patiendi labores
 Annis pro certo jam decertavimus octo,
 Pro regni jure, pro libertatis honore.
 Perdidimus fratres et amicos atque parentes:
 Vestri cognati captivi sunt, et amici;
 Nunc et prælati cum clero carcere clausi
 Mater et ecclesia nullo manet ordine tuta.
 Nobilitas terræ transivit sanguine guerræ:
 Armati proceres, quos coram cernitis omnes
 Nos regnum, gentem delere per impietatem
 Jam decreverunt, nec nos subsistere credunt.
 Curribus est et equis ipsorum gloria; nobis
 Est nomen Domini spes et victoria belli.
 Felix ista dies; natus Baptista Johannes,
 Sanctus et Andreas, ac fuso sanguine Thomas;
 Cum sanctis Scotiæ, patriæ pro gentis honore
 Pugnabunt hodie, Christo Domino præeunte.
 Hoc duce vincetis, finem guerræ facietis;
 Si pro peccatis vestris de corde fleatis
 Omnes offensas regalis nostra potestas
 In nos commissas pronunciat esse remissas,
 Illis qui patrium defendunt nunc bene regnum.
 Hæc ait; et populus, regis verbis animatus
 Promittit prompte bellum de corde subire.

Iis dictis, tubisque ductilibus perstreptentibus, oppansisque in aurea aurora vexillis bellicis, venerabilis pater dominus Mauritius tunc abbas de Insula Missarum [postea Dumblanensis episcopus] qui confessionem regis illo die audivit, et missam in eminenti loco Scotis celebravit, quandum brevem et efficacem de libertate et juris sui defensione protulit præfatiunculam; cumque finem dicendi ex abundantia cordis zelanter fecisset, tanto jocundo murmure

tacito infremuit exercitus ut ipsos subita et incredibili audacia repletos autumnares. Nudipes ergo ecclesiasticus indutus, dictus Abbas cruciferarius, tanquam campiductor præcedit, et ante præcinctum belli omnes genua flectere et Deum suppliciter exorare docuit. Quod videntes Anglici, vana lætitia ex hilarati, clamare coeperunt; Ecce omnes isti Scoti tremulento corde se nobis dediderunt! Ad quos unus senior Miles Angligena Ingeramus Umfraville, saniore intellectu concepto, respondit dicens; verum dicitis quod se reddunt, non nobis, sed Deo. Ne igitur vane, precor, major concipiatur alacritas animi, quam consideratio materiæ fuerit consequenda. Cum hoc alacres Scoti se erigunt, inimicos impetunt, et Scotis, quibus, laboriosiora pro justitia suæ partis exstiterant certamina gloriose ut assolet cessit victoria. Interfecti sunt ex parte Anglorum præter ducem Gloverniæ, ducenti milites, et aliorum quasi innumerabilium. Ex parte Scotorum ceciderunt milites duo, viz., Willelmus de Veteri-porte et Walterus de Ross.

Joannis de Fordun "Scotichronicon," Goodall. Vol. II. p. 249: Edin. 1759, folio.

III.

Cæterum Anglus ratus Scotos victoria ferociores prælium non detrectaturos signum pugnæ in diem crastinum proponit. Idem facit Robertus si qua posset in fossas preparatas per hostem trahere. Interea unum quemque arma expedire jubet, ac sese deo preparare, confitendo sacerdotibus delicta, ac deum veniam orando, ut in posterum diem re sacra audita, ac sumpto Christi corpore idonei prælium conserere ac victoria potiri possint. In castris hostium amplissima sibi quisque sperabat unius diei labore exiguo divitias ingentes ac agros (quæ antea ne per somnium quidem speraverant) amplissimos habituros; nihil vero facilius effecturos sese arbitrabantur quam primo impetu hostes proterere. Nocte autem quum Robertus de rebus suis sollicitus quietem nullam prope corpori daret, precibus vacans, aut omnia animo voluens, intento eo cum quibusdam ac in preces converso orabat autem deum ac sanctum Phillanum ejus Brachium inclusum argento in exercitu se habere credebat, ut victoriam propitii dare vellent) visum est brachium argenteum, cui inclusum verum fuerat, repente apertum ac rursus in nictu oculi clausum nullo accedente, nec se movente quopiam. Quod quum mirandum videretur, sacerdos ad altare accessit, quid actum esset inspecturus; ubi vidit verum inesse brachium exclamans, vere numen esse divinum, confessus est factum suum regi, quod roganti brachium sancti Phillani capsulam tantum argenteam veritus ne in tumultu perderetur, exempto vero brachio vacuum dederit. Plenus igitur rex spe reliquum noctis in precibus ac gratiis agendis perseverabat. Postero die præparatio omnibus ad rem factam milites convocat, jubetque omnes Christi corpus quo robustiores spiritu essent sumere. Erat in exercitu Abbas Insule

Missarum, nomine Mauricius qui ex editiusculo loco tum rem divinam faciebat, is regi eucharistam ac nobilibus administrabat deinde a reliquis sacerdotibus idem factum cæteris militibus, hujusmodi apud eos verba Robertus habuisse fertur. Quanta nobis milites pugnandi incumbat necessitas, credo vos me etiam tacente intelligere. Videtis enim non Anglicorum modo exercitum, aut non solum ex subditis Anglicanæ ditionis regionibus conscriptum qui vos illorum potentiae subigat; sed ex omnibus vicinis regionibus convocatos cum uxoribus ac liberis adversum nos venire, ut profligatis nobis ipsi nostra occupent agros nostros ipsi colant, ipsi ædes nostras inhabitent, templa ac sacra nostra ipsi frequentent; denique deletis nobis cum ipso etiam nomine ipsi omnia nostra possideant. Consuli etiam licit stolidissime ab hostium ducibus ignorissimis hominibus audio qua nos poena priusquam in manus eorum venerimus excruciatos quam maxime, crudelissime trucedare debeant. Næ illi profecto sentient (quales vos ego viros cognovi) adversum quos talia consuluerint. Qui enim homines talia adversum nos milites strenuissimos et tantis victoriis induratos cogitare immo minari audent? electi scilicet fortissimi quique ex omnibus regionibus? immo regionum omnium seu impurissima. Arma a pueris ferre assueti ac rei militaris scientia imbuti? immo scorta contractare soliti ac omnibus libidinibus immersi. Qui ubi in patria non agrum, Quid dico agrum? non villam non larem familiarem ullum habuerint aut si habuerint per luxum absumpserint vos illi ignavissimi fortissimos, imbelles bellicosissimos sedibus ac focis ejicere conantur. Difficile erit hos perinde ac pecora conculcatos jugulare? Ut omit-tam etiam si eximia omnes virtute essent tamen ne tum quidem vobis timendum nec minus audendum esse. Nam quo nobis justior defendendi quam illis invadendi causa est, eo quoque nobis faventiores superos quam illis fore confidimus. Nihil vero ubi deus propitius est hostium potest multitudo. Quem certe nobis propitium singularibus miraculis compertum habemus, quæ nobis nota jam esse et ad omnium aures pervenisse scio. Quamobrem bono (quod facitis) animo confusam eam multitudinem inaudite, ac quo plures eos existimatis eo vobis prædam ac spolia fore majora animis cogitate. His verbis suos adhortatus est Robertus, Edwardus ex altera parte in aciem eduxit mandato cujuslibet nationis ducibus dato ut suos quisque vernacula lingua moneret hortareturque ut memores essent si fortiter unam aut alteram horam operam navassent se ingentes divitias opesque habituros; turpeque esse cum semel patriam exiverint, æque atque prius inopes addita insuper ignaviæ nota donum reverti. Exeuntes vix avelli ab uxoribus ac liberis potuere, tamen a ducibus castigati tandem inordinem redacti sunt. Sagittarii ex cornibus stetero permixti equitibus, phalanx in medio constituta est. Cæterum parum ad veram pugnam animati putabant aspectum tantorum hominum equorumque hostes non sustentaturos. Quæ opinio forte quadam aucta est. Robertus etenim, quem omnes pariter pedites equitesque relictis equis quo æquato periculo invicem magis fidentes cohererent, pedibus pugnare jussisset, procedens ante signa

Mauricius, quem supra rem sacram fecisse memoravimus, arrepta duabus manibus cruce, in qua Christus crucifixus pendeat, ostentansque eam militibus ut ejus nomine bono animo patriam defenderent, in eoque solo confiderent, ad pugnam eduxit, ac ubi aliquantum adhuc acies utrinque abessent, deo sese cunctos in terram prostratos commendare mandat. Quod ubi hostes videre, deditionem eos supplices facere clamant universi. Sed mox ubi consurgentes maximo impetu in sese omnes incurrere vident converso metu sibi quisque timere cœpit.

Bœthii Scotorum Historia, Paris, 1520, p. 314-315.

IV.

King Robert maid hes folkis, thought they wer in few noumer, reddy for battall in the samin maner : casting him mony wayis to bring his ennimes in the fowseis afore devisit. First he commandit the army to mak thair confessionis, and to be reddy, on the morow to resave the blissit sacrament eftir messe : throw quhilk thay micht haue the better esperance of victory. On the tothir side, the Inglismen, be hie curage, belevit nocht bot heye pray of landis and guddis to fal to thame for small laubour of ane day.

All the nicht afore the battall, King Robert wes richt wery, havand gret solicitude for the weil of his army, and micht take na rest, bot rolland all jeoperdeis and chance of fortoun in his mind ; and sumtimes he went to his devoit contemplatioun, makand his orisoun to God and Sanct Phillane, quhais arme, as he believit, set in silver wes closit in ane cais within his palyeon ; traisting the better fortoun to follow be the samin. In the menetime, the cais chakkit to suddanlie, but ony motion or werk of mortall creaturis. The preist, astonist be this wounder, went to the alter quhare the cais lay ; and quhen he fand the arme in the cais, he cryit, " Heir is ane gret mirakle ;" and incontinent he confest how he brocht the tume cais in the field, dredand that the rillik suld be tint in the feild quhair sa gret jeoperdeis apperit. The King, rejosing of this mirakill, past the remanent nicht in his prayairs with gud esperance of victorie.

On the morow he gaderit al his army to messe, to ressave the body of God, to mak thaim have the more curage aganis thair ennimes. In this army wes ane devoit man namit Mauritius abbot of Inchechaffray, quhilk said messe on ane hie mote, and ministerit the Eucharist to the king and his nobillis ; and causit his preistis to mak ministratioun thair of to the residue of the army. Efter this King Robert callit the pepill to his standart, and said in this maner ; " I beleif maist forey championis, nane is amang yow nocht knowing how necessar it is to us to fecht this day aganis oure ennimes. Ye se ane army gaderit aganis yow, nocht onlie of Inglismen, but of sindry othir nationis by and about thame, and cuning aganis us with thair wiflis and childrin, nocht

onlie to dwel in our boundis bot als to banis us out of the samin, and tendis to manure our lands, to frequent our houssis and tempillis, and finallie to bring us to sic uter rewine, that our fame and memorie sall peris in Albion. Oure ennimes hes tane lang consultation, howbeit it wes folie, with quhat cruel and horrible torment they sall pine us or ever we be vincust or cum in their handis; not knawing your invincible curage and manheid, sa lang exercit in chevalry, quhilk is richt patent in me be lang experience. Nochtheless, gif ye wil knaw quhat vailyeant men bene thir now invading yow with sic vane minassing maist forey and invincible campionis; thay ar the refuse of all realms; but ony practik or experience of chevalry; and continewally sen thair first yeris, drownit in lustis amang effeminat huris. And becaus thir febill and cownt bodyis hes wastit thair patrimony, landis and gudis, in vile and corruptit usis thay intend to ding yow fra your native landis, heritage and rounes. Nochtheles, ye sall haue sone experience, that it sal be na mair difficulte to slay thaim than scheip. Forther, suppois they wer dotat with maist vertew, ye suld nouthir be affrayit nor yit fulehardy; for in so far as we haue ane justar querrell to defend than they haue to persew in so far suld we beleif that God sal be mare faveourable to us than to thame, God hes now schawne to us his favour be mirakle of Sanct Phillane quhilk is cumin as I beleif to your eiris. Therefore I pray yow be of gud comfort as ye ar. Set on yone confusit multitude of peple; and traist weill quhare God is concurrant, na multitude of ennimes may avail; and the more nroumer of pepill cumis aganis you the pray and riches sall cum to your more proffet."

On the tother side King Edward prayit his folkis to remember gif they faucht vailyeantlie for ane hour or twa they suld haue infinite riches and the realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour, of whilk he desired nocht but the superiorite. Attour prayit thaim to remember quhat irrecoverable schame suld follow, sen they war departit out of thair countreis to returne hame but proffet or victorie.

At last quhen they wer passand forthwart to battal thay nicht skarslie be severit fra embrasing of thair wiffis and childrin; nochtheless be hortation of thair capitanis thay cum to gud array. The archearis stude arrayit amang the horsmen about ilk wing; and the battal evir in the middis of thame; traisting thair ennimes nocht of pissance to sustene thair great ordinance.

King Robert, that his folkis sall have na esperance to fle, commandit thaim to leif thair hors behind thame, and to cum on fute to battall. Mauritius, the abbot foresaid tuke the croce, in quhilk the crucifix wes hinging and ereckit it afore the army in maner of ane baner. Incontinent al the army of Scottis fel on kneis devoitlie commending thaim to God. The Inglismen seing the Scottis fall on kneis belevit thaim yeldin but straik; but quhen they saw thaim rise and cum forthwart they began to be affrayit."—*Bellenden's Boece*. Edinburgh 1821, 4to, vol. ii. p. 390.

V.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY KING JAMES IV. OF A CHARTER BY KING
ROBERT BRUCE TO THE MONASTERY OF STRATHFILLANE, 2 OCTOBER
1498.

CARTA CONFIRMACIONIS ET NOUE DONACIONIS TERRARUM DE WOTHIRTIRY
MONASTERIO DE STRATHFULANE (REGIST. MAG. SIGILL., LIB. XIII. NO. 399).

Jacobus dei gracia Rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem Sciatis nos pro speciali deuocione quam habemus beato confessori sancto fulano ac pro singulari fauore quem gerimus erga deuotum oratorem nostrum dompnum Johannem Murray priorem monasterii seu capelle nostre de Straithfulane approbasse ratificasse et pro nobis et successoribus nostris admortizasse et ad manum mortuam pro perpetuo confirmasse Illas donacionem cartam et infeodacionem factas per quondam nobilissimum progenitorem et predecessorem nostrum Regem Robertum brois bone memorie cuius anime propicietur deus dicto nostro monasterio seu capelle de Straithfulane ac priori eiusdem qui pro tempore fuerit et suis successoribus de totis et integris quinque libratibus terrarum de Wothirtiry antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis iacentibus in baronia de glendohart infra vicecomitatem nostrum de perth Ac eciam nos de nouo confirmando donamus et donando confirmamus dicto nostro monasterio de Straithfulane et prefato domino Johanni Murray moderno priori eiusdem et suis successoribus totas et integras predictas quinque libratas terrarum antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis Easdemque creauimus vniuius annexiuius et incorporauimus et hac presenti carta nostra creamus vniuius annexamus et incorporamus in vnam meram et liberam baroniam perpetuis futuris temporibus baroniam de Wothirtiry nuncupandam Tenendas et habendas totas et integras predictas quinque libratas terrarum de Wothirtiry antiqui extentus cum pertinentiis dicto domino Johanni Murray et suis successoribus prioribus dicti monasterii siue capelle nostre de Straithfulane creatas unitas annexatas et incorporatas In vnam meram et liberam baroniam perpetuis futuris temporibus baroniam de Wothirtiry nuncupandam de nobis et successoribus nostris In puram et perpetuam elemosinam secundum tenorem carte et infeodacionis prefati quondam Regis Roberti brois eiis desuper confecte Imperpetuum Per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas prout iacent in longitudine et latitudine In boscis planis moris marresis viis semitis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupacionibus venacionibus piscacionibus brueriis petariis turbariis carbonariis fabrilibus genestis siluis virgultis aquis stagnis riuolis cum Columbibus et Columbariis cum lapide et calce et lapideis Cum curiis et earum exitibus bludevitis herezeldis mulierum merchetis Cum furca fossa sok sak tholl theme Infangthefe outfangthefe pit et gallois Ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus aisia-

mentis ac iustis pertinentibus suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram tam procul quam prope ad predictas terras et baroniam cum pertinentiis spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua reuocacione aut contradictione quacunque faciundo et sustentando dicti prior et successores sui pro prefatis terris et baronia cum pertinentiis pro nobis predecessoribus et successoribus nostris diuinum cultum et orationum suffragia deuotarum in carta prefati quondam regis Roberti brois eis desuper confecta specificata et secundum tenorem, ejusdem tantum In cuius Rei testimonium presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precipimus Testibus Reuerendo in Cristo patre Wilelmo Episcopo Aberdonensi nostri secreti sigilli custode dilectis consanguineis nostris Georgio Comite de huntlie domino badzenach cancellario nostro Archibaldo Comite de Ergyle domino cambel et lorne magistro hospicii nostri patricio comite de bothuile domino halis Alexandro domino hume magno camerario nostro Roberto Lundy de balgony milite thesaurario nostro Et dilectis clericis nostris magistris ricardo murheid decano glasguensi secretario nostro et Waltero Drummond decano Dunblanensi nostrorum rotulorum et registri ac consilii clerico Apud Striueling secundo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octauo et regni nostri vndecimo.

VI.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY KING ROBERT BRUCE TO THE ABBEY OF
DERE, IN BUCHAN, IN RECOMPENSE OF THE INJURIES INFLICTED ON IT
THROUGH HIS WARS, 15TH FEBRUARY 1315.¹

Robertus dei gracia rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem sciatis nos pro salute anime nostre et pro salute animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum regum Scocie nec non et in recompensacionem dampnorum que monasterium de Dere in Buchan causa guerre nostre sustinuit dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et beate Marie virgini et monasterio de Dere omnes ecclesias terras res redditus et possessiones quascunque quas monachi eiusdem monasterii assecuti sunt ex donis quondam Willelmi Cumyn Comitum de Buchan quondam Mariorie sponse sue quondam Alexandri et Johannis comitum de Buchan nec non et ex donis aliorum nobilium regni nostri Tenendas et habendas dicto Monasterio et monachis ibidem deo seruientibus et imperpetuum seruuturis et eorum successoribus in perpetuum in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice cum

¹ From a contemporary copy belonging to Sir Patrick Keith Murray, Bart., of Auchtertyre.

omnibus libertatibus comoditatibus aisyamentis et iustis pertinenciis suis sicut alique domus religiosorum cisterciensis ordinis in regno Scocie aliquas ecclesias terras res redditus et possessiones in perpetuam elemosinam liberius quicquid plenius et honorificencius tenent seu possident In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum precepimus apponi Testibus Bernardo abbate de Abirbrothoc cancellario nostro Johanne de Menteth Gylberto de Haya constabulario nostro Roberto de Keth Marescallo nostro Nigello Cambel Jacobo de Lyndesay et Hugone de Erth Militibus Apud Abirbrothoc xv° die Februarii anno regni nostri nono.

VII.

LETTERS BY THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DUNKELD, CONFIRMING A GRANT BY WILLIAM, BISHOP OF DUNKELD, TO THE ABBOT OF INCHAFRAY AND THE CANONS OF STRATHFILLAN, OF THE CHURCH OF KILLIN, OCTOBER 1318.¹

Vniuersis cristi fidelibus has litteras visuris vel auditoris Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesie Dunkeldensis salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos cartam donacionis facte Religiosis viris Abbati et Conuentui de Insula missarum per Reuerendum patrem dominum Willelmum Dei gracia Episcopum Dunkeldensem vidisse et inspexisse non cancellatam non abolitam nec in aliqua parte sui viciatam in forma que sequitur Vniuersis sancte matris Ecclesie filijs ad quos presentes Littere peruererint Willelmus miseratione diuina Ecclesie Dunkeldensis minister humilis salutem in domino sempiternam Nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos de vnanimi consensu et assensu capituli nostri habito super hoc prius inter nos in capitulo nostro diligenti et frequenti ac solempni tractatu caritatis intuitu pro cultu diuino augendo et hospitalitate tenenda concessisse et contulisse imperpetuum Religiosis viris Abbati de Insula missarum et canonicis eiusdem monasterij per disposicionem sui Abbatis Deo imperpetuum seruituris in Capella sancti Felani Glendochred nostre diocesis ibidem per predictum Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit mittendis ponendis et amouendis Ita tamen quod secundum situm loci et facultates eiusdem sufficiens numerus canonicorum inibi ordinetur et inueniatur Ecclesiam de Killyn cuius ius patronatus dominus noster dominus Robertus Dei gracia Rex Scotorum illustris ipsius ecclesie uerus patronus prius concessit dictis Religiosis cum terris et omnibus aliis redditibus obuencionibus et iuribus quibuscunque ad dictam Ecclesiam pertinentibus seu pertinere valentibus in vsus suos proprios Saluis nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum Episcopalibus et Archidiaconalibus Ecclesie Dunkeldensis qui pro tempore fuerint omnibus que de dicta Ecclesia soldant habere seu percipere

¹ From the original at Panmure House.

Ita videlicet quod omnes fructus et prouentus dicte Ecclesie cum pertinenciis conuertantur per ordinationem predicti Abbatis in vsus Prioris et Canonicorum commorantium ad dictam Capellam pro cultu diuino Et Prior presentandus ad Prioratum dicte capelle per Abbatem et Conuentum dicti Monasterij quocienscumque et quandocumque ipsum Prioratum contigerit vacare nobis et successoribus nostris presentetur et a nobis et successoribus nostris instituat et curam suscipiat. Et sciendum est quod predicti Religiosi viri Abbas et Conuentus dicti monasterij presentabunt nobis et successoribus nostris qui pro tempore fuerint ad vicariam dicte Ecclesie de Killyn vnum Canonicum vel vnum Capellanum secularem si quem maluerint qui curam dicte Ecclesie serat et respondebit de eadem Cuius porcionem pro sustentacione sua et pro iuribus nostris Episcopalibus et Archidiaconalibus soluendis taxamus decem libras sterlingorum et volumus taxari in futurum In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum apposuimus Et ad huius rei euidentiam pleniorum et confirmacionem maiorem Sigillum commune Capituli nostri presentibus est appensum Datum apud Dunkelden in Capitulo nostro die Jouis proxima ante festum Apostolorum Symonis et Jude Anno Domini millesimo Tricentesimo decimo octauo Quam donacionem collacionem et concessionem approbamus ratificamus et per presentes confirmamus Et si quid per incuriam vel per negligenciam in dicta carta fuerit omissum Id ex certa sciencia supplemus per presentes In cuius rei testimonium commune sigillum capituli nostri presentibus apposuius Datum in Capitulo nostro die Jouis proxima ante festum Apostolorum Sijmonis et Jude Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo decimo octauo.

VIII.

INQUEST HELD AT KANDROCHID CONCERNING THE AUTHORITY AND PRIVILEGES OF THE COYGERACH, 22D APRIL 1428.¹

Hec Inquisitio facta apud Kandrochid xxii die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo xxviii, coram Johanne de Spens de Perth, ballivo de Glendochirde, de et super autoritate et privilegiis cujusdam Reliquie Sancti Felani, que vulgariter dicitur *Coygerach*, per istos subscriptos, viz.: Karulum Cambell, Reginaldum Malcolmi, Donaldum M'Arthour, Cristinum Malcolmi, Johannem M'Nab, Patricium M'Nab, Johannem Alexandri M'Nab, Johannem Menzies, Duncanum Gregorii, Dugallum Gregorii, Duncanum Elpine, Alexandrum M'Austillan, Nicolaum Gregorii, Johannem M'Callum, et Felanum Pauli, Qui jurati magno sacramento dicunt, Quod lator ipsius reliquie de Coygerach, qui Jore vulgariter dicitur habere debet annuatim et hereditarie a quolibet inhabitante parochiam de Glendochirde, habente vel laborante mercatam terre,

¹ From the original in the Breadalbane charter-chest, as printed in the Black Book of Taymouth.

sive libere sive pro firma, dimidiam bollam farine, et de quolibet in dicta parochia habente dimidiam mercatam terre ut predicatur, libere vel pro firma, modium farine et de quolibet in ista parochia habente quadraginta denariatas terre, dimidiam modii farine. Et si quivis alius inhabitans dictam parochiam magis quam mercatam terre haberet, nihil magis solveret quam ordinatum fuit de una mercata terre. Et quod officium gerendi dictam reliquiam dabatur cuidam progenitori Finlai Jore latoris presentium hereditarie, per successorem Sancti Felani, cui officio idem Finlaius est verus et legitimus heres. Et quod ipsa privilegia usa fuerunt et habita in tempore Regis Roberti Bruys et in tempore omnium regum a tunc usque in hodiernum diem. Pro quibus commodis et privilegiis prefati jurati dicunt quod si contigerit, aliqua bona vel catalla rapta esse vel furata ab aliquo dictam parochiam de Glendochirde inhabitante, et is a quo ipsa bona vel catalla rapta essent vel furata propter dubium sue persone vel inimicitias hostium eadem bona vel catalla prosequi non auderet, tunc unum servum suum vel hominem mitteret ad eundem Jore de le Coygerach cum quatuor denariis vel pare sotularum, cum victu prime noctis, et tunc idem Jore abinde suis propriis expensis prosequetur dicta catalla ubicunque exinde sectum querere poterit infra regnum Scotie. Et hec universa per dictam inquisitionem fuerunt inventa anno, die, loco, et mense prenominitis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Johannis de Spens ballivi antedicti presentibus est appensum anno die et loco supradictis.

IX.

LETTER OF GIFT BY KING JAMES III. TO MALISE DOIRE, GIVEN UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL AT EDINBURGH, 6TH JULY 1487.¹

LITERA PRO MALISEO DOIRE, COMMORANTI IN STRAFULANE.

JAMES, be the grace of God King of Scottis, to all and sindri our liegis and subditis spirituale and temporale to quhois knaulege thir our lettres sal cum greting: Forsamekle as we haue undirstand that our servitour Malice Doire and his forebearis has had ane Relik of Sanct Fulane callit the QUEGRICH, in keping of us and of oure progenitouris of maist nobill mynde, quham God assolye, sen the tyme of King Robert the Bruys and of before, and made nane obedience nor ansuere to na persoun spirituale nor temporale in ony thing concernyng the said haly Relik uthir wayis than is contenit in the auld infeftmentis thareof made and grantit be oure said progenitouris. We chaing you therefor strately and commandis that in tyme to cum ye and ilk yane of you redily ansuere,

¹ From the certified extract of the document registered as a probative writ in the Books of Council and Session, 1st November 1734.

intend and obey to the said Malise Doire in the peciable broiking and joising of the said Relik, and that ye, na nain of you, tak upon hand to compell nor distrenye him to mak obedience nor ansuere to you nor till ony uthir but allenary to us and oure successouris, according to the said infettment and fundatioun of the said Relik, and siclike as wes use and wount in the tyme of oure said progenitouris of maist nobill mynde of before : And that ye mak him nane impediment, letting nor distroublance in the passing with the said Relik throw the contre, as he and his forebearis wes wount to do ; And that ye and ilk ane of you in oure name and autorite kepe him unthrallit, bot to remane in siclike fredome and liberte of the said Relik, like as is contenit in the said infettment under all the hiest pane and charge that ye and ilk ane of you may amitt, and inrun anent us in that pairt. Gevin undir oure prive sele at Edinburgh this vj day of Julij, the yere of God j^m iiij^c lxxxvij yeris and of oure regne the xxvij yere.

JAMES R.

The President moved that the thanks of the Society be given to Dr Stuart for his admirable elucidation of the history of this most beautiful and interesting relic.

The motion was seconded by the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan, who took the opportunity of saying that he quite agreed with Dr Stuart in his interpretation of the meaning of the Gaelic names of the relic and its keepers.

It was then moved by the President, and carried by acclamation,—

“That the meeting cordially sharing the sentiments expressed by Dr Stuart as to the value of the service rendered to the Society by Dr Daniel Wilson in securing the return of St Fillan's Crozier to Scotland, and its deposit in the National Museum, and recognising this as a result which must be gratifying to all Scotsmen on account of the historical character and associations of this relic, they unanimously resolve to tender him the warmest thanks of the President, Council, and Fellows for this his crowning benefit to the Society.”

In like manner it was then moved, and unanimously agreed to,—

“That the hearty thanks of the President, Council, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland are due, and are hereby tendered, to Alexander Dewar, Esq., of Plympton, in Canada, and to Archibald Dewar, his son, for the handsome arrangements proposed and concluded by them, in concert with the Society, by which the Quirich or Crozier of St

Fillan, which had been for so many centuries in hereditary possession of the Dewars their ancestors, has now been by them restored to Scotland and finally deposited in the National Museum of the Society at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish nation."

The Secretary was instructed to send copies of these resolutions to Dr Daniel Wilson and Messrs Alexander and Archibald Dewar respectively.

The meeting then adjourned.

THE AUTHOR,

JOHN STUART, LL.D.,

DIED 19TH JULY 1877,

WHILE THESE SHEETS WERE PASSING THROUGH THE PRESS.

MONDAY, 9th April 1877.

Sir WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., Vice-President, in the Chair.

After a Ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows:—

DAVID AINSLIE, of Costerton, Esq.
 ROBERT CRAIGIE BELL, Esq., W.S.
 JAMES CAMPBELL of Tillychewan, Esq.
 JOHN JEFFREY, Esq., Balsusney, Kirkcaldy.
 HENRY E. S. H. DRUMMOND MORAY of Blairdrummond, Esq.
 A. T. NIVEN, Esq., C.A.
 Major ROBERT RINTOUL of Lahill.
 ADAM SKIRVING of Croyes, Esq.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were exhibited, and thanks voted to the Donors, viz.:—

(1.) By J. C. WRIGHT, Esq., 64 Princes Street.

Polished Celt of Basalt, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

Polished Celt of Granite, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Two old Flint-lock Muskets, one having a bayonet affixed.

(2.) By JAMES DALGARNO, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Slains.

Small triangular Arrow-Head of Yellow Flint, measuring $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, found at Slains.

(3.) By Col. BALFOUR, of Balfour and Trenaby, F.S.A. Scot.

Arrow-Head of Black Flint, 1 inch in length, triangular, with barbs and stem, finely proportioned and of delicate workmanship, found in the middle of St John's Moss, in the island of Shapinsay, Orkney.



Arrow-head from Shapinsay, Orkney.

(4.) By Mr JOHN KEITH, Auchrynie, Old Deer, Aberdeenshire.

Perforated Stone Implement, being a flattish oblong water-worn pebble,

4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness, having a circular hole an inch in diameter nearly in the centre of the flat side. The hole has been worked through from opposite sides, the aperture in the centre being only $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter. One of the ends of the implement is fractured, and the other marked as if by use as a hammer. It was found in a cairn on Ythanside, betwixt Methlick and Gight, Aberdeenshire.

(5.) By T. H. PATTISON, M.D., London Street.

Medalet in Copper, size of a halfpenny, with bust of George III. and the inscription GEORGIUS III. REX ; the reverse occupied by an engraved inscription—"St Jameses Square was founded by THOMAS HILL Architect. Edin^r May 29th AD 1779." With the medalet is a memorandum in an old hand on a small piece of paper:—"St James's Square Edin^r thus named in honour of Cap^t James Ferguson of the R. Navy by Mr Walter Ferguson, Writer, his brother, the Proprietor, was founded by Thomas Hill, Architect in Edin^r May 29th 1779."

(6.) By ROBERT L. REID, Esq.

Spinning-wheel of Birch, painted, 2 feet 8 inches high. In a note accompanying the donation Mr Reid says:—"To encourage industry and excellence in spinning, the Hon. Lady Menzies of Castle Menzies offered this spinning-wheel as a prize to be competed for by the farmers' daughters of her neighbourhood. It was gained by Janet M'Gregor about the year 1740."

(7.) By JOHN MARR, R.N., High Street.

Large Jar of Earthenware (resembling a wine or oil jar), 2 feet 10 inches high, 20 inches wide, and 8 inches across the mouth.

(8.) By Rev. WILLIAM R. FRASER, M.A., Minister of Maryton, the Author.

Maryton, Records of the Past ; a Lecture delivered in the Public School of Maryton, Montrose. 12mo, pp. 36. 1877.

(9.) By R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Découverte d'un Squellette Humaine de l'Epoque Palæolithique dans les Grottes de Menton, par Emile Rivière. Second edition. Mentone, 1873. 4to.

Biorner, Prodromus Tractatum de Geographia Scandinaviæ Veteri, etc., et Runarum in cippis Helsingicis ac Medelpadicis, etc. Stockholm, 1726. 4to.

(10.) By M. BONFILS, the Author, through R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Récherches sur les Outils en Silex des Troglydites, et sur la Manière dont ils les fabriquent, par M. Bonfils. Nice, 1872. 4to.

(11.) By J. SANDS, Esq., Ormiston.

Four Rude Stone Implements and fragments of Pottery from an underground house in St Kilda.

Distaff and Spindle from St Kilda.

Portion of Hair Rope used by the cragsmen of St Kilda.

Sternum of Solan Goose used as a spoon in St Kilda.

[See the subsequent Communication by Mr Sands.]

The following Communications were read:--

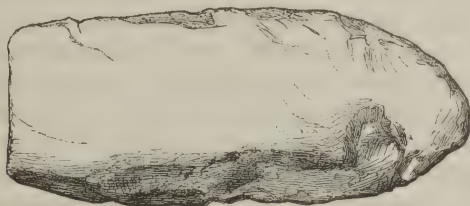
I.

NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE ISLAND OF ST KILDA.

By J. SANDS, Esq., ORMISTON.

Tigh an t-sithiche.—On my first visit to St Kilda in 1875 I heard that a subterranean house existed at the back of the village, and on my second visit in 1876 I determined to get it opened and examined. It is situated about 40 yards to the N.E. of the churchyard, and in a spot which commands a view of the bay. The door was covered by a crop of potatoes, and the owner objected to the ground being disturbed merely to gratify idle curiosity. But on my promising to pay for any damage that might be done, he at length assented to my request, and three men volunteered to discover and clear out the premises. This house was found by accident about thirty-two years previously by a man who was digging the ground above it; but after a hasty survey it was covered up again, and had never been opened since. It is called the *Tigh an t-sithiche*, or house of the fairies. After a short search the door in the roof was again discovered, and a quantity of stones and earth thrown out. The house measures 25 feet long by 3 feet 8 inches wide, and is about 4 feet high. The St Kildans said the masonry was rude but strong. The stones that form the walls are large. The roof is composed of flat stones, laid across from side to side, with earth on the top. This house runs due north and south, and on the east side, at a right angle, is a *croopa*, or bed in the wall. I at first thought that this was a passage, but the St Kildans were confident it was a bed, and on a closer inspection I came to the same conclusion. The floor was covered with peat-ashes and soot to a depth of a foot or two. Mixed with the ashes was a large quantity of limpet shells, bearing the mark of fire, bones of sheep and cattle, bones of sea-fowl, chiefly those of the fulmar and solan goose. I also found a large number of rude stone implements resembling hatchets or wedges, and part of a lamp. Fragments of coarse pottery were also discovered. The floor was laid with flat stones, and underneath was a drain. The men told me they had often found small vessels of clay in the earth, but had never seen any pottery made, nor heard that it had ever been made in Hirta. Stone

lamps are still to be seen above ground, and some old men told me they had often used them when in Boreray and Soa. It is remarkable that all to whom I showed the implements recognised them at a glance—"Sean lamhog, sean sgian," old axe, old knife, they said. I imagine that the hole in the roof was the original door, because I found a number of stone implements lying around it, above the stones and under the soil.



Rude Stone Implement from the underground house in St Kilda
(7½ inches in length).

Sometime afterwards, when digging near the *Tigh an t-sithiche*, I came upon the *midden* of the establishment. It contained a large quantity of limpet shells, bones, and two stone implements. Subsequently I discovered numbers of similar implements in the ruins of old houses above ground. It is probable that stone implements were used in St Kilda at a very recent date.

Clach an eòlas.—At the back of the village, not far from the churchyard, is a large stone, not different in appearance from the numberless stones lying thereabout, but which was believed to possess wonderful properties. If any one stood on this stone on the first day of the quarter he became endowed with the second sight, and was able to see all that was to happen during the ensuing quarter.

Chapel.—A chapel formerly stood in the little churchyard at the back of the village, but it was demolished some years ago. Some of the men remember when the ruin was 16 feet high. It was built of squared stones, one of which is still to be seen built into a cottage. A cross is incised upon it. I was told that a stone with an inscription on it had been carried off by a former factor.

Airidh mhòr.—In the glen, now called Glen Mòr, at the north-west side of St Kilda, is an ancient building called *Airidh mhòr*. It is circular in form, about 9 feet in diameter, and built of flat stones, which converge as they ascend, until the space becomes so narrow that a single stone covers it. This house is covered outside with earth and turf, and looks like a little hill. There were three *croopan* or beds in the wall. One of these beds had been destroyed when I saw the building in 1875, but otherwise the house was in good preservation. Two men, I regret to say, have since that date taken away a large quantity of the stones to build *clactyan*. *Airidh mhòr* is described by Martin and Macaulay. The former calls it the Female Warrior's House, or *Tigh na Bana-ghaisgeach*. All the traditions connected with it, and alluded to by Martin, seem now to be forgotten.

On the face of the hill called Sgal overlooking the east bay, amongst the *débris* that has fallen from its rocky ribs, is an ancient building, which tradition says was used as a hiding place in times of danger. It had been covered by stones, but was found again last summer. I went and threw out the rubbish. It is built with comparatively small stones, and is not a substantial work like the subterranean dwelling behind the village. It contains two *croopan*. I saw no ashes or smoke-marks or anything to indicate that it had been used as a permanent abode.

SOA.—On the 14th of August last year I went with a party of men, who were going to catch fulmars, to the island of Soa, and ascended to the top. I saw the "Boitha an Dugan," referred to by Miss Kennedy in her letter published in the Proceedings of the Society, vol. x. part 2, p. 704. As I am not aware that it has been described by any one from personal inspection, I shall give a sketch of it. A murderer, Dugan by name, was banished to the island of Soa to die at his leisure. He took shelter under a huge stone that springs out of the ground like the chisel of a plane. He deepened the floor with his dirk, and built dry stone walls at the sides and front, leaving a door of about 2 feet square. Here his dirk and bones were discovered after a time. This primitive hut is surrounded by great masses of huge stones, and is not easily distinguishable. It is still occupied by the six young women who go to this island every summer to catch puffins for the sake of the feathers. They generally remain three weeks at a time, but when the

weather is bad, are sometimes detained for six weeks. The coast is wild, and if the sea is rough it is extremely difficult for a boat to approach, as I experienced. There are some other primitive houses on the island. Near the top of Soa is an ancient altar (?) built of loose stones, and in good preservation. It is about 3 feet high. It seems to have been encircled by small standing stones. There is no chapel on this island.

BORERAY—A building like *Airidh mhòr*, but much larger, stood, until a few years ago, in the island of Boreray. Old people remember it well, and have often slept in it. It was said to have been built and inhabited by a hermit called Stallir. Not a vestige of it now remains, it having been used as a quarry by men building clactyan. I visited Boreray on the 29th June last year. I could not discover the Druidical circle mentioned by Macaulay, and the St Kildans seem never to have heard of it. That author, as will be seen afterwards, is not to be implicitly relied on. I saw three very primitive dwellings, in which the women live when they go to Boreray to catch birds. They are built on the plan usual in St Kilda—two walls close together, and approaching as they ascend, so that stones can be laid across to form a roof. For the sake of warmth they are covered over with earth and turf. One of these huts is 15 feet long by 6 broad at the floor. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high at the hearth, which is close to the door. The latter is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and has to be entered on hands and knees. There is a semi-circular seat of stone around the hearth, and the rest of the floor is raised a foot higher, and is used as a bed. A small wall of stone protects the door from the wind. The girls generally live on this island for three weeks in July, and have no male protectors. If there is sickness or death they cut two large marks on the turf, which can be seen in Hirta, which is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant, and a boat, weather permitting, is sent to their aid.

THE DUN.—On the 31st July I went with a party of men to the island called the Dun. Here I saw the site of a pagan altar (?), but the structure itself has been probably thrown into the sea. I was disappointed in being unable to find the castle so elaborately described by Macaulay. There is no such castle on the Dun, and probably never was. But I examined the wall mentioned by Wilson. It was evidently intended to keep an enemy who had landed on the island from getting to the extremity. It is built of loose stones, is broad at the base, and has parapets inside, on

which the defenders could have stood. This wall, the St Kildans say, was higher at one time, and was pierced with narrow loopholes. There is a narrow cave under the wall having two mouths, one outside the wall and the other inside. It may have been used as a passage by the people. Although a rude structure compared with the Dun Fir-bolg described by Macaulay, this fortification is interesting as being the only relic of war in St Kilda, the inhabitants of which evidently trusted to concealing themselves in case of invasion. As Macaulay was in St Kilda in 1759 (or says he was), it is almost certain that if any castle built with squared stones had been on the Dun at that time some tradition would have existed respecting it, or traces of where it stood, and how the stones had been used, would have been visible. The St Kildans deny that there was ever any other castle on the Dun but the wall described. Rory Mòr the impostor, who flourished in 1695, Buchan the first minister (1705), and Lady Grange (1734) are still remembered, and if so, it is not likely that a large castle existing in 1759 should have been utterly forgotten. I saw a low cavern (called a *sean tigh*, or old house) on the Dun, which is sometimes occupied by the men who go to pluck sheep, and the women who go to that island to catch birds.

Customs of St Kildans.—As some of the existing manners and customs of the St Kildans may throw a light upon the habits of ancient and primitive populations, I shall try to describe them.

The ground is now all dug with the spade, but I saw a *cass chrom* or two put away on the rafters of barns. A wooden rake is used instead of a harrow. Oats, bere, and potatoes are cultivated, and a few cabbages and turnips. Reaping hooks are sometimes used to cut the crop, but in general it is pulled up by the roots, the straw being used to thatch old houses and cellars. The grain is thrashed out with a flail. It is scorched in a pot or put into a straw tub (like a flat-topped bee-hive), and dried with heated stones. It is then ground by hand-mills. The women sit on the ground half-naked, and work at the mill like furies. Sheepskins, stretched on a hoop and perforated with a hot wire, serve as sieves. A fragment of the sieve will be seen on the distaff sent herewith. The meal is baked into cakes and made into gruel and porridge. Meat is often cooked along with these.

The St Kildans are warmly clothed, which probably accounts for the

immunity they enjoy from pulmonary and other diseases. The men make all their own clothes, and also dresses for the women. The gowns of the latter seem of a very antique fashion. They are fastened on the breast with a large pin made from a ling hook. Their plaid is secured with a brooch made from an old penny. The bill of the sea-pyot or oyster catcher was formerly used as a pin for the gown and plaid. In warm weather the women are often to be seen on the cliffs and in the glen without any clothing but a woollen shirt. The men also strip to their underclothing when engaged on the cliffs. The *brog tiondadh*, or turned shoe, was universal until within a few years. Specimens are still to be seen. They are made without welts. Caps of lambskin were also the fashion, but I have only seen one. A live peat, stuck on the end of a stick, served for a lantern on a dark night. I have often used it myself.

Lucifer matches, although used by the minister, are looked upon as curiosities by the people, who smile when one is struck. Nor is there a flint and steel on the island. The turf fires are always kept burning, and if one happens to go out a live turf is borrowed from a neighbour. When parties of men or women go to the adjacent islands they take a kettle of burning turf with them. If the embers are covered with turf and ashes the fire will survive for a great many hours. I myself had no matches, and never required to borrow a cinder for some months. The fires in St Kilda have probably been burning for centuries.

The sheep are *plucked*, sheep-shears being unknown. The wool is spun by the wheel into thread for cloth, blankets, and stockings. Thread for sewing is spun by the spindle and distaff. The women dye the thread with indigo (bought from the factor), and with lichen found on stones. Almost every man is a weaver in winter.

The looms are all made of wood without any iron. The cloth they make is all twilled, which requires four treadles. They buy leather from the factor, but tan sheepskins. Martin says this is done with the roots of tormentil. One (6½ inches long). man told me that bark found under the turf was used to tan leather, but I neglected to prosecute the inquiry, not seeing its importance at the time. I send a sample of the sheepskin tanned by themselves.



Spindle from
St Kilda
(6½ inches long).

The ropes used on the cliffs were formerly made of horsehair and even of straw, and accidents were more frequent than now when lines of hemp and Manilla are employed. Some of the old horsehair ropes (forty years old) were, however, used last year. A portion of one of these is exhibited. Middle-aged men remember when there were horses on the island. They are now extinct.

The stone implements found in the *Tigh fo Talamh*, and above ground, were no doubt used to split open solan geese and other sea fowl, and also to cut up the carcasses of sheep and cattle. One man told me he had seen a long thin stone used to fell oxen.

II.

SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO OUR MURAL ANTIQUITIES. BY ANDREW GIBB, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., ABERDEEN. (PLATES VII., VIII., IX.)

The rapid changes which are effected at the present time by the progress of agriculture in the country, and architectural and other improvements in towns, result in bringing to light relics, long hid from observation, in greater numbers, perhaps, than they ever were before. There is, no doubt, also more intelligent attention paid to these "finds" now than ever there was; nevertheless it is to be feared that in too many instances a very partial observation, ending perhaps in a casual paragraph in a local newspaper, is all that comes of it. And many an important relic discovered in this way, after being looked upon as a local curiosity for a brief space, is thrown aside, forgotten, and destroyed before any adequate copy or description of it has been made for preservation.

This is more or less true of all classes of archaeological objects, but it is specially so of that class which has principally come under my observation, namely, Mural Antiquities—sculptured memorials about old churches, whether specially interesting for their architectural or artistic value, or as monuments of historical events either of national, local, or family interest, and that class of antiquities peculiar to our north-eastern counties, known as "Sculptured Stones." In too many instances, when examples in either of the former of these classes are discovered, after doing duty in satisfying vulgar wonder for a very short time, they are broken up

without hesitation, sometimes into road metal, and at others to be wrought as common rubble into some neighbouring building. Should they escape this speedy fate, they are generally "restored" in a manner that destroys half their value, or are placed in such a position for "preservation" as ensures their speedy destruction.

The feeling of veneration for the "Sculptured Stones," and their uncouth and as yet unexplained symbols, which has always been a characteristic of the agricultural people of Scotland, has hitherto tended to their greater protection than that of any other class of our mural antiquities. When any new stone turned up it was generally consigned to the nearest graveyard, or put up with its face exposed beside some farm dyke or country road, where it might be reasonably well seen. In this way many examples have been preserved that have been specially valuable to workers desiring to elucidate this class of monuments. But notwithstanding this popular and praiseworthy veneration, often fostered by traditional legends, many examples have been but lately lost sight of. I have on several occasions spent days, without avail, in search of stones which had been seen by persons still living, and partially described in the statistical accounts, or other works, published during the last eighty or a hundred years. And it is within my knowledge that the same destructive influences are at work around us still, though operating beyond the range of antiquarian knowledge and influence. This is deeply to be regretted at such a time as the present, when so much attention is paid to all remains of unquestionable authenticity, by which theories may be tested, corrected, or thrown aside, and when so many opportunities are afforded for collecting and storing those fragments of material, the real value of which can only be known when they are wrought by skilful hands into the structure to which they belong.

One reason why many antiquities which are casually brought to light slip out of existence without being properly recorded, is the difficulty often experienced by provincial observers in having anything which they think deserving of note to say about the object found or its history. Being away from the centre of literary knowledge, they have not the means of readily informing themselves about what is generally known of the class to which it belongs, or they distrust what they do know; and they therefore defer bringing the object under the attention of such a Society

as ours, in the hope that something may turn up for them to say about it worthy of the occasion. This something seldom does turn up, and the object is laid aside, and lies till all interest in it is gradually lost. Thus the existence of many valuable relics is never brought under the notice of those capable of judging of their real worth till it is too late, the objects being either lost altogether or mutilated beyond the power of recognition. It sometimes also happens that an antique, really valuable in its own place, is raised by the local possessor into an importance that does not properly belong to it, and it is belauded and "restored" in a manner that proves as fatal to it as neglect would have been. A speedy fate then awaits it. A change of fashion takes place, or the owner of the object comes to the knowledge of its true worth, which he had before overestimated; a revulsion of feeling is the consequence, and it is thrown aside as a piece of worthless lumber, when in reality the article might be of considerable value to those who knew how to use it.

Architectural and ecclesiastical remains are subject, however, to destruction from far other causes. In many parts of the country such remains, whatever their artistic excellence, are associated with superstitious practices and beliefs which are considered characteristic of a Church that has been superseded, and no respect is paid to them. Besides this, they are sometimes, from motives of economy or greed, ruthlessly thrown down and destroyed whenever occasion occurs. "There has," says Mr Billings, "been more destruction among this class of antiquities within the last hundred years, in Scotland, than ever there was before; and her own children, from no religious or party prejudices, but from sheer motives of gain, have been the despoilers."¹ And no one who has travelled much, and been observant of the architectural "bits" that remain to grace the ruins of our older churches, or the monuments and slabs that lie broken and neglected about our burial grounds, will be inclined to doubt his assertion. Nor is this destruction confined to Scotland. It is, unfortunately, as prevalent, if not more so, in England, at least in the northern counties. I have in several places seen crosses and monumental slabs that had been but lately smashed into fragments lying among the rubbish in the rector's garden, or set up as meaningless ornaments in his shrubbery, any one of which would have made a

¹ Antiquities of Scot., vol. i. p. 4.

Scottish graveyard famous. We learn, from published information, the sad havoc that has been made among the English brasses and the old sculptured slabs, but it is satisfactory to know that of most of the former, at least of those now lost, more or less perfect rubbings or copies have been preserved.

It is with the view of suggesting whether something of this kind could be done for the somewhat similar class of antiquities in Scotland that I have brought this subject before the Society. The slabs and crosses of Argyllshire are well known to be unexampled, in several respects, among the antiquities of any country, and we have remains of slabs, fonts, aumbays, and kindred objects, scattered over the whole country that are too much overlooked, and are so fast going to waste, that it would be well for the Society to endeavour to preserve copies of them before it is too late.

The Spalding Club has done much for one class of the sculptured stones in Scotland. Captain White and others have done good service among other classes; but much remains yet to be done. There is plenty of talent and will, no doubt, in the Society, if the work was allocated and understood. If those who can use the pencil in correct sketching, or the burnisher in the way of rubbings, would, during their summer wanderings, do a little, season by season, for the "Proceedings," or publication in any other form that the Society might deem expedient, we should soon have a collection of materials, the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate.

There are, I understand, some members who have already sketches of this kind lying uselessly beside them that could readily be made available if the proper mode of issue could be resolved on. In my wanderings, in the work of the Spalding Club and otherwise, I have collected a good many such, which might be of use to inquirers could they have access to them, and I would be glad to place them at the disposal of the Society for this purpose, along with such others as I may pick up, from time to time, within the range of my observation.

I select, at present, a few specimens, which have been recently gathered, leaving extended remarks on them to be made by members better qualified for this than I am.

The illustrations Nos. 1 and 2, Plate VII., are of stones from the old

church of Tullich, near Ballater, on the Dee, Aberdeenshire. Tullich is a very old ecclesiastical site. The first church there is said to have been founded by St Nachlan, who flourished about 450, and it used to be termed the mother church of the district. The inhabitants still commemorate the anniversary of the saint by holding a meeting on the 8th of January¹.

Stone No. 1 was discovered by the Rev. Mr Michie in 1875. It was lying with its sculptured face downwards, on the top of a recess formed by the building up of a door in the north wall of the old ruin.

Stone No. 2, which shows simply an incised Calvary cross, has been long seen forming the outside lintel of the south door of the church. There is another stone with a cross, less entire, forming a back lintel to the same door.

There are known to have been other two sculptured stones standing in this locality till a very recent date, which have been destroyed, and of which we have no account or reliable description. One of them stood on the market stance of the old village of Tullich, and was known as St Nachlan's Cross. It is said to be about 12 feet in height, and was removed to make way for a turnpike road, and broken up for building stones. The other stood about half a mile east of the old church on a mound, till it had to be displaced during the formation of the Deeside Railway, when it also was destroyed. No drawing of it has been preserved, but a reliable authority—Mr Jervise—says it bore a considerable resemblance to the Skeith stone of Kilrenny, figured in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. plate 124.

Illustration No. 3, Plate VII., is from a small fragment found by the writer in the old churchyard of Fetterangus, in Buchan, during last summer. Fetterangus is an old ecclesiastical site. What was the old parish forms a detached part of Banffshire, and was formerly a part of the parish of Lungley, where St Fergus is said to have established a cell in the sixth century, previous to taking up his residence in Angus, where he died.² There are records of its having been granted to the monks of Arbroath by Bishop Adam of Aberdeen in 1207, which grant was confirmed by William the Lion, between the years 1212 and 1214,

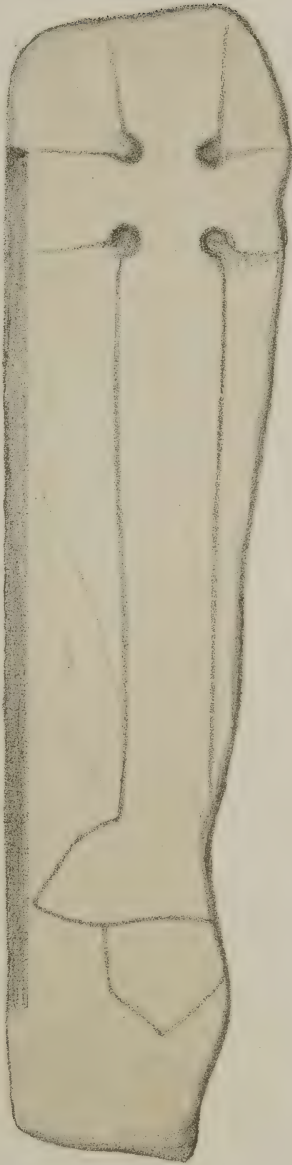
¹ Ant. of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 133.

² Book of Deer, p. 3.

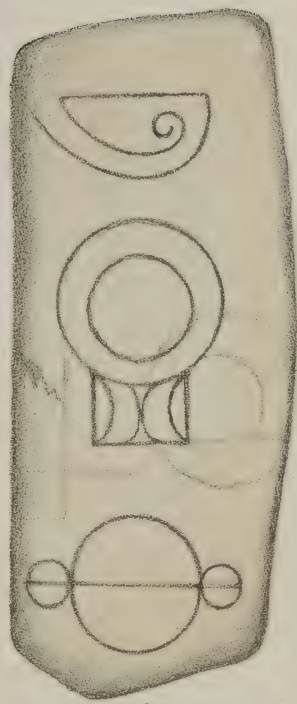


1.

AT TULLICH.



2.



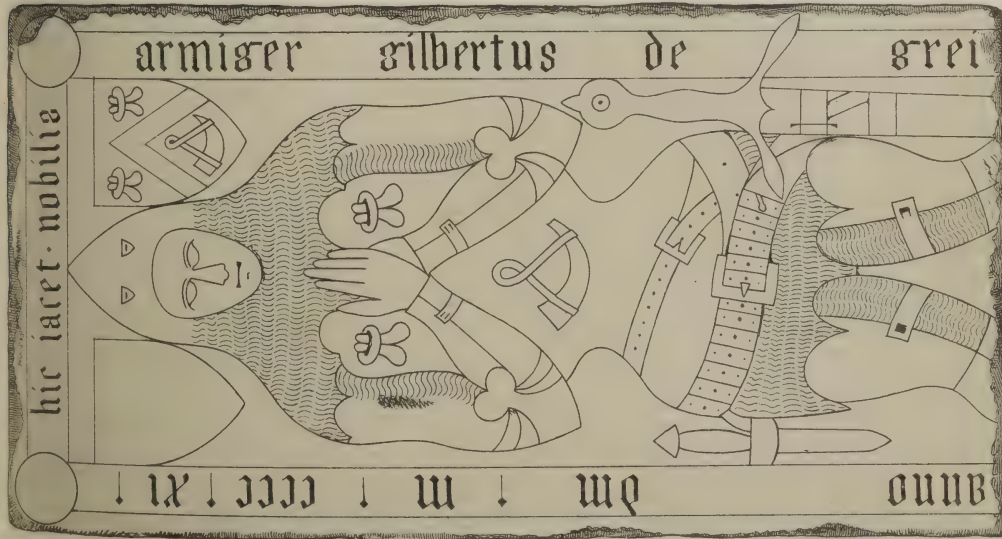
3.

AT FETTERANGUS.

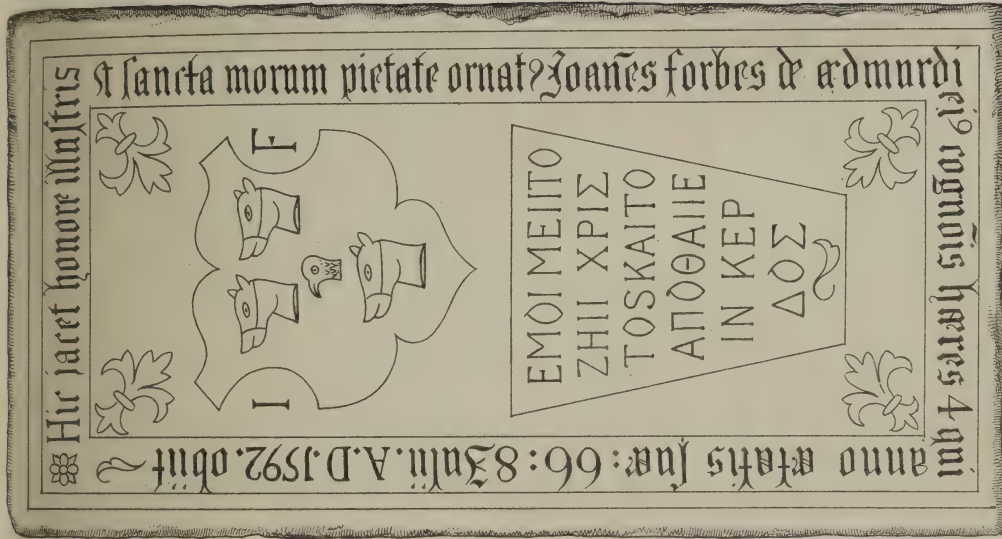


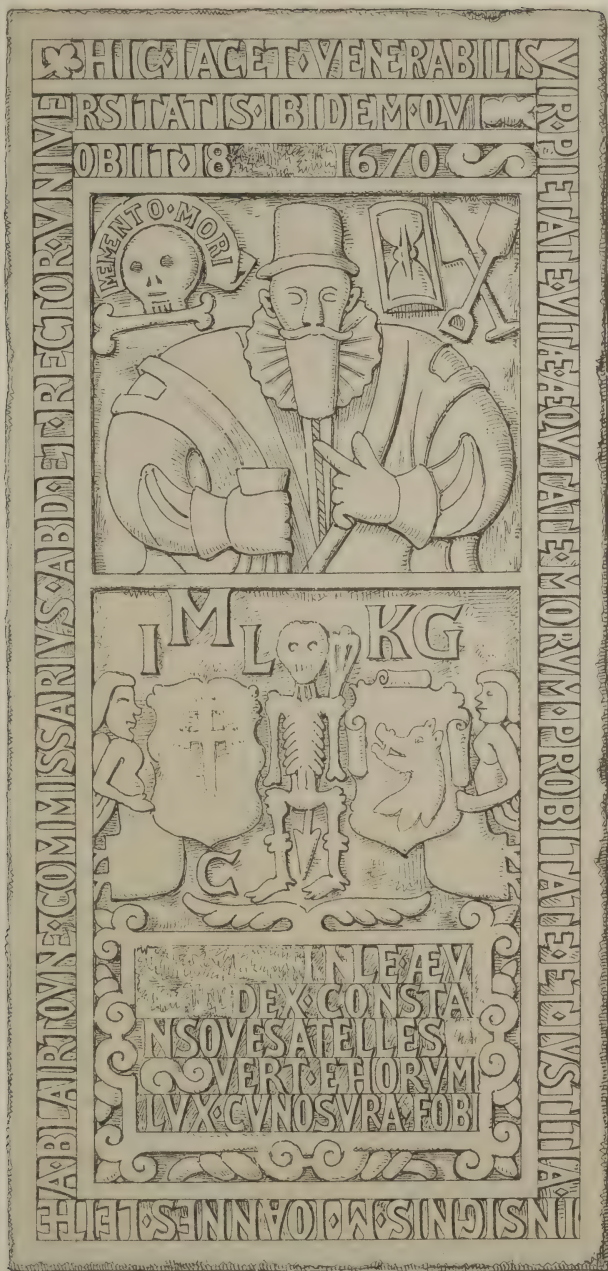
7.

AT EAST WEMYSS.



AT KINKELL.





IN OLD MACHAR CATHEDRAL, ABERDEEN.

and by Pope Honorius III. in 1220.¹ The foundations only of the old chapel remain. The stone is, no doubt, a mere fragment of what it once had been. It is of hard whitestone, water-worn rather than dressed, similar to the others of its class so frequent in Aberdeenshire. It, as well as No. 1, is interesting as showing examples of the symbolic figures which have been exercising the ingenuity and research of the learned for the past half century to discover their meaning. It is difficult to say as yet from what quarter a satisfactory solution of the enigma of those symbols may come, and therefore two such examples on such sites may prove to be not without their value.

Nos. 1 and 2, Plate VIII., represent the two sides of a stone which for long lay loose in the old chapel of Kinkell on Donside. It has now been placed on a pedestal for better preservation. The inscription on No. 1 sufficiently shows the date and original purpose of the monument; but it is interesting to notice, from the inscription on the other side (No. 2), how soon such a memorial—to one who must have been eminent in his day, and who died in all probability on the battlefield of Harlaw, in the neighbourhood—should have been cut down, desecrated, and appropriated as a tombstone for another, a member of a different family altogether, and that family one of wealth and standing in the county. It is perhaps more interesting still, as an example of the incised slab, in the style of the monumental brasses of the Middle Ages, a class of work very uncommon in the north of Scotland.

In the church of Kinkell there are some other sculptures of considerable elegance, which may be attended to hereafter.

The stone figured on Plate IX. is from a memorial slab found, along with some others of the same type, under the floor of the cathedral of Old Aberdeen, during the progress of recent repairs. It is noticeable, as illustrating the style of mural monuments that succeeded the one last mentioned, and is not perhaps without its value, as giving a sample of the professional robes of a dignitary of that age. The slab has, along with the others found, been placed on the pavement of the church to walk upon, and will therefore soon be effaced.

Stone No. 4, Plate VII., belongs to a class of sculptures which should not perhaps be altogether overlooked by the Society. They turn up now and

¹ Ant. of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 419; vol. ii. p. 394.

again, and sometimes cause no little trouble. I have been frequently induced to take journeys to out-of-the-way places to see some of these spurious antiquities. Sometimes markings on what had been at one time earthfast stones, were taken for letters—Runes or Oghams—or designs, while to an experienced eye they resolved themselves into accidental lines caused by natural fractures of the stone or ruts made by the plough in passing over them in the usual routine of farm work. At other times it was unmistakably tool-carving, but of no age or interest, and doubtless done thoughtlessly, like the example here shown, without any purpose to deceive.

This stone (Plate VII., No. 4) I found at the ruins of “Macduff’s Castle,” near East Wemyss, Fifeshire. It was beautifully cut, and in a complete state of preservation, having been but recently done; and in case it might come into notice at some after period as an antique, I made certain on the spot that it was cut by an ingenious mason, who was employed at the building of a spinning mill in the immediate neighbourhood, as a piece of practice in letter-cutting, or as a frolic to while away idle time that may have hung heavy on his hand.

Other stones of a similar kind exist in several places, two of which I lately saw near Dunecht House, Aberdeenshire, one with an inscription, at Easter Culfosie, and the other, cut with a basin-like cavity, at Upper Mains, in the same locality. I am sorry I cannot at present show adequate sketches of these. They were done by an industrious “herd loon,” to enliven the monotony of his dull occupation. They are quite rude enough to deceive an inexperienced eye.

III.

NOTES ON A SCULPTURED STONE FOUND IN THE WALL OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF ST NICHOLAS CHURCH, ABERDEEN. BY ALEXANDER WALKER, ESQ., DEAN OF GUILD, ABERDEEN, F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE X.)

The fire which destroyed the East Church of Aberdeen in October 1874, destroyed also the old stone tower and wooden spire of St Nicholas Church, and the peal of bells that hung there; of some of these bells a good deal may yet be told.

Architectural requirements, it appears, demand that the fine old arches, which, if not the oldest architectural remains in Scotland, are certainly among the most venerable in the north-eastern counties,—should be taken down in order that proper foundations should be got for the new granite tower and spire that is about to be built. During the progress of this work, in taking down the unsafe masonry of the wall above the old arches, several bits of mural architectural work of an older date than that in which they were encased were discovered. Among the rest, on the afternoon of the 13th February 1877, the workmen came upon a sculptured stone in the wall, about 37 feet from the present level of the floor of the transept, and about 8 feet from the spring of the western arch. The stone was built into the wall as a common building stone, and imbedded in lime. When cleaned, it was found to be, for its age, in a most excellent state of preservation. It is composed of a somewhat coarse-grained red sandstone; is about 3 feet 10 inches long, by 1 foot 6 inches broad at one end, and 1 foot 3 inches at the other, and 4 inches thick. A piece is broken off from one end; indeed, little more than a half of it has been preserved. The edge is bevelled with a hollow moulding. Round the border runs an inscription in an old type of the letter generally known as the Lombardic character, a letter seldom used for monuments after the middle of the thirteenth century. The inscription is incomplete; what is preserved of it reads

AM QUE QUODE : S : PRO ME PRECOR ORA +
VIDES : STA : PE GE : FLORA : +

And at the narrow end IN PACE, which ought, perhaps, to be read in connection with

REQ	VI
ES	CAT

which is inscribed, in the same character, on two voids unfilled with ornament on the centre of the stone. It is noticeable that these words are cut bottom upwards to the cross. This circumstance might suggest that they were a modern addition to the rest of the inscription; but judging from the character and form of the letters themselves, there seems no good reason for this supposition. The inscription is doubtless one of those commonly put on such monuments of the period we have indicated. The monkish rhymes want only seven words to make them the well-known

*" Quisquis eris qui transieris, sta, perlege, plora
Sum quod eris, fueram que quod es, pro me precor ora."*

" Whosoever thou be who mayest pass by,
Stand, read, weep.
I am what thou shalt be, and I
Have been what thou art.
I beseech thee, pray for me."

Curiously enough, in our mural example these lines are transposed, and the spaces between the words are but indifferently attended to. But such variations were by no means uncommon at the period, when the workmen were no doubt illiterate, and working from a copy couched in a language they did not understand. "Vides" takes the place on the St Nicholas stone of "eris" on a brass at Thore, in Wiltshire, commemorative of John Bettesthorne, lord of the manor of Chadenwyche, of date 1398.¹ There is a figure in armour on the brass, and the letters are in the old English character, a much later style than those on the stone under review.

If we surmise rightly as to the inscription, the stone when complete must have been from 6 feet 9 inches to 7 feet long, and this would completely agree, as we shall see presently, with the figures which are awaiting at its broad or lower end.

The ornamental work which covers the centre of the stone is in low

¹ Haines' Monumental Brasses, vol. i. p. 140.



IN ST NICHOLAS CHURCH,
ABERDEEN.



relief. It is more common on English slabs and brasses than on Scottish examples, although there are one or two stones in the southern counties which have a strong affinity to it in general pattern; notably one lying in the old burial ground at Inveraray, in Argyll, which will, we understand, be afterwards brought under the notice of the Society. It has a cross somewhat similar in form with ornamentation, and a pair of "shears," but it had never been intended to have any inscription, although the letters M F and the date 1755 have been barbarously cut over the ornament, and some other additions made when it had been appropriated as a tombstone by some Highland magnate. Other examples exist at Hanbury, Staffordshire; Rushen, Isle of Man; Bakewell, Derbyshire; and several other old English sites. At the top is a conventionalised cross, with rosettes of different patterns filling in the spaces round the arms. On each side of the stem are spaces filled with ornament of that peculiar style common on such illuminated manuscripts as the books of Deer, Durrow, and others of that early date. Below this we have the head of a two-handed sword, surrounded by ornamentation, and on one side is seen what is no doubt the head of a dagger. The three dots as ornament, which are perhaps twice represented on the fragment, once below the cross, and again above the handle of the dagger, are curious, and indicative of an early date. They have been pointed out on thirteenth century slabs at Jersey, and considered emblems of the Trinity. They also occur in illuminated MSS. of the eighth and ninth century. That part of the stone is broken away on which the blade of the sword and its accompanying ornamentation had been cut; but if the stone had been long enough to contain the whole inscription, as given above, it would have admitted of the sword being completed of the usual length. The stone has evidently been broken at a very early date, and there are marks of its having been clasped with iron at some time, but this had been long prior to its being appropriated by the builders of St Nicholas as a makeshift in a common rubble wall.

The illustration (Plate X.) is reduced from an inked rubbing from the original, carefully collated and corrected afterwards with the original stone, which will be preserved in the restored aisles of St Nicholas. The other sketch shown on Plate X. is from the fragment of the top of an old coffin slab found in the same place.

IV.

NOTICE OF INCISED SCULPTURINGS ON THE STEATITE ROCK AT FEIDELAND, THE EXTREME NORTH OF THE MAINLAND OF SHETLAND, AND OF A CLUSTER OF RUINED STRUCTURES STYLED PICTS' HOUSES, ON THE KAIM OF ISBISTER, SHETLAND. COMMUNICATED BY REV. GEORGE GORDON, LL.D., BIRNIE, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT., IN A LETTER TO DR ARTHUR MITCHELL, SECRETARY.

The Rev. Dr Gordon, in transmitting the accompanying notices, writes as follows :—

“ Mr George Cockburn, student in divinity at Aberdeen, while residing last summer at the extreme north of the mainland of Shetland, made, at my request, some sketches, and has also given me some descriptions of the antiquities on the Kaim of Isbister, and at Feideland.

“ These I now beg to submit to you, in the hope that such a notice, if read at one of the meetings of the Society, might lead to a more minute examination than has hitherto been made.

“ As to the *Kaim of Isbister*, I am satisfied that it is not the site of a Broch. The foundation-plans are wholly different from those of any of the many Brochs which I have seen ; but they agree well with those of the existing ‘ lodges,’ as the fishermen call their summer huts which they use, when they are employed at the haaf-fishing—such as are to be seen at Stennis Northmaven, at Ronas Voe, and at Feideland itself.

“ Had the Kaim of Isbister been the site of a Broch, some of the building stones would have remained on it. None are to be seen; and it would have been out of the question to have carried them thence, as has unfortunately been done at so many other places, to build houses, walls, and, as at Brae, to construct a drying-beach for fish. The transport of such heavy materials by so dangerous a path, as the long and narrow neck of rock that connects the Kaim with the land, would not have been attempted in modern times. There are, indeed, no structures or even vestiges of buildings in the vicinity to suggest the probability that old broch-materials might have been appropriated in their erection.

“ At p. 180 of ‘ *Archæologia Scotica*,’ vol. v. pt. i., there is given, as the site of a Broch, ‘ Feideland, on a *precipice* connected to the land by a neck of land, about three feet broad.’ There is

some confusion here, I suspect—as if the undoubted *Broch of Feideland* had, for its site, the *Kaim of Isbister*. The Broch at Feideland is on a low shingly beach, and *not* ‘on a precipice.’ The *map*, in the same vol. (of *Archæologia*) showing the sites of Brochs, is more correct, as it marks *no broch-site* between that of North Roe and that of Feideland. Had it recognised one at Isbister, it would have placed it about halfway, in the coast line, between these two. I saw but one at Feideland. There is probably another, as marked on the map, near Sand Voe (which I did not visit), although it is not given in the ‘List of Northmaven Brochs’ in p. 180

“Had foundation-plans, such as are shown in Mr Cockburn’s sketches been met with on a flattish shore, or near a creek, where boats and their cargoes could have been landed and sheltered, they might have been passed by, as the remains of a deserted fishing station; but it is by no means likely that the holm on the rock or Kaim of Isbister would have been selected for this purpose in civilised times. To all appearance it must have been chosen as a site for dwellings, because it was also one of defence or secure refuge. Future excavations may reveal something indicative of the period at which it was inhabited. Yet there is a marked connection between that period, whatever it was, and the present day, in the close resemblance that may be traced between the ground plans or arrangement of the huts or ‘lodges’ then used, and that of those seen occupied to-day, at Stennis, Feideland, and Ronas Voe.

“This style of setting down dwellings close and parallel to each other (although not with walls in common) may be now traced in some of the older fishing villages on the east and north-east of Scotland.

“The local name of ‘Pechts’ Houses,’ by which I heard them first spoken of, is not to be overlooked, although it may indicate simply a mysterious antiquity for them.

“And now, as to the *Kliber Stone* at Feideland. The smooth soft surface must have presented, to the earliest inhabitants, a tempting field on which to develop that art of imitation, now said to be one of the few innate peculiarities allowed to belong to our race. No wonder then that large and fine sheets of steatite, like the *kliber-stone* of Feideland, should exhibit sculptures of various ages, down to the passing century.

In the very short time I could remain there, it appeared to me that the blocks that lie near to or even in the sea, had engravings not of yesterday. From the position in which some of these blocks now lie, it seemed as if they had been carved upon before they fell so low.

"It has been suggested to me, that the circle is not the sort of figure one would cut for mere amusement, without the help of a string and nail; and Mr Cockburn's sketches show no centre hole; and it has also been suggested that the outlining of fresh circles, which you witnessed, might be the copying of old ones.

"Dr Joass, having seen Mr Cockburn's sketches of the kliber-stone figures, has shown a striking resemblance between some of them and of figures selected from the second volume of the 'Sulptured Stones of Scotland.'

"My object in sending you this communication will be fully attained, if you direct the attention of your antiquarian friends to this northern locality, which, although of much interest, is not likely to be often visited."

Sculptures on the Steatite Rock at Feideland.—Sculptures occur upon fallen blocks and upon the natural face of the steatite rock in the Isle of Feideland for the distance of about 100 yards along the cliff. Towards the south the markings are indistinct, owing to the greater decomposition of the rock, which is there impregnated with a large quantity of iron. The sculptures are in the form of circles and squares, of a size varying from about 3 feet in diameter to less than one. The deepest marks are nearly a foot in depth, others are so faint as to be scarcely visible. The circles and squares are joined on one to another, and those markings which now appear as wavy lines may be either incomplete figures or the remains of figures partially obliterated. The sculptures are either rough pick marks, or smooth and carefully finished, in most cases perpendicular on the side next the figure and sloping outwards. Evidently the sculptures had been formed before the blocks fell down. There is no tradition about the falling of the soapstone cliff, and there is every appearance of its having taken place at a remote period. The people say that there are sculptured blocks entirely covered by the sea. Partially covered by the sea there are about seven blocks, in size 16 × 20 feet and upwards: above high water-mark there are about twenty blocks,

varying in size from 6 feet \times 10 to 16 \times 20. There are many sculptured blocks of smaller dimensions. From high water-mark to uppermost block is about 20 yards. Above this there is a strip of grass 40 feet in breadth, and on the upper side of it sculptured steatite *in situ*. This lower face is about 30 feet in height and is covered with markings—in several places the grass has grown over it, and very distinct markings, would no doubt be found on its removal. Above this lower face is a band of grass about 20 feet in breadth, and on the upper side of it steatite again crops out. The upper band of steatite is of no great height, bears few marks, and is much broken up by the overlying serpentine and mica schist which forms the upper part of the cliff running into it. The blocks would appear to have fallen down from the upper face of steatite and from that part which is now covered by the upper band of grass. Of course the different regions,—1, submerged blocks; 2, partially submerged blocks; 3, blocks above high water-mark; 4, lower strip of grass; 5, lower face of steatite; 6, upper strip of grass; 7, upper face of steatite; 8, serpentine, &c.—cannot be traced along the whole 100 yards, but these various regions are distinct towards the north, where the sculptures are in the best state of preservation. The cliff of steatite is on the east side of the (so-called) Isle of Feideland, and the sea spoken of is Yell Sound. So far as can be ascertained the inhabitants have no tradition as to what the marks are, or who formed them.

“*Picts' Houses,*” *Kaim of Isbister*.—The Kaim of Isbister is situated on the east coast of the mainland of Shetland, a mile and a half north of North Roe, and the same distance south of Feideland Point, the extremity of the island. It lies in the scattald of Houll, and a neighbouring headland is termed Verdibrig, from a natural arch which fell down a few years ago. The Kaim is entered by a narrow footpath along the crest of a rocky ridge, more than 100 feet high. The footpath is 100 yards long. The Kaim is about 150 feet high on the west side—*i.e.*, the mainland side. It slopes towards the east for 120 yards until it reaches the level of the sea. For the first 70 yards it is covered with grass; the last 50 are bare rock. There is no level ground in the Kaim, but there are two steep banks running north and south—one about the middle of the green part, the other at the commencement of the rock. The Kaim seems to be a mass of mica slate covered with a little clay.

As indicated in the sketch exhibited, there are visible the remains of twenty-three "*Picts' Houses*." In general appearance the houses resemble old potato pits. Seventeen houses in two rows are situated to the west of, and immediately above, the bank running along the green. They consist of pits about two feet deep. They had originally been partly excavated, partly built, but little of the walls, which had been composed of a mixture of stones and turf, remains. In some cases the west end of the house had been excavated and the walls of the east end built, no doubt, with the material dug out. Every advantage has been taken of the natural configuration of the ground. The houses vary in breadth from 8 to 10 feet, and in length from 10 to 24 feet. Sixteen feet would be the average length and 9 feet the average breadth. In a majority of cases the doors look to the south-east, but this, as well as the situation of the houses east and west, would seem to be entirely a matter of convenience—the door could not have been in the west end, owing to that end being excavated. On digging trenches in two of the houses, I found nothing but ashes and stones marked by fire, and what appeared to be the remains of a nail or some instrument of iron. I got neither bones nor shells.

I shall not venture on any speculation as to what these houses may have been, but would note the following points wherein they resemble the huts raised by Shetland fishermen at the present day. By actual measurement I found that they coincide in *size* with the huts at Feideland. In the fishermen's huts the door is invariably situated at the most convenient corner. The huts are frequently excavated at one end, and another marked peculiarity is joining two huts together so as to make one wall serve for a back to both, the water off the roof sinking down the wall the best way it can. This architectural peculiarity is six times exemplified in the Kaim of Isbister.

I do not think that much weight should be laid upon the name, as I have been repeatedly told by the more intelligent of the inhabitants that it was customary to say of any thing whose origin is unknown, that it was built by the Picts. It is also to be remembered that there was a Broch at Burravoe, North Roe, and another at Feideland, which would surely have been sufficient to shelter all the Picts that ever were in the district.

G. COCKBURN.

MONDAY, 14th May 1877.

DAVID LAING, Esq., Foreign Secretary, in the Chair.

After a ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

THOMAS CHAPMAN, Jun., Esq., 7 Lauriston Gardens.

HUGH KENNEDY, Esq., Redclyffe, Partickhill, Glasgow.

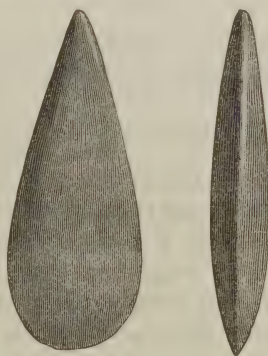
JAMES MUDIE, Esq., Rowanbank, Broughty-Ferry.

ANDREW MUIRHEAD, Esq., 56 Castle Street.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By ALEXANDER WALKER, Esq., Dean of Guild of Aberdeen, F.S.A. Scot.

Two finely polished Celts of Greyish Porphyritic Stone, each 9 inches in length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad at the widest part, tapering towards the butt end, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest thickness. They are remarkable as forming a pair exactly similar as regards material, shape, and size. The form is one which is not common in Scotland. The precise locality in which they were found is not known, but it is believed to have been in Aberdeenshire.



Celt found in Aberdeenshire
(9 inches in length.)

(2.) By Mr PETER COLLIER, 12 Randolph Crescent.

Oval-shaped Flint Knife, 3 inches long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, with ground edge, found on the Hill of Pitdoulzie, Turriff, Aberdeenshire. This implement belongs to the class of "horse-shoe shaped blades of flint," described by Dr John Alexander Smith in the Proceedings (vol. xi. pp. 576-77), where two other specimens also in this Museum are figured. Several specimens from different parts of England are described by Mr John Evans in his work

on the "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," but the whole number of specimens on record does not exceed a dozen, all British, of which our Museum now possesses four.

Flint Flake, 2 inches in length, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in breadth, with a finely serrated edge, apparently intended for use as a saw. It differs from the flint saws found at Glenluce, Wigtonshire (figured in the Proceedings, vol. xi p. 584), in being thinner, broader, and less regularly serrated. It was found on the farm of Kirkton, Forglen, near Banff.

Arrow-Head of Reddish Flint, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with barbs and stem, found on the Hill of Byth, near Turriff.

Arrow-Head of Reddish Flint, 1 inch in length, leaf-shaped, finely finished, also found on the Hill of Byth.

Arrow-Head, lozenge-shaped, $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, also found on the Hill of Byth.

(3.) By Mr JAMES CRUIKSHANK, Schoolhouse, Inchberry, Orton, Speyside.

Portion of a small Button-Mould in Clay Slate, $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with circular hollows for casting four small buttons of various patterns.

(4.) By D. R. RANKIN, Esq., Carluke.

Carved Distaff, 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the plain rounded part of the staff being 17 inches in length. Above this the shaft is octagonal for the space of 3 inches, terminating in a tapering four-sided extremity 13 inches in length, pierced at the commencement with four rectangular openings 3 inches in length and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width. The octagonal part and the pierced part are ornamented with a series of designs composed of triangular markings arranged in triangular spaces, bounded by slightly incised lines single or double, each face of the shaft showing a different arrangement of the pattern. On one side of the plain quadrangular and tapering portion of the shaft are the letters E M in copper, inlaid in the wood. On the opposite side is a curiously formed mark or sign, and on the side between them the date 1733. Along with the distaff is a spindle, with its stone whorl. The spindle is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and the whorl of claystone, 1 inch in diameter, is

neatly rounded and ornamented by a median line round the circumference.

Carved Distaff similar in form to the one described above, but without the perforations. It measures 2 feet 7 inches in length, and is similarly ornamented with patterns of triangular spaces and intersecting lines. On one of the sides of the plain tapering and quadrangular part of the shaft are the initials R L, on another M C, and on a third the date 1704 boldly, incised. It is pierced at the extremity by a round hole nearly a quarter of an inch in diameter. Along with the distaff is a spindle with its stone whorl. The spindle measures $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and the stone whorl, which is of claystone and unornamented, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Hand-Reel, 2 feet 5 inches in length (See the account of the process of using the hand-reel in the Donation List of the subsequent meeting, and also in the subsequent Communication entitled "Notes on the Spinning Gear of former Times," by D. R. Rankin, Esq.).

(5.) By DAVID STEVENSON, Esq., C.E.

Hammer-Stone, or probably a Socket-Stone of Quartzite, being a flattish rounded water-worn boulder 6 by 5 inches, and 3 inches thick, having on one of its flat faces an almost hemispherical depression 2 inches diameter and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth, worn as if by a revolving spindle. One edge of the stone also shows some signs of abrasion, as if it had been used as a hammer-stone. It was found in dredging the Forth below Stirling.

Socketed Celt of Bronze, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide across the cutting edge, the socket opening nearly square and measuring $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches from side to side. A raised line runs round the collar of the celt, and on the flat sides three raised lines descend perpendicularly from it. As usual it has a small loop at one side. This celt is of the type of the square-socketed one found with two others at Bell's Mills on the Water of Leith, and figured in the "Proceedings," vol. vi. p. 275. It was found in excavating near the citadel at Leith.

(6.) By Professor Sir C. WYVILLE THOMSON, Kt., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Stone Balls of the *Bolas* used by the Patagonians. These balls are of a kind of greenstone, worked to an irregularly spherical form, and having

a shallow groove cut round the middle of the circumference. They are of different sizes, one being 2 inches diameter, another $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the third, a flattened spheroid, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. "The *bolas* proper, as in use on the Pampas," says Mr Evans, "consists of three balls of stone nearly the size of the fist, and covered with leather, which are attached to the ends of three thongs all branching from a common centre. Leaden balls have now almost superseded those of stone. The hunter gives to the *bolas* a rotary motion, and can then throw them to a great distance, in such a manner that the thongs entwine round the legs, neck, and body of his prey and thus render it helpless" ("Stone Implements of Great Britain," p. 377). These three balls, which may probably have been united in the same *bolas*, were found in a kitchen-midden or shell heap near the Straits of Magellan.

Polished Celt of Hard Mottled Flinty Slate, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, 2 inches across the face, and 1 inch thick, rounded on the sides and tapering slightly to the butt end, which shows the natural fracture of the stone. It was brought from Japan by Professor Sir Wyville Thomson, and is the only specimen of a Japanese stone implement in the Museum.

(7.) By Rev. A. W. HALLAN, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

The Decretals of Pope Gregory IX. "Decretales Epistole Gregorii Noni Pontificis Maximi, jam recens plus sexcentis mendis cum in textu tum in glossis repurgate." (Engraved title-page by Rembolt), Parisiis. 1527. folio. It bears in a good bold hand the following inscription on the fly-leaf: "Thomas Abbas de Kynloss me suo Monasterio dedicavit, Anno gracie 1530." It also bears on a printed label pasted on the title page: "Ex libris domini Roberti Reid, Abbatis a Kynloss." On the title page is written: "Liber Jacobi Jhonstoun, Minister de Birnay." James Johnston was exhorter at Birnie, and "Scribe to the Assemblies in Murray" in 1568. (Scott's "Fasti," pt. v. p. 158.) He was minister of Birneth in 1574 (Wodrow Miscellany, p. 358), and was still the incumbent of the same parish in 1588. On another part of the fly-leaf is written: "Liber Henrici Thornton;" and beneath it are the following lines in the same hand:—

"Ne placeant turpes pietatis imagine tede,
Si bonus es, et vis ducere, duc similem,
Quid faciet meretrix faciet que casta putatur,
Vina placent aliis, fex ne relicta tibi?"

Underneath is the motto "Fides et amor." On the title-page is the inscription "Liber Gulielmi Guild, S.T. D." The volume, which has been at various times the property of the persons designated by these inscriptions, belonged originally to the Library of the Monastery of Kinloss, and is thus referred to in the Chronicle of John Smyth, Monk of Kinloss (Harl. MS. 2363): "Item memorie commendandum quod Thomas Abbas de Kynloss fecit Robertum abbatem ejus successorem de Galliis plures probos libros secum deferre anno domini M^oV^oXXIX quorum nomina sunt in registro." In the "Life of Thomas Chrystal" by Ferrerius, the work of Pope Gregory is mentioned as among the books in the library formed by that Abbot, and enlarged by Robert Reid, his successor; and in the life of the latter by the same author there is a curious notice of a dispute as to whether some of the books thus brought from Paris by Robert Reid were bought with his own money instead of being furnished at the Abbot's expense, and whether they ought not to be regarded as his property rather than of Thomas Chrystal. (See the "Records of the Monastery of Kinloss," edited for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by John Stuart, LL.D., 4to, 1872, pp. 9. 36 and 63.)

(8.) By Capt. JOHN CUNNINGHAME of Balgownie, Culross.

The Original Copy (with signatures) of the Document known as "The Godly Band of 1557," framed and glazed. (See the subsequent Communication (p. 217) by Mr Laing, in which a copy of the document is given.)

(9.) By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Ground plan of Cairn at Nether Swell, Gloucester; and three Sketches of Brochs in Glenelg, to be added to the portfolios of plans and sketches previously presented.

Illustrations of the Cathedral Church of St Magnus, Kirkwall. Folio. 1872.

Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum: a Dictionary of the Ancient Celtic Language of Cornwall. By Rev. Robert Williams, M.A. 4to. London, 1865.

(10.) By Lieut.-Col. WALTER STANHOPE SHERWILL, Perth.

Recherches et Antiquitez de la Neustria, etc. 8vo. Caen, 1833.

Voyage aux Côtes d'Afrique, par M. de Gennes. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1699.

Series of 130 Silhouettes, chiefly of Windsor characters in the reign of George III. The following is a list of those that are named :—

SILHOUETTES.

George III.,	5 black.
Queen Charlotte,	1 white.
Princess Amelia,	1 black.
Duke of Wellington,	3 white.
Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms,	3 black.
A Lady (E. Patterson),	1 do.
Mr Masson,	1 do.
Mrs Delaney,	1 do.
Mr Delaney,	1 do.
Dr W. Haberdon,	3 do.
Jacob Bryant,	1 do.
Chamfixes, a minor Canon of Windsor,	1 do.
Dr Solander,	1 do.
Do.	1 white.
A Provost of Aberdeen,	1 black.
Thomas Paine,	3 do.
David Hume, the historian,	2 do.
Lord Kinnoull,	1 do.
General Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon,	1 do.
Duke of Montagu,	1 do.
Duke of Athol,	1 do.
Capt. Grose, the antiquary,	1 do.
Sir Benjamin West, painter,	1 do.
Dr Isaac Hutton,	1 do.
Pascal Paoli,	1 do.
Falke Greville,	2 do.
Gray, the poet (full length),	1 do.
Mr Mackenzie, Lord Bute's brother,	3 do.
Tiberius Cavallo,	2 do.
Sir Geo. Howard, K.B., 1792,	1 do.
Sir Adolphus Oughton, K.B., 1776,	1 do.
J. C. Mack,	1 do.

Capt. Harrington,	2	black.
Gloucester Wilson,	2	do.
Mr Bridges,	1	do.
Rev. Dr Bostock, Vicar of Windsor,	2	do.
Rev. Mr Clarke,	1	do.
Rev. Mr Clark, minor Canon,	1	do.
Capt. Bird, Royal Horse-Guards Blue,	2	do.
Rev. Mr Hand,	1	do.
Mr Ridout, sen.,	2	do.
Capt. Ridout, 11th Light Dragoons,	1	do.
Mr Macqueen, surgeon,	1	do.
Sir John Woodford, Guards,	2	do.
Mr Ward, writing-master at Windsor,	1	do.
Black Footman of Dr Lind's,	1	do.
Major Price,	3	do.
Miss Home,	1	do.
Richard Cooper, artist,	1	do.
Paul Sandy, artist,	1	do.
Mary Rooke,	1	do.
Dr J. Hunter,	1	do.
Mrs J. Hunter,	1	do.
Mrs Vincent,	1	do.
Syder Ali Khan,	1	do.
Mrs Bird,	1	do.
Mrs Cheap (Miss Clark),	1	do.
Mrs Leduc,	1	do.
Lady B. M.,	1	do.
Miss Douglas,	1	do.

Besides those named there are 38 unnamed specimens. In a letter addressed to Mr Anderson, the Keeper of the Museum, Lieut.-Col. Sherwill gives the following account of these curious and interesting *silhouettes* :—

“DEAR SIR,—In continuation of our conversation, I have now the pleasure to forward the remaining nameless *silhouettes* then mentioned by me. You will perceive that some are duplicates of those already handed in by me.

"All I can gather with regard to the maker of the collection is as follows :—

"In the latter end of last century a Doctor James Lind, M.D., F.R.S., resided at Windsor. He had an unmarried daughter then living with him, who was very clever at cutting out *silhouettes* from life without even pencilling them. This lady subsequently became my mother ; but the following extract just received from one of my sisters gives further information on the subject. She says : 'As regards the *silhouettes*, I thought you knew that they were *all* cut out by our dear mother. I still have in my possession the small scissors she used for the work. It was all done from life, without the aid of any instrument. As "Lucy Lind" she was constantly in the company of royalty, and as all the scientific men of the day visited at our grandfather's house, she had no want of opportunity for the exercise of her talents. She was a perfect artist in this line, as well as in sketching likenesses, so that you may depend on their being perfectly correct likenesses and therefore valuable. Grandpapa (Dr Lind) was a friend of the King's, not his physician. Queen Charlotte used to delight in hearing him read and relate his travels, he having been round the world with Capt. Cook, which in those days was considered a great exploit. He had also visited China, and spoke the Chinese language, and in company with Dr Solander he paid a visit to Iceland.'"

[Dr James Lind, a native of Edinburgh, took his degree of M.D. at that University, May 3, 1748. He filled the office of Physician in the Royal Hospital of Haslar, and was well known by his writings. Dr Lind was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, May 1, 1750 ; and died at Gosport, July 18, 1794.]

(11.) By JAMES CURLE of Evelaw, Esq.

Metatarsal Bone of an Ox, from Whitrig Bog, Berwickshire.

(12.) By Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Iona

Swivel Seal, glass paste mounted in brass, one side bearing a shield with three crescents and three stars, the other two birds with a triple branch between them, found in Iona.

(13.) By Rev. WILLIAM HERDMAN, Minister of Rattray.
A leaden Church Token, Parish of Rattray, 1708.

(14.) By JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.
Spinning-Wheel of Birch and Mahogany, Ivory-mounted.

(15.) By Mrs. W. FETTES DOUGLAS.
Fragment of a Bronze Vessel in Calcareous Earth, from Rome.

(16.) By R. M. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
Publications of the "Islenzka Bókmentafelag" Society. 43 parts.

(17.) By Dr J. T. LOTH, the Author.
The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. 4to. London, 1876.

(18.) By the AUTHOR.
Notes and Sketches illustrative of Northern Rural Life in the 18th century. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1877.

There were also Exhibited :—

(1.) By Miss PEARSON, 5 Pitt Street.
An Original Copy of the National Covenant of 1638, with signatures.
(See next page.)

(2.) By Capt. JOHN CUNNINGHAME of Balgownie.
An original Copy (with signatures) of "Ane Godlie Band for the Maintenance of the Evangell, 1557."

A special vote of thanks was given to Capt. Cunninghame of Balgownie, who intimated his intention of Presenting to the Museum the original copy of the Godly Band of 1557," now exhibited.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF TWO ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, WITH SIGNATURES EXHIBITED TO THE MEETING :—I. THE NATIONAL COVENANT, NOVEMBER 1638 ; II. THE COMMON OR GODLY BAND, DECEMBER 1557. BY DAVID LAING, Esq., For. Sec. S.A. Scot.

The two Documents exhibited to the meeting to-day require only a few words of explanation.

I. The first is a copy of the NATIONAL COVENANT with original signatures in the usual form, and issued from Edinburgh in November 1638. It is one of the better class of twenty-five copies which were previously described in the "Proceedings," vol. iv. p. 238-250. It is a large sheet of vellum, mended and pasted down, commencing, like many others, with the Signatures of the nobility—Rothés, Lindesay, Montrose, Loudoun, Boyd, Balmerinoch, Lothian, Eglintoun, Wemyss, and others ; also Kinnaird of that Ilk, James Rige of Carberry, W. D. (Dundas) of Ricartoun, T. Gourley of Kingscraig ; and among the clergy we find Mr A. Ramsay, Minister of Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, Mr Robert Blair, and James Peersoune of Dunblane.

II. The other document I consider of greater interest and importance as connected with the History of the Reformation in Scotland. It is known as "THE COMMON OR GODLY BAND IN 1557." As the document itself was inserted by Knox in his "History of the Reformation," I was enabled previously to give an accurate copy of this "Ane Godlie Band for maintenance of the Evangell in 1557," from a collation of the original, with a facsimile of the Signatures, in the Appendix to Knox's Works (vol. vi. p. 674). It was also exhibited at the meeting held at Edinburgh in August 1860, to commemorate the Third Centenary of the Reformation ; and was then described by my worthy friend, the late Rev. James Young, whose account was printed in the form of a separate pamphlet with the same facsimile of the signatures ; and therefore need not here be repeated.

The Document itself is in the following terms :—

ANE GODLIE BAND FOR MAINTENANCE OF THE EVANGELL, MAID BE THE
ERLES OF ARGYLL AND UTHER NOBLE MEN, 10^{BER} [DECEMBER] 1557.

WE PERSAVING HOW SATHAN in his membris the Antechrystis of
oure tyme crewellie dois raige, seiking to downebring and to destroye the
Evangell of Christ and his Congregationne; awght according to oure
bownden dewtie, to stryve in our maisteris cause, even unto the deth; being
certane of the victorie in him; the quhilk our dewtie being weill con-
syderit; WE do promiss before the Majestie of GOD, and his Congrega-
tionne that we (be his grace) sall with all diligence continewallie applie
oure haill power, substance, and oure very lyves to mentene, sett forwarde,
and establishe the MAIST BLESSED WORDE OF GOD and his Con-
gregationne. And sall lawboure at oure possibilitie, to haif faithfull
ministeres purelie and trewlie to minister Christes evangell and sacramentes
to his peopill; We sall mentene tham, nuryss tham, and defend
thame, the haill Congregationne of Christ and everye member therof
at our haill poweres and waring of oure lyves aganis Sathan and all wicked
power that dois intende tyrannye or troubill aganis the foresaid Congrega-
tionne. ONTO the quhilk holie worde and Congregationne, we do
joyne us; and also dois forsaike and renunce the Congregationne of Sathan
with all the superstitionne, abhominacionne and idolatrie thereof; And
mareattour sall declare ourselves manifestlie innemies tharto be this our
faithful promiss before GOD testifyit to his Congregationne, be
oure subscriptiones at this presentes. Att Edinburgh the —— day of
December the yere of God ane thousand fyve hundreth fiftie sevin yeres :
GOD CALLIT TO WYTNESS.

AR. ERLE OF ERGYL.
GLENCAIRN.
MORTOUN.
A. LORD OF LORN.
JHONE ERSKYN.

Other copies of this Band must also have been subscribed, as Knox to
the above names added *et cetera*, and says expressly, that it "was
subscribed by the fair-written and many others."

II.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OR CHAPEL OF ROSSLYN, ITS BUILDERS, ARCHITECT, AND CONSTRUCTION. BY ANDREW KERR, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATES XI.-XVII.)

Before directing attention to the Collegiate Church (or Chapel, as it is usually called) of Rosslyn, it may be of advantage to glance briefly at a few particulars in the life of the founder, Sir William^r St Clair, third Earl of Orkney, &c.

He succeeded his father about 1417, and is described by Mr Richard Augustine Hay, in his "Genealogie of the Saintclairs of Rosslyn" as being "a very fair man of great stature, straight and well proportioned, humble, courteous, and given to building of castles, palaces, and churches."

In a work entitled "Voyages of Nicolas Zeno," a contemporary, Sir William is mentioned as a "patron of the arts;" and in a history of Orkney he is also noticed as being "probably the most liberal patron of Scottish literature and art then living." He was one of the hostages for James I. of Scotland in 1424, and was Lord Admiral of the Scottish Seas: he also held the offices of Lord Chief-Justice, Great Chancellor, Chamberlain and Lieutenant of Scotland. In 1434 he also accompanied Lady Margaret, daughter of James I., king of Scots, to France; was present at her marriage with the Dauphin; and shortly afterwards returned to Scotland. He was married first to Elizabeth (but often called Margaret) Douglas, daughter to Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and first Duke of Touraine, in France. She was the widow of the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, who was killed, along with her father at the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, on 17th August 1424, which occasioned her return to Scotland.

It is stated that after her marriage with Sir William St Clair, they were separated because of consanguinity and affinity; but a dispensation being obtained from the Pope, they were again married in St Matthew's Church, in which they had been separated, being probably the one then existing in the burying-ground at Rosslyn, the present Chapel not having been erected for some years afterwards. In tracing the relationship it appears that they were second cousins. A large portion of the Castle was erected during their lifetime, and the Collegiate Church was also commenced.

About 1452 Lady Margaret Douglas died. By her first husband, the Earl of Buchan, she had one daughter, who married Lord Seton; and by her second, a son and four daughters.

Sir William St Clair was married a second time, about 1454, to Marjory Sutherland, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath, by whom he had four sons. He resided chiefly in Scotland, and having taken part with his son-in-law, Alexander, Duke of Albany, against James III., his estates were forfeited, but the King restored them to his children. He died about 1484, and was interred in the Collegiate Church, which was still unfinished; but it was to some extent completed by his son, Sir Oliver St Clair.

Sir William was distinguished for his virtue, piety, and military talents; and he was greatly averse to the use of the rack, the tortures of which wrested confessions of crime from many innocent persons, for which they often suffered death.

These general notices show him to have been a nobleman of ability, observation, and refinement, ardently attached to his native country; and from the varied numerous public and responsible duties which he was called upon to discharge, evidently much appreciated by his countrymen.

Two churches—one in the Castle and the other in the old burying-ground—existed in Rosslyn previous to the erection of the present building, which consists only of the choir and transept wall of the intended Collegiate Church. The foundation of the entire edifice appears to have been laid, as I was informed by a workman who had been employed, with others, in taking up the western portion of it, for building purposes, about the beginning of the present century.

After considerable inquiry and research I have been unable to discover any notice of the origin of the Collegiate Church except the following, as given in the "Genealogie of the Saint Clairs of Rosslyn." Referring to the founder it is stated, that "his age creeping on him made him consider how he had spent his time past and how to spend that which was to come; therefore, to the end that he might not seem altogether unthankful to God for the benefices he had received from Him, it came into his mind to build a house for God's service of most curious work, the which, that it might be done with greater glory and splendour, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and foreign kingdoms,

and caused daily to be abundance of all kinds of workmen present, as masons, carpenters, smiths, barrowmen, and quarriers, with others, for it is remembered that for the space of thirty-four years before he never wanted great numbers of such workmen. The foundation of this rare work he caused to be laid in the year of our Lord 1446, and to the end that the work might be more rare, first he caused the draughts to be drawn on Eastland boards and made the carpenters to carve them according to the draughts thereon, and gave them for patterns to the masons, that they might thereby cut the like in stone. . . . He rewarded the masons according to their degree, as to the master mason he gave forty pounds yearly, and to every one of the rest ten pounds, and accordingly he did reward the others, as to the smiths, and the carpenters, with others."

This narrative has apparently been compiled from memoranda and accounts extant during the last ten years of the 17th century, and it is to be regretted that more ample use had not been made of them at the time. We have, however, much to guide our inquiry regarding the erection of the building. It was commenced by Sir William St Clair "when age was creeping upon him, as a thank-offering to God for benifices he had received from Him." It was to be "of most curious work, and, in order that it might be done with greater glory and splendour, he caused artificers to be brought from other regions and foreign kingdoms, and caused daily to be abundance of all kinds of workmen present." It is therefore evident that he intended from the first that the church he was about to erect should excel those which had recently been completed in Scotland, or were in course of erection about that period. Bothwell Church was erected in 1407; Lincluden College in 1424; Corstorphine Church, near Edinburgh, in 1429; St Michael's Church, Linlithgow, 1436; Crichton Church, 1449; Seton Church in 1450; St Salvador's Church, St Andrews, in 1456; Holyrood existing chapel in 1457; and the Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, in 1460. Throughout these buildings there is a general unity of style. Though exhibiting a considerable variety of detail, and in some cases peculiar features, yet none of them have the same variety or profusion of decoration, nor the extent of peculiarities in construction and detail, which are to be found in the Collegiate Church of

Rosslyn, where a special effort appears to have been made to produce them.

There is no doubt from the statement that artificers were brought from other regions and foreign kingdoms, and also from the character of several parts of the work executed, that foreigners were employed both in designing and erecting the building ; but much diversity of opinion has been expressed regarding the region or kingdom from whence they came. Some have suggested that they were brought from Italy or Spain, others from France. An old mason, a native of Rosslyn, informed me that he was descended from a family who, it was said, came from Normandy to aid in building Rosslyn Chapel, and also described the method of obtaining the orientation, which was by fixing the site of the altar, and sighting a line from the central point of it, to the disc of the rising sun, as it appeared above the horizon on the morning of the day on which the building was founded. Fergusson, in his "*Handbook of Architecture*," states that "Sir William St Clair did not employ his countrymen to erect the Chapel at Rosslyn, but brought men from other regions and foreign kingdoms, and that there can be no doubt that the architects came from the North of Spain, and there is no detail or ornament in the whole building which may not be traced to Burgos or Oviedo, and that the tunnel vault of the roof with only transverse ribs is such as those found in almost all the old churches in the South of France."

The artificers, however, may not all have been brought from one country, but, in the plain language of the statement, from "other regions and foreign kingdoms,"—from all those named, and perhaps more, carrying with them recollections of the features of the varied styles of the buildings upon which they had been employed, and thus they may have suggested to the master-mason many details which distinguish the building at Rosslyn. This may to a considerable extent also account for the peculiar character which pervades it. But it is to be observed that this is not an example of the ordinary progress of a style, but the result of a special effort by a single individual, assisted by an architect and experienced workmen to produce a "most curious work," necessarily differing largely from the ecclesiastical edifices erected in different parts of the country in accordance with the prevailing style of the period.

As the native workmen could not be supposed to be acquainted to

any great extent with other forms or decorations beyond those of the buildings in their own country, Sir William St Clair would naturally desire to procure the aid of artificers from countries where he had seen structures which attracted his admiration, but they do not appear to have been the only workmen employed at Rosslyn, as we are also informed that "he caused abundance of all kinds of workmen to be present, such as masons, carpenters, &c.," who would be selected according to their experience and ability. A master mason was employed at a yearly salary of forty pounds, but it is not stated whether he was a native or a foreigner. "To the rest he gave ten pounds a year, and accordingly he did reward the others, as the smiths and carpenters." Of the workmen whom he caused to be daily present, the masons are the first named, and all both native and foreign are classed under the same rate of payment, viz., ten pounds a year.

From all the circumstances noticed it is not unreasonable to conclude that the building was not erected exclusively by foreign workmen.

We have noticed Sir William St Clair as a patron of the arts, and much given to building, yet he did not take upon himself entirely the duties of architect for this building, but evidently realized the idea of its character so distinctly, as to enable him to instruct the master-mason or architect whom he employed, to prepare a general plan, and also from time to time the necessary designs and models or patterns of details for his consideration and approval ; hence there is no contract mentioned for the work, either with reference to a plan or existing building.

It would be difficult to account for carpenters being named next to the masons, as being daily in attendance on the erection of a building entirely of stone, were it not that we are informed of the manner in which they were employed. "He caused the draughts to be drawn out on Eastland boards, and made the carpenters to carve them according to the draughts thereon, and gave them for patterns to the masons that they might thereby cut the like in stone." Had the carpenters' operations been confined to the details only, where carving was required, a very few skilled woodcarvers might have soon prepared all that was necessary, but patterns prepared by carpenters conveys the idea that portions of the building were modelled full size of the timber framed together and fitted in position, in order that the effect might be correctly ascertained. It was a practice in

use long before this period to execute mason work according to pattern, as appears from the contract, dated 1387, for erecting five chapels on the south side of the parish church of Edinburgh, wherein it is stipulated that they be "voutyt on the manner and the masounry as the voute obovyn Saut Stevynys auter standand on the north syde of the parys auter of the Abbay of the Halyrudehous, the quhylk patronne they haf sene." At that period such works did not proceed rapidly, and the erection of the building was not completed, after a period of thirty-four years, at the founder's death.

A considerable quantity of Eastland boards must have been used for the patterns. These boards were what are now known as Norwegian deals, which Sir William St Clair had facilities for obtaining. Mr Joseph Anderson, Curator of the Museum of National Antiquities, has drawn my attention to the fact that in the 15th century Norway is frequently designated the Eastland and its inhabitants Eastlanders. On a recent visit to Shetland I found the natives speaking of the timber of which their boats were constructed as "Eastland strands;" and in 1541 there is an entry in the Lord Treasurer's Books "for Eastland buirds" for shrouding a roof, or in modern language, covering the rafters with shrouding or sarking deals, to fasten the slates upon.

The Collegiate Church or Chapel was founded upon St Matthew's Day, 21st September 1450, and dedicated to St Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist. The establishment consisted of a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys or choristers. It is stated in the "Genealogie of the St Clairs of Rosslyn" that the chapel was founded in the year of our Lord 1446; Spottiswood gives the same date; Slezer, in his "Theatrum Scotiæ," states 1440; and the continuator of the "Scotichronicon, circa 1447," in his list of "Præfecturæ sive Præposituræ" notices that "Lord William St Clair is erecting an elegant structure at Rosslyn," which indicates that the work was then in progress; but the inscription upon the Collegiate Church itself, along the top of the north clerestory wall (see Plate XVI.) gives the initial letters of the following sentence and the date, rendered thus by Mr Thomas Dickson of the Historical Department in the General Register House: "*Wilzame Lorde Sinclare Fundit Yis College Ye Zeir Of God M iiij L (1450),*" which appears to be the correct date of its foundation. This is to some extent corroborated by Father Hay's remark, "that for the

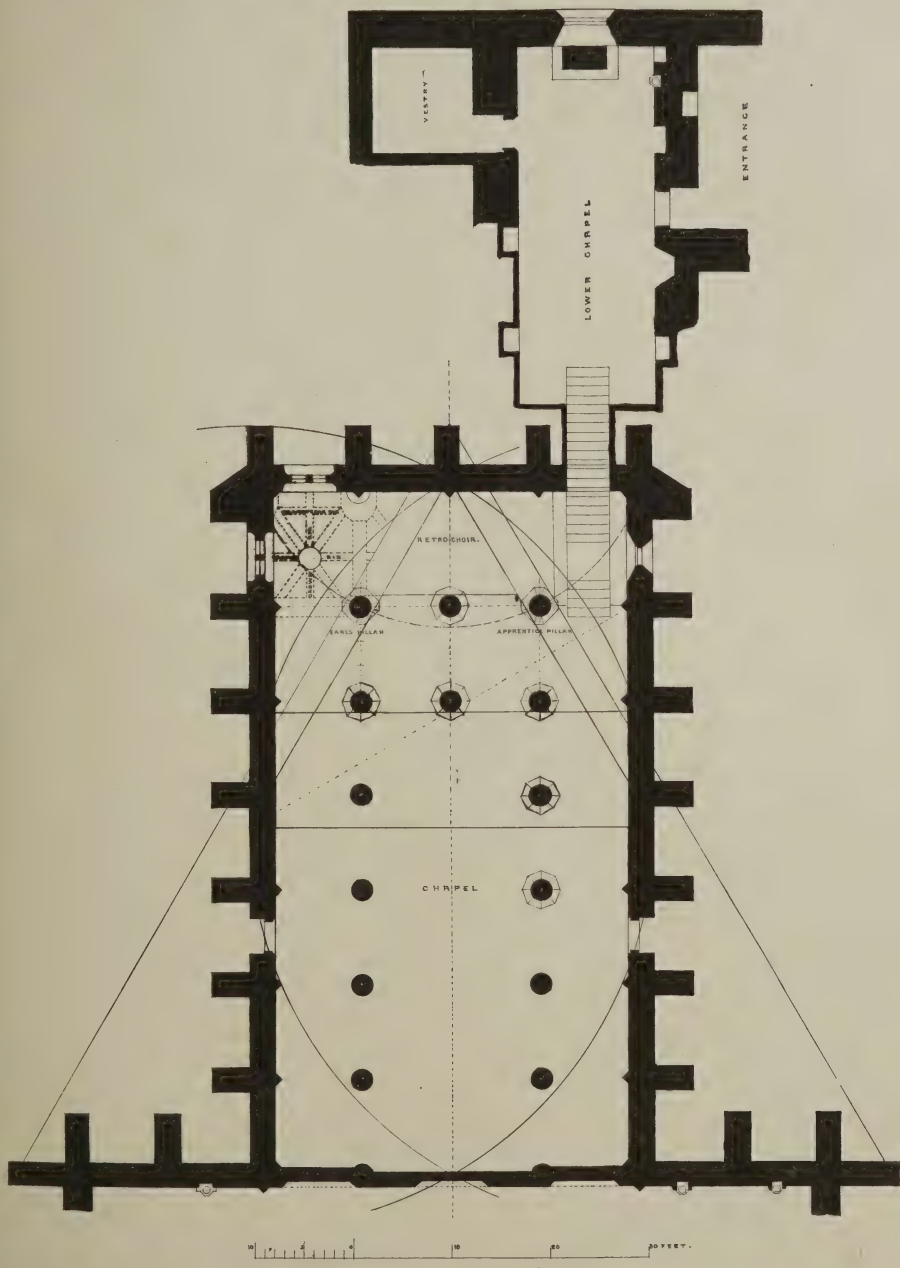
space of thirty-four years before he never wanted great numbers of such workmen." In a sketch of the life of Sir William's father, it is stated that he died before 1418. Thirty-four years previous to 1450 would give the date 1416, when Sir William was probably engaged in managing the Rosslyn estate, to which he succeeded about 1417. The dates 1440, 1446, and 1447, previously noticed, may refer to the addition to the Castle, erected by Sir William about that time, which included a church or chapel (both designations being used) with "rounds and fair chambers and galleries thereon," the greater portion of which was destroyed by General Monck in 1650.

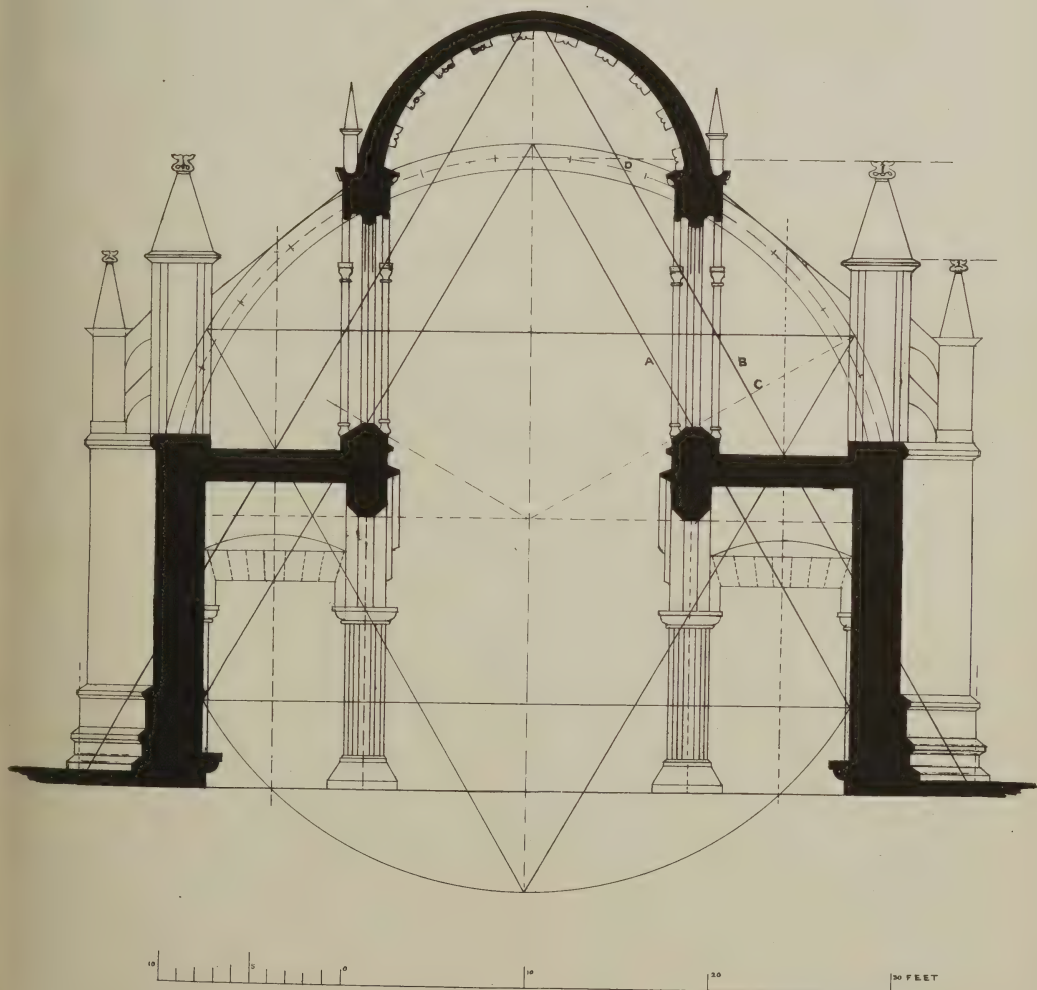
Dr Daniel Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," observes "that many of the most remarkable features of Rosslyn Chapel are derived from the prevailing models of the period, though carried to an exuberant excess," and "even the singular arrangement of its retro-choir, with a clustered pillar terminating the vista of the centre aisle, is nearly a repetition of that of the cathedral of St Mungo at Glasgow."

Although there were examples in the country at that period embracing buttress, pinnacle, and flying buttress, with various forms of arches and vaulting, it must be admitted that the stone diapered roof of the central aisle shows a considerable amount of French character, and the pillars of the aisles have also a striking resemblance to those of Sigüenza cathedral in Spain. But the distinguishing features of Rosslyn, both externally and internally, will be found to consist chiefly in the variety and richness of design, and vigorous execution of the decoration, based largely on natural foliage, and the extent of its application.

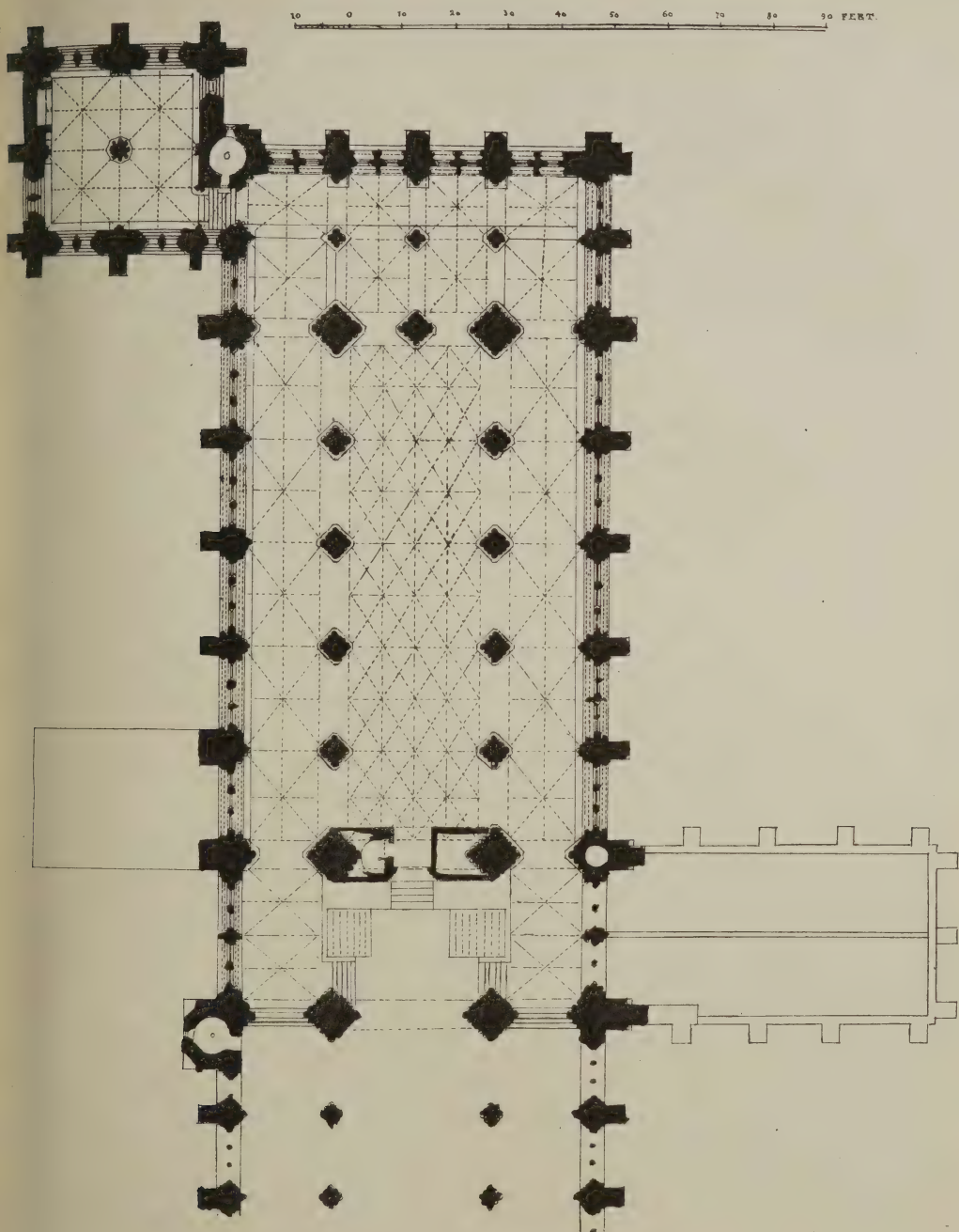
The height of the eastern portion of Rosslyn, like that of Glasgow, is restricted to the line of the side aisles, to enable the great east window to be placed immediately over the central terminating pillar, to admit the light directly into the centre aisle of the choir.

On comparing the plans of the choir of Rosslyn and the Cathedral of St Mungo at Glasgow, it will be observed that the clustered pillar terminating the central aisle is not the only point of resemblance, but the entire plan is almost a repetition of that of Glasgow. The treatment of the retro-choir is a feature in both which is worthy of some consideration, especially in connection with Rosslyn, as it formed the subject of a discussion in 1846, at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and also of a





ROSLIN CHAPEL - SECTION



GROUND PLAN OF CHOIR OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL

correspondence between the late David Roberts, R.A., and Mr Britton, architect. Mr Roberts contended "that the east wall of Rosslyn had been pulled down, and set further back, to give three feet more room." Mr Britton says "the subject is very curious and perhaps unparalleled in architectural construction, and recommends a careful examination of the eastern wall in conjunction with those of the north and south sides, and particularly the positions and foundations of the angular buttresses, and also to ascertain if there be any remains of foundations between the east wall and the three pillars."

The choir of St Mungo's Cathedral in Glasgow was erected about a century before Rosslyn, and the rich effect produced by the double row of pillars at the east end would have been seriously deteriorated, had the east wall been finished similar to the side walls of the aisles, but to obviate this, the jambs of the windows are richly shafted and decorated. The windows are also divided and formed into small lancets by a strong pier corresponding to the jambs, from which springs a moulded rib forming an additional division of the groining of the roof, thus continuing the clustered forms of shafted pillars and moulded ribs, until the vista is terminated by a rich contrast of alternate lines of light and shade, enhanced by the brilliant effect of the light admitted by the lancet windows behind.

This arrangement has evidently been most carefully studied and effectively carried out in the retro-choir at Rosslyn, by terminating the groining in a transverse rib, and repeating the pointed arch between it and the east wall, the pillars attached to it being boldly corbelled at the top, to form a rest for the intermediate ribs of the groined roofs: these discharge their thrust at the side walls opposite to the buttresses, which are placed so as to effectively resist any outward pressure. On carefully examining this part of the building no indications appear of pulling down or deviating from the original plan, but it is to be observed that the sloped joinings of the side and end buttresses are not finished at the top by a cornice, in the same manner as the side and east walls. The treatment of these may possibly have been reserved for further consideration along with the general parapet, which appears never to have been completed, and exists now in a fragmentary state. The retro-choir is used as the burial-place of the Rosslyn family, and consequently the ground is occasionally opened, but no cross building has been discovered between the three pillars and the

east wall, the entire area being a platform of solid masonry. On looking at the arrangement of the groining, the transverse crown rib is in its proper place, over the apex of the side windows which are centred between the buttresses. A thick wall being indispensable at the line of the eastmost pillars, to terminate the vaulting of the side aisles upon, reduces the space on that side of the crown rib. Had the east wall been built in line with the side buttresses the space between it and the crown rib would have had a very cramped and distorted effect, but by keeping the spaces between the buttresses of the same width and introducing the transverse rib already noticed opposite to their centre, and also adding to the thickness of the eastmost buttresses, the proper heights and forms are preserved, the space enlarged, and a graceful effect produced, in accordance with the terminal arrangements already described.

Considerable care has also been bestowed in treating the outside eastern corners. From the back of the angle moulding of the side buttresses a splay is continued to the outer surface of the east wall, defining the proper projection of the end buttresses, and equalizing so far as possible the sides of both, which otherwise would have differed so largely in extent as to present a very unsightly appearance. Doubtless a difficulty was encountered, but it has been very successfully overcome.

These various circumstances favour the opinion, that the retro-choir was erected as originally designed, which is also substantiated by the fact that the general ground-plan is governed by two intersecting circles, the radii of which are equal to the width of the building and contain two equilateral triangles. The east one being divided into three equal parts gives the position and spacing of the pillars, and half of the space between this triangle and the intersecting curved line gives the side of a larger triangle, embracing the entire building, as shown by the illustration in Plate XI. It will be observed that the middle space of the triangle extends to the outside of the two eastmost pillars; one fifth of the width of this space gives their diameter, and a line drawn through their centre, intersected by a circle equal in diameter to the base of the triangle described from its apex, gives the width of the aisles at the centre of the pillars, and thus completes the outline of the plan.

A geometric figure based upon a circle, the diameter being equal to the width of the building, applies to the section, defining not only the propor-



VIEW ACROSS RETRO CHOIR -- GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.



VIEW ACROSS RETICULATED CHOIR - SEVEN CHAPEL

tions but the construction of the edifice. Like the plan it is also governed by a larger triangle, the application of which can only be understood by referring to the diagrams, which are confined to the outlines of the building, omitting as far as possible all minor details that might obscure the geometric lines. (See Plate XII.)

Various designations have been applied to the lower chapel, such as The Crypt, Sacristy, Vestry, and Chapel of the Blessed Virgin. Although latterly used as a sacristy, it appears to have been originally designed for a distinct chapel or oratory, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and fitted with a stone altar, ambry and piscina, also a small vestry on the north side, an entrance apartment on the south, and probably a priest's chamber above. The square recesses in the walls may have been for placing lamps or lanterns during night services. The fire-place has been remarked upon as being an unusual feature, but as the west end abutted upon an earthen bank, it was almost indispensable to render the chapel comfortable. There was a corresponding example of an original fire-place in the small chapel which was attached to the Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, and in the course of taking it down the base of a stone altar was discovered at the window. I am inclined to believe from the appearance of the masonry of the entrance chamber at Rosslyn, that this chapel was attached to an older building, or perhaps some old materials were used in its construction. The entrance chamber and vestry are now nearly torn down, and the external upper portion of the side wall of the chapel has been rebuilt in plain rubble work. This lower chapel is 36 feet long, 14 feet wide, and 13 feet high, lighted by a single window at the east end. Inside there are two stone corbels at the springing of the window arch, the one on the north side bearing an engrailled cross for Rosslyn: the other on the south side, is couped Orkney and Rosslyn; and the second part couped of three, Douglas and Touraine; in the first, three stars, in the second, three fleurs de lues, and in the third, a heart, being the arms of Lady Margaret Douglas, first wife of Sir William St Clair. Lady Margaret is said to have erected this lower chapel, and, from the style of the masonry and its position, it appears to have been completed before the commencement of the upper one, in the base of which, at the south-east corner, there is an original window, lighting the connecting stairs, showing that the lower chapel was taken into account while preparing the design for the upper one.

The roof is a round stone vault, with a band at the top, divided into five compartments by others resting upon carved corbels, forming a repetition of the ragged or enrailed cross.

There are some markings of cusped arches and pinnacles upon the ashlar of the walls inside the lower chapel, and also of a window at the south-west corner, next the transept in the upper chapel, which is at present covered by the organ. Various opinions have been expressed regarding them, but I consider that they could not have been made when the building was in progress, as such markings would greatly disfigure the surface of the newly finished ashlar work. They have probably been made by some thoughtless workmen, when the building was being repaired by General St Clair about 1720. One group of the markings, however, represents very nearly the section of the first cross arch from the north wall of the retro-choir, which was destroyed in 1688 and was not restored until about the beginning of the present century.

The Collegiate Church is 69 feet 8 inches long, 35 feet wide, and 41 feet 9 inches high. There are sixteen supporting pillars inside: the three eastern ones in the retro-choir are each of a different plan. The one on the south side is known as the Apprentice Pillar, and that on the north as the Earl's Pillar. The remaining thirteen, including those built into the west wall, are all of a uniform plan. On the faces of twelve of these there are crosses 3 inches high, formed of crosslets about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor, all neatly and distinctly cut.

The principal or high altar was placed in front of the east pillar of the central aisle, but there are four others placed at the east windows of the retro-choir. In some accounts the one at the south side is designated the high altar, apparently from its being placed on a raised platform, to admit of an entrance below to the sacristy or lower chapel. The other three are represented as dedicated to St Matthew, St Peter, and St Andrew. In another account, the one on the north side is stated to be dedicated to St Matthew, the others respectively to St Mary, St Peter, and St Andrew. This latter arrangement appears to be the most correct, as it places the pendant with the figures representing the Star of Bethlehem, the Virgin and Child, three Eastern kings, and other figures, in front of the altar dedicated to the Virgin.

The roof of the central aisle of the Chapel is an obtuse pointed stone

vault, divided on the inside by strong transverse ribs into five compartments, each being boldly diapered by different ornaments. Externally the surface is finished quite smooth and plain. In the course of executing some repairs a few years ago, the stones near the top of the roof arch were found to be about 9 inches thick.

The roof of the retro-choir is divided into four compartments by strong richly-decorated cross arches, filled between with quadripartite ribbed groins, having deep floriated pendants in the centre of each. The arrangement of the roof of the north and south aisles is peculiar, and is evidently designed to admit of the windows in the side walls being formed to any desired height. It consists of a series of pointed arches, resting apparently upon straight stone beams or lintels extending between the pillars and outside wall. These straight beams, or more properly arches, are formed of several stones with radiated joints, which are not readily observed amongst the carved and moulded decorations; they are also hollowed out inside, in order to render them as light as possible. The real support of the roof arches is a flat segmental arch which forms the spring course. It is fully 6 inches clear of the stone beam in the centre, and some inches thinner to admit of a moulded cope resting on the sides of the beam, to conceal the segmental supporting arch.

The west gable is extended on each side, and defines the length of the transepts. Three openings to the choir are formed at the end of the aisles having straight arches corresponding to those of the side aisles. Over the central opening is a large arched space, in which the rood was usually placed, but all of these are now built up.

The constructive features shown upon the outside are well designed and effectively carried out. The thrust of the roof upon the clear-story walls is transmitted by the flying buttresses to the side wall, which are sustained by buttresses terminating in double pinnacles, connected by two light arches. The buttresses around the eastern portion receive only the thrust of the groined vaulting of the retro-choir, and have single pinnacles of a circular form and lighter character, with a space in front to admit of an ornament or statue being placed there. The roofs of the side aisles and east end, formerly slated, are now paved with stone, evidently in accordance with the original design. A cornice is laid along the wall heads with a gutter behind. In some places a cope is laid over the cornice, but as the forms

of the latter vary considerably, it can scarcely be concluded that this was the finish originally intended, especially as there are plain spaces at the sides of some of the pinnacles, indicating something more elaborate, perhaps an open crested parapet of varied design.

The external decorations consist of effective forms of mouldings, niches, flowers, foliage, animals, birds, and other figures in a variety of attitudes, which it is unnecessary to describe, as the Chapel has already been so largely illustrated, and the subjects can only be properly understood by referring to the illustrations or the building itself. Indeed the decoration embraces so wide a field, that it should be treated as a separate subject. It may not, however, be out of place to refer to some of the more prominent features. The varied forms and peculiar decorations of the pinnacles, especially the double one at the north-east corner of the clear-story forming a triple crown, are worthy of careful attention and comparison with Continental examples; also the corbel, and shafted corbel, placed alternately on the face of the buttresses. The inscription with the date already referred to is along the north side cornice only, while the shields on the south side remain plain, perhaps with the intention of having them filled with the date when the building should be completed. On the top of two of the pillars on each side of the opening at the west end are two figures—one representing St Christopher carrying the Infant Saviour upon his shoulder; and the other the Martyrdom of St Sebastian, who was bound to a tree and shot to death with arrows, by order of Diocletian, the Roman emperor. There are also two corbels at a considerable height above these, with groups sculptured on the under side, the subject of one being the Finding of Moses; the other is stated to represent an incident in the history of Elijah the Prophet, but its dilapidated state prevents it from being properly defined.

There is a peculiarity on the surface of the masonry at the south end of the east wall, which it may be well to notice, to prevent any unnecessary investigation in future. It was recommended to the late Earl of Rosslyn to have the whole external surface of the Chapel made uniform, by inserting pieces of new stone where the old was decayed, and about a superficial yard was done at the place mentioned as a specimen; but his Lordship on seeing it did not approve of the recommendation, and it was not carried further.

It has been noticed that the Chapel was not completed at the death of the founder. Some raglets on the walls and pinnacles indicate that this work was latterly brought to a hasty termination, and the lower parts covered by a temporary roof of timber and slate, extending from the cornice to about 8 feet upon the wall of the clear-story, covering half the height of the windows. Beyond the east gable the roof was made of a double or M-form, with pavilion ends, to admit of a sufficient space between for the large east window.

Over the north aisle the mouldings and ornaments on the sides of the pinnacles are carried down to the line of the cornice, but upon those over the south aisle they are stopped at the sloped line or raglet of the slated roof, thus showing that the temporary roof was decided upon before the masonry was completed.

The internal ornaments are composed of subjects somewhat similar to those described for the exterior. They are, however, carried out to a greater extent and are more minutely detailed. The choir being well lighted enables the whole to be distinctly seen in harmonious combination.

The cross ribs of the roof have considerable projection, with fleur-de-lis and other pointed flowers carved on the lower edge. The diaper surfaces of the five intermediate spaces have each a different ornament of a rose or star pattern; but in the west compartment, where the diaper ornament consists chiefly of stars, there is on the north side at the lowest corner next the wall, a figure of the moon in crescent, and a small star. Upon the first block above is a dove with outspread wings. On the third block up and next the rib, is a figure of the Sun radiated, and below is an open hand. On the south side, at the wall near the bottom of the arch, there is the figure of an angel; on the second block above, an angel with a sword; next the rib, a group of two figures; and on the third block an angel with both hands uplifted. On the apex of the rib next the west wall, there is also a head with a cut over the right temple. These figures had been almost forgotten, and it was only a few years ago that several of them were again discovered. The dove is a common symbol of the Holy Spirit, but as it is associated here with so many other figures, it can only be considered as one of a group, and it would therefore be imprudent at present to venture an opinion regarding the subject which they are intended to represent.

Upon the spaces between the clerestory windows are twelve richly carved corbels which supported figures of the Apostles with canopies above, but the figures were removed about the period of the Reformation; a portion of one of them is still preserved in the grounds. A figure of the Virgin and Child is said to have occupied the niche below the east window, but this was also removed along with the others.

At the west end, about half way up the wall, are three heads. One in the south-west corner is that of a man with a cut above the left eye, described as the head of the apprentice who finished the Apprentice Pillar; in a line with it, over the second pillar of the south side, is the head of a woman weeping, popularly designated that of the mother of the apprentice; and in the north-west corner is the head of an old man frowning, representing the master mason, all of which refer to the tradition connected with the "Apprentice Pillar."

The model of this pillar was taken from an original in Rome. On its arrival in this country, the master mason distrusted his ability to finish it without seeing the original, and therefore went to Rome to examine it. In his absence one of his apprentices dreamt that he had finished the pillar, and undertook the task, which he finished with the most complete success. On his return the master mason's envy was so inflamed that he seized a mallet and killed him by a blow upon the head.

An almost similar tradition is preserved at Melrose, in connection with the building of the east window of the abbey church. It is curious to find such legends associated chiefly with ecclesiastical buildings, but they are not exclusively confined to them. There is one connected with the building of a bridge over the Danube at Ratisbon, where Satan himself was said to have been employed, his hire being the lives of the first three creatures who crossed the bridge. He of course expected human beings, but the tradition represents him as having been cleverly cheated by the substitution of a wolf-dog, a cock, and a hen, the figures of which may still be seen carved upon the bridge.¹

The carvings upon the lower parts of the Chapel, including the capitals of the pillars, the arches connected with them, and the aisle windows, seem to have been designed to illustrate a series of Scriptural subjects, although in some parts apparently incomplete, perhaps from the work having been

¹ Such legends were also associated with the builders, or masonic fraternity, and

interrupted and the original intention lost sight of, or from parts being broken or defaced and restored by persons not acquainted with what had previously existed.

It has been noticed that the niche over the east central pillar was filled with figures of the Virgin and Child. Above the capital at the back is a tree with two figures advancing towards it and two retiring from it, apparently referring to the Fall of man. In the south side are palm leaves, in the north a monster beast with a man lying upon its back. It is secured by a chain collar and has a cord in its mouth, extended from the foliage of the arch above.

The sculptures in the retro-choir appear to represent the mission of the Saviour. Upon the pendant in front of the altar of the Virgin, is carved the Star of Bethlehem, with eight figures around it. At the south point of the star is the Virgin and Child; at the other points are the manger, the three kings with their sceptres, and other figures; and on the capitals of the pillars, looking towards the star, thirteen angels, some represented singing, others with musical instruments of different kinds representing the Heavenly Host. On the ribs of the groin springing from the south and east walls are a series of figures, about 8 inches high, beginning at the wall corbel and rising upward. The first is a warrior with helmet, sword, and spear; second, a monk drinking; third, a figure of Death crouched

still linger in some localities of our country. Burns' allusion to them in his "Address to the Deil" is well known:—

"When masons' mystic word or grip,
In storms and tempests raise you up,
Some cock or cat your rage maun stop,
Or, strange to tell,
The youngest brither ye wad whip
Off straught to hell."

About fifty years ago, an old mason residing in the village of Stow, who used to communicate the mysteries of the craft to the candidates for admission to the lodge at that place, had become so infirm as to be unable to attend at the usual place of meeting. On one occasion a candidate was brought to his house, but his goodwife would allow no such meeting there in future. She said: "It was a fine quiet nicht before they cam, but nae sinner had they begude their cantrips, when the wind rose like to tear the roof aff the house; and as for my bonnie black Tabby, puir beast, the Foul Thief maun hae gotten him, as I hae ne'er seen a hair o' his tail frae that day to this."

together; fourth, a man with a dress having peculiarly wide sleeves. Upon the opposite rib above the wall corbel is first, a figure of a queen; second, a lady seated in a chair; third, another in the attitude of prayer; and fourth, a warrior.

On the north side, the diagonal ribs rising from the corner are ornamented in a similar manner. Above the wall corbel there is the figure of an abbot; second, an abbess; the third is too much mutilated to be recognisable; fourth, a lady admiring her portrait; the fifth is obliterated; sixth, a bishop; seventh, a cardinal; eighth, a courtier; and ninth, a king. On the opposite rib, above the pillar, is first, a ploughman; second, a carpenter; third, a gardener with a spade; fourth, a sportsman; fifth, a child; sixth, Death parting a husband and wife; and seventh, a farmer. The figures rising from the north wall have a figure of Death behind most of them, and upon the opposite sides are doves in pairs with olive leaves in their bills. It has been suggested that these figures represent "a dance of Death," but viewing them in connection with the representations of the Star of Bethlehem, the Infant Jesus, and the Heavenly Host, and considering that the figures of Death only occupy a secondary position, it is possible that the composition as a whole may be susceptible of some other explanation.

On the corbels of the niches upon the jambs of the four east windows are figures of angels. Upon the first, at the north side, is an angel with a book, and one opposite with a scroll; on the second are two angels with scrolls; on the third is an angel with palm branches crossed, and one opposite with a laurel crown; on the fourth is an angel with a St John's cross, and opposite to it is another holding a shield charged with an engrailed cross.

Of the three eastmost pillars already noticed the one at the south side, being the first from the wall, is the "Apprentice Pillar." The shaft represents a bundle of rods with four floral wreaths twisted in a spiral form around it: on the base are a series of dragons entwined and bound at the mouth by cords passing down from the top and reascending through the floral wreaths. On the south side of the capital is a figure of Isaac lying upon an altar, at the side of which is a ram caught by the horns in a thicket. Formerly there was also a figure of Abraham, but that is now destroyed.

On the east end of the straight arch, or lintel, connecting this pillar

with the one second from the east wall, is the figure of a king crowned ; at the west end a figure with bagpipes. Upon the top of the second pillar is another figure extended asleep, by the side of which is a large animal gnawing bones. The crowned figure and the one asleep are supposed to represent Darius, King of Persia, and to refer to the inscription upon the lintel over the south aisle, which connects the Apprentice Pillar with the south wall, where there is a scroll inscribed as follows :—“ From 1st Esdras, chap. 3, ver. 10–12 ”—“ *Forte est vinum, Fortior est Rex, Fortiores sunt mulieres ; super omnia vincet veritas,*” being the three sentences proposed in a trial of wisdom, by the three youths who formed the body guard of King Darius, while he slept. Each was written out and placed under his pillow and presented to him when he awoke. He had them explained before his council by the youths, when the pre-eminence was given to Zerobabel, who as his reward was allowed to prefer a request, that Darius would perform his vow to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple, which was done, and ultimately terminated the Babylonish captivity of the Jews.

On the lintel connecting the first pillar west from the Apprentice Pillar with the south wall, are two lines of well-cut figures, nine on each side, described as representing the virtues and vices, or, according to the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church, the seven corporal works of mercy and the seven deadly sins. By leaving out the first and last figures in each line these may be stated as follows :—

The figures carved on the East side of the lintel, representing the Virtues, are—

1. A cardinal bishop.
2. A cripple on crutches leading the blind.
3. A man clothing the naked.
4. A man visiting the sick.
5. A man visiting another in prison.
6. A female attending the fatherless.
7. A man feeding the hungry.
8. Men burying the dead.
9. A cardinal bishop.

The figures on the West side, representing the Vices, are—

1. A bishop in his robes in the act of warning.
2. A man in a proud attitude.
3. A man with a flagon at his mouth.
4. Two men with a cup and flagon.
5. A man with a halbert.
6. A man smiting his breast.
7. A man with clusters of grapes around him.
8. A man and woman embracing.
9. A devil issuing from "hell's mouth," represented as usual by the mouth of a dragon or crocodile, and stretching a triple hook towards the whole group.

Upon the corbels of the niches at the sides of the aisle windows are a number of figures worthy of attention.

On those of the first window from the east end of the south aisle, are figures of angels, one with a scroll, and the other with hands clasped in the attitude of prayer.

Over the arch of the second window are twelve human figures, several of them with books in their hands, and below upon the sides are two figures, one with a mantle and cup, and another with a scroll.

The remaining lintels over the south aisle westward are ornamented with foliage only. The space over the capital of the third pillar from the east end is ornamented with varied forms of foliage.

Over the arch of the third window are nine human figures, described as representing the nine orders of angels; and on the sides below are the figures of an angel holding a heart, and a bearded figure representing Moses with a stone tablet on one arm and a roll on the other.

Over the capital of the fourth pillar is a group of human figures and animals much defaced and broken.

The jambs of the fourth window have figures of angels with scrolls.

Opposite the fourth pillar, and upon the top of a small one at the wall, on the east side of the south door, is a group, including a representation apparently of the Conception, approaching the form of an aureole, which is the only example of the kind that I have met with in Scotland. Over the corresponding small pillar on the west side of the door is another group, representing the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple.

Above the capital of the fifth pillar, which is opposite to the group of the Presentation, is a female figure kneeling, and looking towards it, with human figures on either side, much broken. On the other sides are figures of animals also broken. Those on the north side appear to be a lion and a horse in combat, the horse having a chain and ring hanging loosely around it.

The south door occupies the space of the fifth window. On one side of the sixth is a figure of a man clad in mail, riding on horseback, and armed with a spear. Seated behind is an angel holding a cross, and on the opposite side is a figure unrolling a scroll, and another in the attitude of prayer.

Above the capital of the sixth pillar is a group engaged as carpenters, with a central figure having a nimbus much defaced. Adjoining is that of a man fighting with a lion, and on the other side are two figures upon their knees, apparently struggling.

Over the small opposite pillar at the south wall is a circle of flowers bound with a cord, and on the pillar attached to the west wall is a crowned figure with a sword in his right hand looking eastward.

Around the north side of the arch, over the second space between the pillars at the west end, there is a line of figures which are stated to represent the Twelve Apostles, and four of the primitive martyrs, each with a nimbus. Some of the former are readily recognized, such as St Andrew with a cross, but the individuality of several of the others is not so easily ascertained.

Passing over to the west end of the north aisle, there are upon the west pillar, attached to the wall, figures of dragons entwined with an angel holding a scroll looking east. Upon the capital of the sixth pillar from the east end, there is a figure of the Prodigal in his lowest state of degradation, feeding a sow, also two doves and foliage.

On the jambs of the sixth window from the east end of the north aisle, an angel is represented bearing a cross; on the opposite side Satan is shown scowling angrily upon a man and woman, who are kneeling with their faces towards it.

Over the small wall pillar on the west side of the north door, is a group of nine figures representing the Crucifixion; and upon the pillar opposite, being the fifth from the east end, are three figures looking towards the

Crucifixion. At the side are two animals, one chained and the other held by a man ; on the opposite side are two animals struggling, bound with a cord.

On the fourth pillar the group is much broken. Two figures are apparently engaged in rolling away the stone from our Lord's sepulchre, and on either side are large animals bound with cords. Upon the capital of the opposite wall pillar is a plaited crown.

Upon one side of the fourth window is an angel with a cross upon his head, holding a scroll, and upon the opposite side is an angel with a scroll only.

On the third pillar are representations of Samson killing the Lion, a plaited crown, an elephant, and a group much defaced and broken. On the opposite wall pillar is a shield with the Lamb and pennon within a double tressure, above is the end of the stone lintel over the north aisle, upon which, close to the wall, is a crowned figure playing upon a harp, while a demon is pulling his arm and snatching the crown from his head. Upon the opposite side is a dog leading a blind man, and at the other end of the lintel is a dragon's mouth, the space between being filled in with foliage. The figures at the ends suggest the idea that originally they may have been intended to be continued along the entire lintel.

The jambs of the third window have on one side an angel with an open book, and on the opposite side another with a shield charged with an engrailed cross.

The principal ornament on the top of the second pillar has originally been a group, but it is entirely destroyed. Adjoining the group is a plaited crown and some foilage ; on the other side are two figures covered with basket-work. Upon the wall pillar opposite is a shield quartered, and supported by two men kneeling. The first and third quarters have a ship and an engrailed cross, representing Orkney and Rosslyn ; the second quarter a lion passant ; and the fourth a heart upon a quarre with tears on each side. There is some difficulty in explaining this shield, but it is possible that it may be the arms of Sir William St Clair, when a widower, impaled with those of his first wife Elizabeth Douglas. On the dexter side, Orkney and Rosslyn, on the sinister, the lion of Galloway, and a heart for Douglas upon a quarre with tears.

Over the arch of the second window are twelve human figures representing the Apostles, with a nimbus round the head of each. Upon the jambs

of the window are an angel with a scroll and another with a closed book in his arms.

The lintel or straight arch between the second pillar and the shield just described has upon the east side eight figures. Seven of them with crowns are lying horizontally, including one with a harp. Near the centre is the eighth, sitting upright, with a nimbus round the head, and the hand raised in the attitude of blessing. On the lintel from the second pillar, over the east aisle, is a figure pressing through the foliage with the hands resting upon it, described as Samson pulling down the temple of Dagon, but which scarcely seems to admit of this interpretation.

The first window, like the one adjoining, has two angels at the sides, one with a scroll and the other with his hands crossed upon his breast.

It has already been noticed, that the several carvings inside the building seem to have been designed to illustrate a series of Scriptural subjects, and a glance at the general description given appears to confirm this opinion. Commencing with the Fall of Man, which is represented at the pillar behind the altar; followed by the Birth of Christ, and continued by the prophetic reference to the Sacrifice of Isaac, over the Apprentice Pillar; the power of truth, the contrast of virtue and vice, the representation of the Conception, the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple, Christ engaged as a carpenter, the parable of the Prodigal Son, the Crucifixion, the rolling the stone from the sepulchre, and last Christ triumphant, with seven kings at his feet, embrace continuously many of the leading points in Bible history. Although many of the carvings are broken and much mutilated, yet there are sufficient remaining to induce a careful examination of the whole, noting the forms of dresses, instruments, armour, and symbols, which are displayed by many of the figures.

We have already noticed the armorial bearings in the lower chapel, and the shield with the lamb and pennon within a double tressure, and that with the heart upon a quarre with tears on each side, the two last being in the north aisle. There is another shield over the pillar behind the high altar, quartered, Orkney, Caithness, and Rosslyn, and a similar one of smaller size immediately over it, close to the roof. Upon a monument now placed against the wall at the west end of the north aisle, erected in memory of George, Earl of Caithness, who died upon the 9th September 1582, his arms are rather rudely carved, quartered as follows: first, a ship under sail within a double

tressure; second and third, a lion rampant; fourth, a ship under sail. The quarters are divided by a ragged cross, and the supporters are two griffins. Above the coronet, which has seven points, is a dove, with the motto "Commit thy work to God." (See Plate XVII., fig. 6.) This monument was originally placed in the second space between the pillars, eastward from the north door, and in front of the incised slab where several members of the Sutherland and Caithness families have been interred. Father Hay notices that it was a little defaced by the rabble on the night of the 11th December 1688.

In the first space eastward from the north door is a slab fitted into the floor between the pillars, marking the entrance to the founder's tomb, which descends by a series of steps into a vault below the centre aisle. In 1837 this slab was removed, but as two coffins lay across the inner opening, preventing access to the vault, they were not allowed to be interfered with, and the entrance was again closed. Afterwards, in the course of repairing the pavement of the floor, it was discovered that the arch had been broken, and one of the workmen descended and found the vault built in polished ashlar, arched from east to west, and the two coffins lying across the opening as described. The end of one of them was let into the side wall, and a considerable quantity of bones were piled against the wall at the back, but no remains of any other kind, and no inscription or armorial bearing, could be discovered. The earliest notice of this tomb is found in the testament of Alexander Sutherland of Dumbearth, father of the founder's second wife, dated 15th November 1456, where he says: "My body to be gravyt in the college kyrk of ane hie and mychtie Lord, William, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, Lord Sinclar, &c., in Rosslyng ner quhar himself thinks to ly." From this extract and from the Sutherland and Caithness burying-place being next to the vault described, which has hitherto been known as the founder's tomb, there is little doubt that it is correctly named, but from the way in which the following notices are expressed, it appears doubtful whether this may not be both the founder's tomb and family Vault of the St Clairs of Rosslyn, or if there may not be a separate vault for the family. Father Hay, writing about 1700 with reference to the founder states, "I have seen at his mantle, on his tomb, a medal which appeared to represent Saint Michael, yet, being a little defaced, I cannot positively certify the business." Again he states, with reference

to his son, Sir Oliver St Clair : " He finished the Chapel, as appears by his escutcheon in the vault ;" and in speaking of Sir William St Clair, who was interred in the Chapel of Rosslyn on the day that the battle of Dunbar was fought, he states : " When my godfather was buried, his corpse seemed to be entire at the opening of the *cave*, but when they came to touch his body it fell into dust. He was lying in his armour, with a red velvet cap on his head, on a flat stone—nothing was spoiled except a piece of white furring that went round the cap, and answered to the hinder part of the head. All his predecessors were buried after the same manner in their armour."

From these statements we learn that he had been in the place or places of burial which he describes, first as a vault, and again as a cave. He saw the tomb of the founder and a body which he describes as lying in armour upon a flat stone, apparently not buried in the earth.

Slezer, in his "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," published in 1693, states that in the Chapel " is buried George, Earl of Caithness, who lived about the beginning of the Reformation, " Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, great grandson of King Robert the Bruce, three Earls of Orkney, and nine Barons of Rosslyn. The last lay in a vault so dry that their bodies have been found entire after fourscore years, and as fresh as when they were first buried." This statement infers that the nine barons lay in a separate vault from the founder, who was the last Earl of Orkney.

There are several parts in the floor of the Chapel that sound as if there were vaults underneath, but that described is the only one known to exist at present. Some of the bodies may have been buried under the pavement, and others laid upon it, which would require to be removed in preparing for future interments, and thus the bones piled up in the vault would be accounted for.

Seeing that three Earls of Orkney are mentioned as having been buried in the Chapel, though it was only founded by the last earl in 1450, and as the St Clair family had resided at Rosslyn several centuries before that date, it is possible that some building containing a burial-place may have existed upon the site, previous to the erection of the Chapel, and this would account for the statement referred to.

Upon the adjoining space eastward, described as the original site of the Earl of Caithness's monument, there is a flat stone incised with the figure

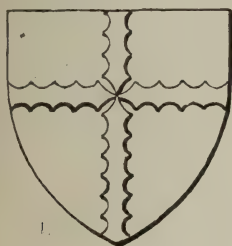
of a man in armour, having a dog at his feet, and a shield on each side of the head, charged with a lion rampant (see Plate XVI. fig. 4.) This has been described as the monumental stone of Sir William St Clair, who was killed in Spain in 1330. But it scarcely can have any reference to him, as his death occurred upwards of a century before the Chapel was founded. It has also been considered to represent Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, grandson of Robert the Bruce, or William St Clair, second son of the founder by his second marriage. The latter was created Earl of Caithness, and in 1513 accompanied James IV. to Flodden with 300 of his followers, where he was killed.

The latter suggestion may have arisen from the lions on the shields cut upon the stone, which form two of the quarters of the shield of Caithness; and there is a probability of this earl having been buried here, as the body of Lord Seton, who was also killed at Flodden, was carried from the field of battle and buried in the choir of Seton church, and a similar attention may have been bestowed upon the remains of the Earl of Caithness.

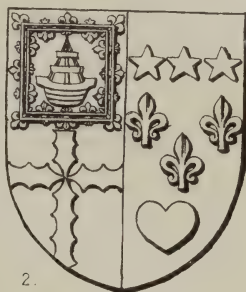
The masons' marks upon the stones of the building, especially upon the interior, remain very distinct, and are considerably diversified in form, but do not represent a large number of masons; those upon the remains of the four altars of the retro-chapel were triangles only. These marks were used to show the work done by the respective workmen, and corresponded to a name or signature. When not descending from father to son, they were selected according to the desire of the workman, but were sometimes also given by the master to the apprentices. They usually embodied some Christian symbol or masonic implement, such as a cross and spear, a trowel or compass, and were read or interpreted as a motto sometimes even extending to a sentence.

The marks of the craftsmen and apprentices were distinguished by points of difference. When a stranger workman came having a mark similar to that of a mason already employed, he was required to add a point of difference, which he dropt on leaving to work elsewhere. It was an indispensable rule that the whole marks be registered in the roll or book of the lodge, and no craftsman was allowed to change his mark without formal authority being granted.

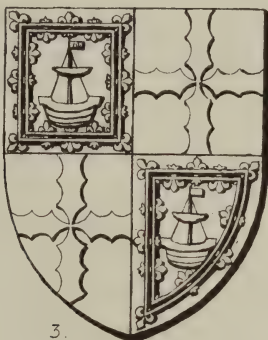
It is worthy of notice that considerable economy has been observed at Rosslyn in the application of carving, by omitting it in such places as are



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

not readily seen from ordinary points of view, such as the back and lower parts of the sides of the pinnacles and other similar situations.

Dr Daniel Wilson remarks, in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," that "it is altogether a mistake to regard the singularly interesting church at Rosslyn, which even the critic enjoys while he condemns, as an exotic produced by foreign skill, and its counterparts will be more readily found in Scotland than in any other part of Europe." He also shows by a tabulated statement that the Scottish decorated period, to which Rosslyn Chapel belongs, prevailed between 1306 and 1500, while the English decorated period prevailed from 1272 to 1377, and that the English period parallel to the Scottish decorated is the perpendicular, which existed from 1377 to 1546. Therefore the latter style does not admit of being assumed as a standard of comparison with Scottish architecture during the same period.

It has already been shown that the entire plan of this Chapel corresponds to a large extent with the choir of Glasgow Cathedral, and the peculiar porches formed between the buttresses resemble those of St Salvador's Church, St Andrews, and the Trinity College Church, Edinburgh. The general forms of the arches, buttresses, and pinnacles also existed in this country.

The plan and section are designed upon, and defined by certain principles of geometric proportion, in accordance with what is believed to have been the general practice of the period.

The spaces available for traceried windows, though of limited extent, are also treated in circles, in accordance with the spirit of existing examples, excepting in cases where the engrailed cross is introduced, which produces an abrupt and arbitrary effect.

Mr Britton describes the general appearance of this building in contrast with English examples, as combining the solidity of the Norman, with the minute decorations of the latest species of the Tudor age; but in the description of it in the "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland" the writer remarks, that "it draws on the riches of almost every phase of Gothic architecture except that which was contemporaneously present in England."

The building is therefore admitted to be a Gothic though unique structure, but it cannot properly be defined as belonging to any existing classification of styles, neither does the term Renaissance at all apply to it.

It must be admitted, however, that the founder has succeeded in carrying out his primary intention of building a house for God's service of "most curious work" and of great "glory and splendour," differing from the examples around, and in many of its parts pervaded by an Italian or Spanish character, yet in such general harmony as could scarcely be accomplished otherwise than by an amateur of high artistic ability with professional aid, free from the conventional restraints which prevent the professional architect from deviating from the recognised features of the style he is dealing with.

The structural effects of the balanced masonry have been well considered and are elegantly shown in the diversified forms of pinnacles, the combination of the mouldings with appropriate sculpture, and the effective carving of the stone ribs, niches, canopies, arches, figures, and foliage; they also show that the whole has been carefully designed, the subjects for many of which evidently originated in the religious conceptions of the founder. The workmen have also executed the whole, not generally with much minute detail, but with such expression of feeling as shows their sympathy with the object represented. These features enhance the architectural character of the building, by its human interest, and pleasing thoughts are awakened in observing the natural features and subjects, spiritualised by man's imagination.

The Chapel is now in a complete state of preservation, and is used for public worship, the officiating clergyman being the Rev. A. T. Grant, chaplain to the Earl of Rosslyn. The building and grounds are in charge of Mr J. Thomson, his lordship's factor, who takes a deep interest in all matters relating to them, and to whom I am largely indebted for his kindness and attention, in the course of my examination of the edifice, and also for many of the local traditions.

II.

NOTES ON THE SECULAR AND ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF CULROSS. BY REV. ARTHUR W. HALLEN, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT., EPISCOPAL MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S, ALLOA.

To write a paper on Culross, in which the abbey is not the principal feature, seems like attempting the performance of Shakspeare's greatest drama, with the part of Hamlet left out; and yet this is what, with your permission, I intend this afternoon in a great measure to do. Not because I am ignorant of the antiquarian and historical interest of the abbey, both under its earlier ecclesiastical and later secular owners, but because it has been brought before this Society, I believe, on a former occasion, and because I have found much in Culross, apart from the abbey, which I venture to think may prove of some interest.

The royal burgh of Culross is situated in Perthshire, though isolated from the main portion of that county. Culrossians are very proud of this position which they hold, and have resisted several attempts to transfer them to the more convenient, but in their eyes less dignified, jurisdiction of the sheriff of Clackmannan. Politically, the burgh is one of the Stirling group, while county voters are attached to the Clackmannan and Kinross electoral district. The principal trade of Culross used to be the making of iron girdles, or flat plates for baking oatmeal cakes on, and Scottish soldiers when on the march, were ordered to carry a certain weight of meal and a Culross girdle. The trade is now quite extinct.

The parish is still very extensive, but formerly it included the barony of Kincardine, which was united to Tullyallan in 1672. In the records of the Kirk-Session, dated October 7, 1632, there is a list of "Elders on lile nominate to be chosen for the land and for the toune." In the "toune" division, the only name of note out of fifteen is George Bruce of Carnock, but of the fifteen representing the landward portion, ten are heritors, lairds holding good estates. Sad to say, in only two instances do these properties remain, in whole or part, in the possession of the descendants of the then owners, and in both these cases they have passed through females. One representative of an ancient Culross family, Captain Cuninghame of Balgownie, has this afternoon presented to the Society the earliest copy of "ane Godlie

Band," signed by his ancestor, John Erskine of Balgownie, in 1557. This has been published amongst the national documents of Scotland. I may also state that, in the Kirk-Session records, mention is made of a general signing of the Covenant in 1643 by 707 persons, J. Erskine and G. Erskine being amongst the number; and again, in 1648, 495 persons signed, J. Erskine of Balgownie being amongst them. In the year 1633, an Act in favour of the burgh of Culross ratifies the erection, in 1588, of the town into a royal burgh, and also the surrender of the small or vicarage teinds by Alexander Colville the commendator in favour of the schoolmaster of Culross made in the same year, 1588. Before proceeding to consider the antiquities, secular and religious, of Culross, I will read a few extracts from the Kirk-Session records which the session-clerk, Mr Penney, most kindly allowed me to search carefully.

After August 1643, there is this note—

"During this intermission the Plaige was haviè upon our toune."

The records recommenced January 7, 1646. Could the "Plaige" have scattered the Kirk-Session for two years and a half?

December 11, 1678—

"The Doxologies is moved to be sung which was nowhere in use here since the restauration of the Government, which was accordingly done the following Sabbath."

November 24, 1730—

"William Young, son to James Young, indweller in Culross, having had his ear bit off by a horse some time ago, and the fact being notour to the whole place, came in and desired that this might be marked and attested in the Session records, that he might have the benefit of an Extract testifying that he had not lost his ear for any crime, but as aforesaid. And the Session granted him his desire as just and reasonable, which is attested by

"ALLAN LOGAN, *Minister*."

"JOHN GEDDES, *Minister*."

Culross possesses some very good specimens of domestic architecture; foremost amongst these in dignity though not in age, is the abbey, a mansion which took the place of the monks' lodgings around the old abbey church. This house is stated to have been built by Edward, Lord Bruce

of Kinross, and after having been in the possession of the Dundonald and Preston of Valleyfield families, it now belongs again to the Bruces, Earls of Elgin and Kincardine. Its style of architecture is of a slightly later date than Heriot's Hospital, perhaps resembling rather some portions of Holyrood. The late Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield, although not residing in it, did much to improve its external appearance. Nearer the centre of the village, and facing the sea, is a most interesting house called the Palace. It consists of a lofty block facing south, and a projecting wing at the west end; at the back, between the house and the bank, which rises precipitously, is a picturesque though small hanging garden, the terraces being many feet in height, and an ancient "doo cot." The principal entrance is in the west wing. Passing through several low rooms, the most interesting chamber in the palace is reached; it is about 18 feet by 20, and is lighted by two small windows. A concave wood-lined ceiling is divided into panels filled with fairly executed, though rather rude pictures: there are explanatory mottoes to each, given in Latin and English couplets, painted in black letter. The date of this house is certainly more ancient than the abbey; indeed, though 1611 is one of the dates on it, the date 1597, and the initials and arms of George Bruce are found, and I think that portions are even more ancient than that. I would, however, refer you to a paper by A. Jervise, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., in part iii. of vol. ii. of our Proceedings.

To the west of the palace is the mansion of Balgownie—the principal portion of the estate lies at some distance towards the north side of the parish—but the laird seems to have made this town-house his principal residence, having a more completely country residence on his estate of Throsk, adjoining Polmaise, in Stirlingshire, on the banks of the Forth also. This house, though old, has been much altered, and has a modern front; at the back, however, are two circular staircases, although the summits have been taken off to slope with the roof. Some old tapestry, still preserved in the house, was on the walls until a few years ago; and in a bedroom in the oldest part of the house, is a painting on panel over the fireplace about three feet by four, representing the Adoration of the Shepherds. In an orchard to the west of Balgownie, and on the estate, is the mouth of an old coal-pit, just opposite to which, but at a little distance beyond high-water mark, is another entrance. This used to

be protected from the influx of the tide by walls of massive masonry. About eighty or ninety years ago the stones of these walls were taken to Leith for the pier then building, and the sea drift has almost filled up this entrance to the pit. It was down the land mouth that, in 1617, James the Sixth was taken while he was on a visit to Culross; probably at the palace, for George Bruce was his host, and the Colvilles had still a hold on the abbey. Playing practical jokes is not a wise or safe habit, and King James was sorely moved, when, ascending to daylight, he found himself on a sea-girt island. His fears of treason were, however, speedily allayed by his host, and he was conveyed to shore in a boat.

West of Balgownie is an estate which the Kirk records call Castlehill, but which is now called Dunimarle, which name it had when the Statistical Account was written. Dunimarle is supposed to mean the castle on the sea, and some traces of building are to be found on a precipitous sandstone rock which also accounts for its other name of Castlehill. Tradition makes it the scene of the murder of Lady Macduff and her children. The present mansion is almost entirely modern, and was built by the late Mrs Sharpe Erskine, one of the co-heiresses of the Erskines, Baronets of Torry, now extinct. The house contains a good library, together with a collection of paintings and works of art well worth a visit.

Further to the west still is Blair Castle. This also stands on a precipitous rocky bank; it is, however, modern. The old house is said to have been built by an Archbishop Hamilton of Glasgow, about the time of the Reformation in 1632. No archbishop of this name, however, was then living. John Hamilton of Blair was one of the heritors of the parish.

In the town of Culross itself there are several very striking buildings, originality of design being the principal feature of the whole place. On the right hand of one of the steep narrow streets leading up to the abbey, is a building, one portion of which rises considerably above the rest, while the circular stair inside, and the form of the massive hinges, attest its age. Just above this building is a house with a square-headed doorway, now converted into a window, above it in Greek capitals:—

Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΠΡΟΝΟΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΕΙ.

It is called the abbey library, though its date is far too late; I should rather take it to be one of the old endowed schools of the place.

The steps of the market cross remain, but the short shaft is modern. To the east of the town are the ruins of an hospital, founded in 1637 by Thomas, first Earl of Elgin, but there is no interesting feature in them. The recipients of the charity live in a more modern building erected by Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield.

On the north side of the parish is a muir, now wooded in most parts. A great portion of this was the property of the burgh of Culross; and here Hollingshed, in the Scottish portion of his history, asserts that a battle took place between Sueno of Norway and Malcolm of Scotland. I am informed that to the north of Culross Muir is a spot, interesting to those who love to dwell on the sufferings of the Covenanters, a secluded natural amphitheatre called now Prébury, and this is popularly supposed to mean the praying bury or mound, from the fact that the forbidden religious meetings were held here.

I have mentioned most of the secular and military antiquities of the parish and town of Culross. Before I touch on the ecclesiastical antiquities, there is one interesting relic of the past which, I think, deserves some more extended notice. On the highest ground in the parish, about a mile from the sea, stands Bordie Tower. There was formerly a mansion to the east of it, and a well walled garden to the west of it, but now all the more domestic portions of the building are gone, and the tower itself has only one gable and part of each side remaining; but from its age and position, I am inclined to believe that it was of more importance than might at first be supposed from its size. Every antiquarian must be allowed his hobby, and I have been riding a small one about Bordie Tower for several years. I believe it was important as a beacon station. Taking a map of the district, we find that between Edinburgh and Stirling, the two old royal residences, a regular line of castles extends up either side of the Forth; but the line of view between several of these is obstructed, and their use as beacons in any emergency destroyed. Now Bordie Tower is the key to the whole position. I myself have seen from it, Edinburgh to the east, Blackness more to the south, Stirling to the west; these are all hid from one another by intervening hills. Bordie is open to them all, and to Clackmannan Tower (long owned by a Bruce, as was Bordie), from which the beacon would flash north to Castle Campbell in the Ochills, and once lit on them, would speed up Strathallan

to Perth. I do not know whether the subject of beacon signalling has been much studied, but I think that the district of which Bordie Tower forms a centre, would be a good field for exemplifying the capacities of a system which must have been of great importance in the days of our fathers, and in such a district as this portion of Scotland, which was subject to invasion from abroad, and from the highlands. A careful study of the Ordnance map, on which all ruins are given, and the elevation of ground between them, would, I feel convinced, show a very well devised system of conveying intelligence by beacon fires. I may mention, that in some feus granted by the Earl of Mar at Alloa, it was stipulated that buildings should not be erected to obstruct the look-out from Alloa Tower to Stirling Castle.

There have been three churches or chapels in Culross, viz.:—the old Parish Church, situated at some little distance to the west of the town; the Abbey Church, now used as a parish church; the Blackadder Chapel, situated to the east of the town.

1. The Blackadder Chapel has been described in an anonymous work printed for private circulation in Edinburgh in 1872, entitled “The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St Kentigern,” &c. In this work is a measured ground plan of the chapel. The south wall is almost entirely obliterated, as its foundations now lie in the footpath by the side of the public road. The northern portion of the chapel is in the plantation of the Culross Abbey estate, and the remains of the pavement and sedilia are better preserved. The author of the “Legends of St Kentigern” (page 89, appendix) has, I think, shown that this chapel was erected *after* 1491, and the few architectural mouldings which remain bear out that view. Whatever interest Culross may have as the reputed birth-place of St Kentigern, it is certain that the chapel on the shore of the sea is comparatively modern, and that no traces remain of an older shrine on that spot.

2. Though not intending to devote much time to the Abbey, I must give it some brief mention. It was founded in the year 1217 by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. It was dedicated to St Mary and St Leof. Its first abbot, Hugh, was before that abbot of Kinloss. Its monks belonged to the Cistercian order, or White Monks, founded in 1098 by St Bernard of Clairvaux. The abbeys of this order in Scotland were Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Holmcultram, Kynloss, Glenluce, Sadale, Deer, Balmerinloch, Sweetheart, Machline, and Culross or Kyllenross. John Hog

was abbot in 1484, when Culross was erected into a burgh of barony. Sir James Colville, brother to Alexander Colville, the last abbot, was made Lord Colville of Culross in 1604, with a grant of the abbey property. It is impossible here to enter into details as to the architectural remains, which, though not very extensive, are yet of interest. Slezer's view of Culross gives the abbey tower in its earlier and more characteristic form with a roof on it: the present pinnacles were added by the late Sir Robert Preston. I have never heard any satisfactory opinion given as to the original condition of the west end. The present western exterior shows that the building did extend, or was intended to extend, westward, but its interior arrangements must have differed very much from the ordinary cruciform abbey church, with central tower; for if the nave was in this case west of the tower, it must have been almost completely shut off from the choir. I am inclined to think that either the nave was removed at a very early date, or that after preparations had been made to build it, the plan was departed from, and the tower left at the west end, instead of in the centre of the building. In the adjoining Bruce Chapel, besides some seventeenth century alabaster effigies, there is an interesting brass memorial plate of the heart of Lord Bruce of Kinloss, who was killed in a duel in Holland. This is mentioned, I believe, in a monograph by Miss Hartshorne, on the "Special Burials and Memorials of Human Hearts." At the north-east side of the chancel there has been a good chapel, the figure which occupied the base of the arch which once opened into the church is now placed erect.

3. The old Parish Church is by far the most venerable building, and there are features of great interest about it. Its exterior size is 78 feet by $21\frac{1}{2}$; the walls are about 3 feet thick, and are nearly levelled to the ground in many places. I believe that in its original condition it was entered by a west door, and that on either side were narrow lancet windows,—one of these, situated near the present south door, remains, and measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. What sort of windows there were in the east and west gables it is impossible to say: the eastern gable was surmounted by a cross, the socket for which, formed of the crowning copestone, still lies in the churchyard, and shows good early canopy carving. On the floor of the church were several long slabs, inscribed with fine floriated crosses, with the knightly sword on one side of the shaft. One of these

slabs bears on the other side of the shaft a device which is very like a pointed arch with a "square" over it. May not this be the monument of the founder of the church, whose name has been utterly lost to us? Such was the original condition of the church, but long before the Reformation it underwent an alteration, in carrying out which the early memorials of a knightly race were taken from the graves they had covered; the west door was blocked up, and instead of it a north and south door inserted 23 feet from the west end. These doorways have flat lintels, the old memorials slabs being pressed into the service,—two slabs are thus employed for each door, and the interior slabs have had their sculpture plastered over, which has doubtless preserved them. The sculpture of the two exterior slabs is hidden by the rubble work that lies between them in the thickness of the wall, their former lower surfaces being placed outside. The south door has also had a sharp-roofed porch, as the state of the wall shows, but no trace of the foundation of this porch remains. When the church was thus "beautified and adorned" at the cost of its primitive simplicity, it is impossible to say; but the work did not prosper, for before the Reformation it again fell into decay. The Abbey Church was nearer the town, nay, in it the church's services were doubtless more attractive, and the county laird could get refreshment in the refectory after the fatigues of devotion. So the old church in the fields was never again to be renovated, for in 1633 an Act was passed making the Abbey Church the "lawful parish church," giving as a reason—"As the Abbey Church has been used for preaching since the Reformation, and that the church called the 'Parioche Kirk' where service is not, nor has been since the memory of man, is altogether ruinous, decayed, and fallen down in certain parts." It, however, long continued to be the burying-place of the parish, and outside and inside its ruined walls are well-executed monumental slabs, in some cases taking the form of altar tombs, and nearly all of them having coats of arms or trade marks. But even in the matter of burial, the more powerful families prepared for themselves a resting-place in the abbey churchyard. The Bruces of Carnock have a mortuary chapel, so have the Prestons of Valleyfield; and on April 27, 1647, Sir John Erskyne of Balgownie, on request, obtained a grant of burial-place on the north side of the church (that is the abbey), "but nigh to the little aisle (probably the chapel I have already referred to), and gable of the church, with liberty

to build a loft within the side," &c. This mortuary chapel is now the burying-place of the family. Before, however, leaving the old ruined church, Sir John must have raised the tombs of his ancestors, Sir John, his wife Christian Stirling of Keir, and Sir Robert Erskine, their son, from their recumbent position in the chancel to an upright and safer position against the east wall, where they now stand. The centre one is in best order, and is interesting as introducing at the angles the buckle of the Stirling of Keir arms; for Dame Christian Stirling or Erskine, the wife of Sir John Erskine, the first Laird of Balgownie, who was second son of John Lord Mar, was a daughter of the House of Keir. I would briefly refer to some of the coats of arms in this church and churchyard, the tinctures, however, are not now shown. There are several tombs of a family of Callendar, about 1640—A bend between 6 billets; impaling a coat of 3 wolfs' heads erased; also impaling a coat of 3 stars in fess between 3 trefoils, 2 and 1; a coat of, a fess; a coat, in base 3 crescents, 1 and 2, in chief an estoile; a coat, a lion rampant. A family of Gourley were seated here, and there is a slab bearing a lion rampant, with the initial G.

In the floor of the church is the broken portion of a large slab, with the top of the shield broken off, the whole of one initial, and portion of the other. The bearing is a pale charged with a fork, the date being 1597; the broken initial looks like the lower portion of an E. There was an Adam Erskine connected with Culross about this time. Can these be his arms with a difference?

I must now bring my paper to a close, content if I have aroused any further interest in a place well known to antiquaries,—a place where lovers of nature will find that she has laid a gentle hand on the ruins of the past, and where rest, health, and instruction may be found, and artist and architect may work with the antiquary.

IV.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN BOWL IN GLASGOW GREEN, AND ROMAN REMAINS FOUND AT YORKHILL. BY JOHN BUCHANAN, LL.D., CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT., GLASGOW.

The Green of Glasgow is situated along the south-eastern part of the city, and is skirted by the River Clyde. It is popularly divided into two portions, known as "The Low Green" and "The High Green," the latter being opposite the suburb of Bridgeton, and commonly called also "King's Park." It was in this last division of the Green that the discovery now to be noticed took place.

In October 1876, during certain operations for laying water pipes across the High Green, in a direction towards the river at the great bend called "Peat Bog," the workmen, in cutting a deep trench in which the water pipes were to be placed, came upon a large Roman Bowl. It was lying flat on its mouth in greyish sand, about 4 feet below the present surface of the Green. The bright crimson colour of the rim round the raised bottom outside fortunately attracted the workman's attention before any damage was done, and he carefully scooped the bowl out of its ancient resting place uninjured, handing it over to his master, the contractor, who was on the spot at the time, and at once took charge of the relic.

The bowl is of the usual red ware, commonly called Samian, and is of a rich crimson colour. It measures 9 inches in diameter, and in depth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The inside is of brilliant crimson, as fresh looking as if made yesterday, without any ornament. The outside is rather paler than the inside. The rim is artistically rolled over. Then immediately below this crimson rim there is a plain surface, about the breadth of two fingers, all round the outside of the bowl. Below this, the relic is rather profusely ornamented with raised figures of oxen, deer, rabbits, and other animals. These are inclosed in various sections, each section being defined by dancing female figures, perhaps intended to represent *genii*. The exterior bottom of the bowl is a neatly raised crimson circle, on which the vessel rested when in use. Something resembling the letter N has been rather rudely scratched on the bottom, in the centre of the circle, evidently done after the bowl was finished, and probably intended to indicate the initial letter

of the owner's name, if not a potter's mark. The whole bowl is in excellent preservation, without a scratch, save a little abrasion of some of the figures, evidently from use. From the general appearance the relic must have belonged to some person of note, perhaps a superior officer. It would have been too expensive for a common legionary soldier.

Herewith I send a photograph of this interesting memorial of ancient fictile art, taken from the original by Mr Thomas Annan, the well-known Glasgow artist. Being uncoloured, however, the effect is not so fine, wanting as the photograph does, the rich, beautiful crimson of the original.

The bowl has been permanently deposited in the Industrial Museum, Kelvin Grove Park, Glasgow.

For the sake of precision it seems desirable to state—1st, That the place of discovery was at the head of the slope of the Green, overlooking a flat alluvial portion of the right bank of the river, called "The Flesher's Haugh," about 200 yards back from the stream, and near the *Gymnasium*; 2d, The surface of the Green was formerly in a very rugged state, and has been repeatedly levelled and improved, so that it would be unsafe to assume that the distance of about 4 feet down, at which the bowl was found, corresponds with the original depth; on the contrary, the probability rather is, that the deposit was made shallower, the levellings alluded to necessarily causing more top soil to accumulate over the spot where the bowl lay; 3d, The precise date of discovery was the 7th of October 1876, the name of the contractor for the works is David Manwell, Pollokshields (a suburb), and that of his workman who actually discovered and lifted out the bowl, is Stephen Fox.

So much for the bowl itself.

But how did it come to be deposited where found? There are reasons for supposing that it was hidden there by the owner, in an aperture dug on purpose in the sand, and the object forgotten, or the owner slain. It was by no means uncommon for the Romans to hide in the earth coins, altars, slabs, and the like, various instances of which have been made apparent in the very neighbourhood of Glasgow; although it is remarkable that this bowl is the only Roman relic known to have been discovered on the site of, or close to this city. The district must have been, however, well known to that warlike people. It lay within the province of Valentia; and in the course of the Antonine Wall, some portions of which came within a very few

miles of what is now Glasgow. Moreover, a Vicinal Way branched off from the great central *Iter*, near Carstairs, and crossed the country in a north-west direction to, and joined the Roman wall near its western termination, at one of the wall-forts. This Vicinal Way was traced, in comparatively recent times, close to Glasgow district, particularly at Tolleross, which is only about two miles from the eastern suburbs of the city. Its course is to be seen on some of the old maps, and particularly that attached to General Roy's "Military Antiquities of the Romans," also in Stuart's volume, "*Caledonia Romana*." The road must have crossed the region now occupied by the city of Glasgow, and it is by no means improbable that what is now Gallowgate (one of the oldest streets) runs in the line of this Roman way. If so, the road would pass within a very short distance of the Green, mentioned at the outset.

There is no evidence of a Roman military post having existed at Glasgow. On the curious map of the country, constructed for the first printed edition of Ptolemy's geographical works, no marking of a station appears, although the great camp at *Vanduar* (Paisley) is distinctly seen. This important station is about seven miles west from Glasgow, and it is believed that troops and military stores were conveyed to it by means of a sub-branch of the Vicinal Way alluded to, which became bifurcated about the area of what is now Old Glasgow. The right hand fork proceeded to, and joined the Antonine Wall, as already stated; while the left one ran in a south-west direction to one of the fords in Clyde, and continued on the opposite or south side of that river, traces having been recognised in recent times beyond the ford or point of crossing. Indeed, the termination of the road is still indicated by the name of one of the oldest streets in Paisley, called "*The Causewayside*." There are reasons for believing that the Trongate, Argyle Street, and the road westward to Old Partick, run in the lines of the left fork of this ancient Roman Vicinal Way.

While on this subject of the Paisley branch of the Vicinal Road, an interesting discovery was made a few years ago. The lands of Yorkhill adjoin the mouth of the river Kelvin, which rises in the Campsie hills, and enters Clyde at right angles, opposite what is now the small but ancient town of Govan. At this embouchure of the Kelvin there was a well-defined ford, passable on foot, and removed only lately in consequence of the artificial deepening of the Clyde. It was matter of doubt at what point in

the river the military road crossed. It would seem, however, that this doubt has been now, to some extent, if not wholly, removed by the following discovery, which has not hitherto been sufficiently recorded.

On Yorkhill lands is an eminence of considerable elevation, commanding the embouchure of Kelvin and a large sweep of Clyde, with the adjacent country. On the summit of this hill, which had remained almost undisturbed, faint traces of earthworks were visible, much crumbled down. But in 1867, the proprietors having resolved to make certain improvements, the remains of the earthworks were dug into, and the area trenched. These operations revealed a variety of Roman remains, embracing—1st, Fragments of several jars of the ware called Samian, in different colours; 2d, Portions of an ornamented vase of white glass; 3d, Two bronze finger-rings; 4th, A small quantity of wheat, for bread to the soldiers; 5th, Several Roman coins, much corroded, but one of large brass, which was of Trajan, in tolerable preservation.

These objects would seem to indicate that a small Roman fort existed on the Yorkhill eminence, probably to guard the ford from incursions by the natives, and this would tend to confirm the supposition that it was at this particular point that the Vicinal Way crossed Clyde. The soldiers of this smaller garrison, as well as supplies, would likely be drawn from the large camp at Paisley, only about 4 miles distant. If the existence of this minor fort is well founded, then soldiers from it may have deposited the bowl previously alluded to, in Glasgow Green, during some excursion.

But then it may be said, Why should such a fort have been necessary so far within the protection of the Antonine Barrier? To which it may be answered, that originally that Barrier consisted merely of a chain of forts across the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth, with open intervals of about two miles. These were not connected by a military curtain till the reign of Antoninus Pius, which thenceforth would prevent native incursions into the province, either on foot through the woods, or in canoes down the stream of the Kelvin, such as those found recently, at its mouth, silted up in the *alluvium*. As coins of the era of Trajan (two reigns prior to Antoninus), and none later have been found at Yorkhill, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that this small fort on the commanding eminence may have been constructed while the spaces between the wall forts were open; in other words, prior to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

But apart from all these conjectures, the main fact remains, that tangible proof has at last been obtained of the actual presence of the Romans on the area of Glasgow, by the interesting discovery of the bowl, forming the subject of this paper.

MONDAY, 11th June 1877.

DR JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

After a ballot, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows, viz. :—

LEWIS BILTON, Esq., W.S.

Rev. R. K. D. HORNE, Corstorphine.

HUGH F. WEIR, Esq. of Kirkhall, Ardrossan.

JAMES MAINLAND M'BEATH, Esq., Kirkwall.

JOHN M'GAVIN, Esq., Glasgow.

WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Esq., Architect, was also elected a
Corresponding Member.

The following Donations to the Museum were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donor :—

By ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and Rhind Lecturer on Archæology in connection with the Society.

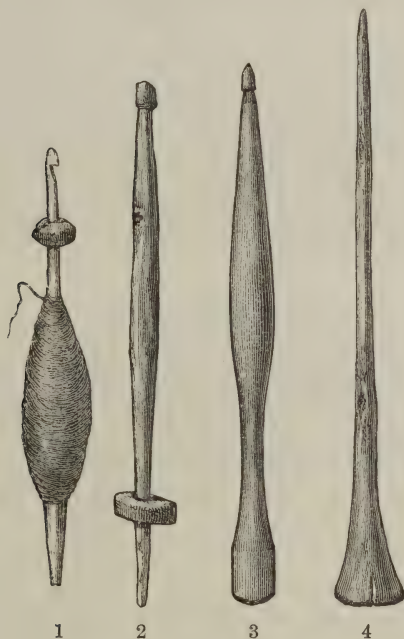
A collection of Ancient Stone Implements and Implements of Archaic form or character, many of which had been exhibited in illustration of the first course of the Rhind Lectures, comprising—

(1.) Spindle, with Stone Whorl (No. 2 of the following woodcut), found in use by Dr Mitchell in the island of Fetlar. The whorl is made of steatite, and has no special character. The spindle is a roughly-shaped piece of firwood, and is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and about half an inch thick in the middle, tapering somewhat to each end. Instead of a notch at one of the ends, there is a roughly-made button-like knob. In 1863 Dr Mitchell obtained four spindles in Fetlar, all of them in actual use; and he was

then told that sometimes a potato was made to take the place of a stone whorl by the natives of that island.

(2.) Two Spindles, made to be used without whorls.

One of them (No. 3 of the following woodcut) is peculiar in its shape, and



Spindles recently in use in Scotland.

was found at Battangorm, in the parish of Duthil, Inverness-shire, in 1865. It is $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and has a button-like knob at the upper end. The woman using it had a distaff or rock—a piece of stick prepared in no way, with a bunch of wool tied to the end of it, and carried below her arm. Though she was found using the spindle, she was nevertheless the owner of a spinning-wheel.

The other (No. 4 of the woodcut) is a polished and well-made Spindle, found in a cottage at Corriebeg, on Locheil-side, in October 1866. It has neither notch nor button at the upper end. The diameter increases greatly

at the lower end, so as to serve the purpose of a whorl. It is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The people on Locheil-side are said no longer to use the spindle.

(3.) A Spindle with the woollen yarn on it, exactly as Dr Mitchell obtained it from the woman who was using it. The lower end is thick, so as to do away with the need of a whorl. It is the longest of the spindles, being $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches long.

(4.) A Spindle 10 inches long, with the woollen yarn on it (No. 1 of the foregoing woodcut), as Dr Mitchell bought it from a woman who was using it in the parish of Daviot, Inverness-shire, in the year 1866. A potato was used for a whorl, and the potato, preserved in glycerine, accompanies the spindle.

Dr Mitchell has seen a potato used for a whorl on three occasions—once in Daviot, once in Islay, and once in Galloway—all within the last twelve years.

(5.) A Pair of Stockings of spindle-made yarn.

Dr Mitchell gives the following account of these stockings:—They were knitted by Sarah Rae, an old imbecile woman, who lived in the parish of Balmaclellan. The yarn she used was made by herself. In making it she employed a spindle weighted with a potato for a whorl. She was seen spinning the yarn, out of which these stockings were afterwards made, when she was visited by the Rev. George Murray of Balmaclellan and Dr Mitchell in 1866. As she span, she sang, or rather crooned, one of the oldest of our ballads—"The silly poor harper of Lochmaben toun," and she concluded with the following verse, which is not given in the ballad as it appears in the collection by Robert Chambers, and which does not occur in the two versions of the ballad in the Riddell MSS., now in the library of the Society:—

"And oh the silly poor harper's wife,
She's aye first up in Lochmaben toun;
She's stealing the corn an' stealing the hay,
An' waps it ower to wanton Broun."

The over-word was something like the following:—

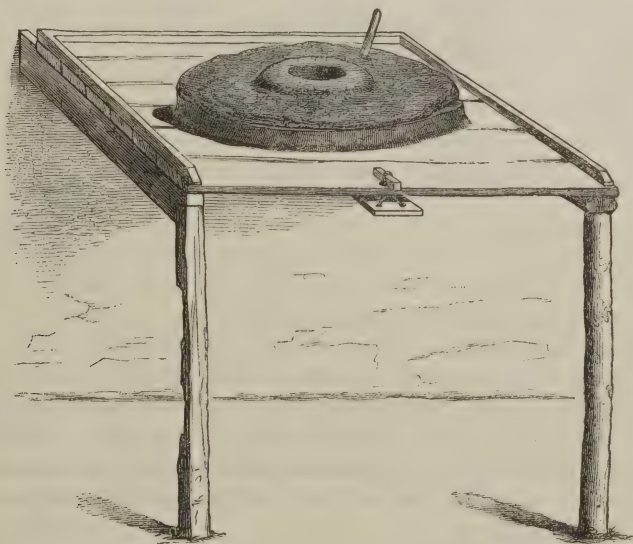
"Hey tum tidly,
Doodlem didly,
Hey tum tidly,
Doodley dan."

The air, which was unknown to Mr Murray and Dr Mitchell, was taken down by Mr Murray, and is preserved.

She also sang, to the tune of "The Soldier's Joy," "Merry be the memory of good Queen Bess." There was something so unusual, and yet so fitting, in finding a woman singing these old songs as she worked with this old implement, that Mr Murray, after the visit, was moved to write a poem on old Sarah, which he printed and circulated among his friends.

(6.) Piece of Steatite or Kleber-Stone, partly made into a whorl for a spindle. A boy was found by Dr Mitchell shaping this stone into a whorl in Fetlar, Shetland, in 1863. Most of the Shetland whorls are made of steatite, which occurs there plentifully and is easily cut by a pocket-knife.

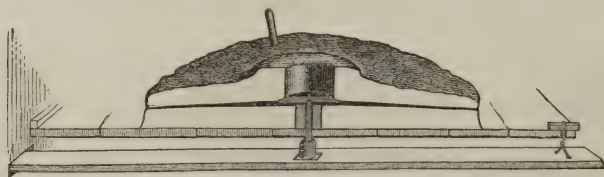
(7.) A Quern, mounted on its wooden frame, from Shetland, and two samples of meal ground by it—one fine and the other coarse.



Quern on its Wooden Frame, from North Yell, Shetland.

This quern Dr Mitchell found in a cottage in North Yell in the year 1865. When he entered the cottage a woman was grinding oats with it. He bought the quern exactly as it stood, with the tray and all other

appurtenances; and it is now fitted up as closely as possible in the way in which it was actually found. Dr Mitchell paid 5s. for it—a sum which was said to be more than sufficient to purchase a new quern. The front of the tray rested on two legs; the back of it was secured to the wall, against which it stood. There is an ingenious contrivance for raising or depressing the upper stone, so as to render the quern capable of grinding fine or coarse. This is accomplished by means of a board, on which the lower end of the spindle rests, and which can be raised or lowered by the twisting of a string fastened to it and passing through a hole in the tray over a loose peg. This is shown in the following section of the quern and its frame. On the upper end of the spindle, after it has passed through the lower stone, the upper stone rests and is carried.



Diagrammatic Section of the Quern and its Frame.

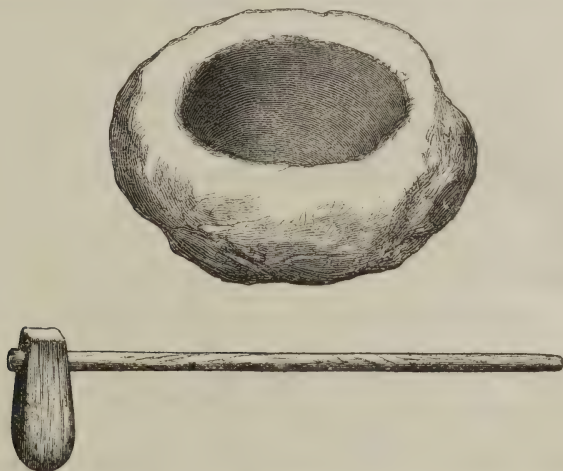
The two woodcuts show the position the quern occupied, and illustrate its structure. The under stone, which rests on the wooden tray, was bedded in clay. The diameter of the quern is about 20 inches. It is made of a mica-schist stone, which is found in various parts of Shetland. Similar querns were said to be made at Halesgirth, on Whalefirth Voe, in Yell, and to cost from 3s. 6d. to 4s. In 1863 Dr Mitchell saw a quern in Fetlar which cost its owner 5s., and another, the price of which was 3s. 6d. In Dunrossness the table or tray often consists of a flag-stone. Dr Mitchell saw a quern at Lingard, in Dunrossness, made by the man who used it. The price of a quern there was said to be 3s. 6d., and of the table or tray on which it rests, 1s. 6d.

Dr Mitchell states that at the time he bought this quern a thousand querns, in actual use, could have been bought in Shetland.

(8.) Socket-stone for the Spindle of a Water-mill, from Glen Nevis. Dr Mitchell has no knowledge of the time when this stone was in use. A similar stone, from Cromar, was lately presented to the Museum by Dr

Mitchell, and is referred to at p. 636 of vol. x. of the Proceedings. The socket-stone from Glen Nevis is a rough boulder of quartz, somewhat quadrangular, and measures 7 inches long, 6 inches wide, and 4 inches deep. Many such socket-stones are known to have been recently in use.

(9.) Knockin'-Stane and Mell for preparing pot-barley. This stone was quite lately in use in Shetland. Dr Mitchell obtained it through Mr Charles Duncan. The mell he obtained through Mr Gilbert Goudie, and



Knockin'-Stane and Mell from Shetland, used for Preparing Pot-Barley.

through him he also obtained a specimen of pot-barley, which was recently made in Shetland by one of these knockin'-stances, and which accompanies the donation. The mell, used in connection with the knockin'-stane now lodged in the Museum, was unfortunately lost; but it differed in no respect from the one procured for Dr Mitchell by Mr Goudie, and now presented to the Museum.

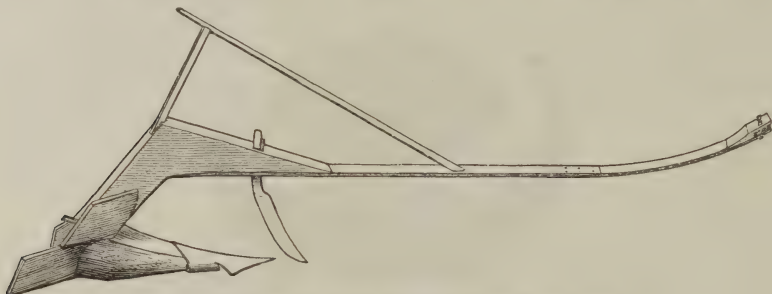
The mell-head is made of oak, and the handle, which is 33 inches long, of firwood. The knockin'-stane itself measures 19 x 13 inches. The cup or hollow, which holds the barley while being struck, is 6 inches deep and 12 inches wide at its mouth.

In 1864 Dr Mitchell saw, at Bigmill, parish of Daviot, Inverness-shire,

a knockin'-stane of an octagonal shape and neatly made, with the date 1716 on it. The mell was also there. The woman to whom it belonged had seen it used.

(10.) A specimen of the One-Stilted Plough, from Shetland.

When passing through the district of Coningsburgh, in Shetland, in 1865, Dr Mitchell saw one of these ploughs at work. He afterwards made arrangements to have the plough sent to Edinburgh, giving instruc-



One-Stilted Plough from Coningsburgh, in Shetland.

tions to forward the very plough he had seen at work. Instead of this, a new plough was made, and this is the one presented to the Museum.

Unfortunately, it was thought that the plough seen at work had too great a look of age and decay, and that a counterpart of it, new and in good order, would be a better object to send to Edinburgh.

(11.) A Shetland Scythe. The handle is quite straight, and is 7 feet 3 inches long. It is held in the hands by one projection, 5 inches long and 55 inches from the blade, on the inner aspect of the handle. The blade, which is only $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, is fixed to the handle by a tang, which, after passing along the handle for 4 inches, is bent at a right angle, and passes through the handle. This tang is kept in its position by a piece of string.

(12.) A Bismar, or Weighing-Machine. This bismar, which comes from Shetland, is said to have been actually used in buying and selling on the day on which it was purchased for Dr Mitchell in 1866. It is a wooden rod, $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with an expansion or knob at one end, acting as a fixed weight, and a hook at the other end, from which the object to be

weighed is suspended. A piece of string serves as a fulcrum. It hangs as a loop from the two ends of a bit of wood, 4 or 5 inches long, which is grasped by the hand in using the machine. By moving the string to or from the fixed weight at the end of the rod, till that weight and the object suspended from the hook balance each other, the weight of the object is ascertained.

In August 1865 Dr Mitchell saw a bismar hanging in a cottage at Barsick Hill, South Ronaldshay, and learned that it was still occasionally used, though not in buying or selling.

(13.) Pierced Stone (figured below), used for tying between a cow's horns, and by its motion preventing her from running away. This Dr Mitchell found in use in Shetland in 1865. It is a flat water-worn piece of



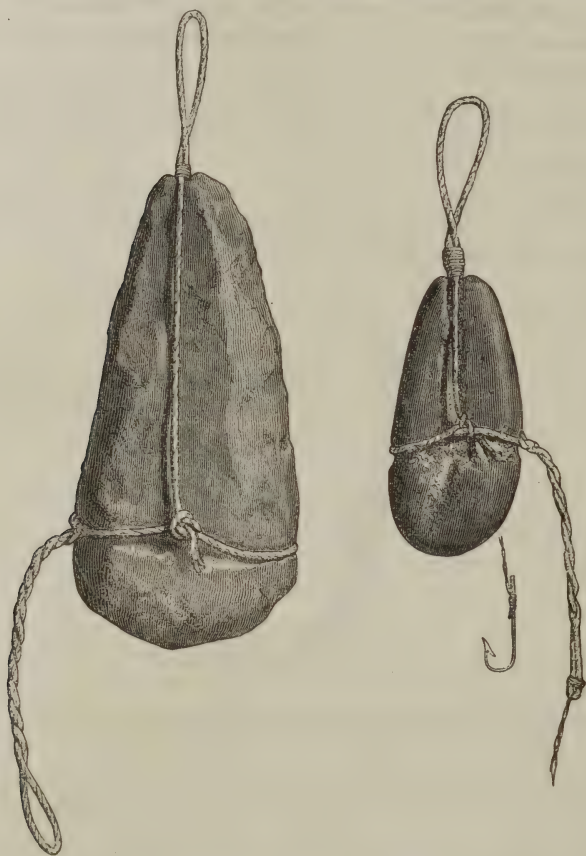
Stone used in Shetland for tying between a Cow's Horns.

sandstone picked up from the beach. The hole, which is towards one end, is rudely made. It is about 1 inch in diameter, and has been pecked through from both sides of the stone. It weighs 17 ounces, and measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. It is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick.

In the same year Dr Mitchell saw in Lerwick a roughly circular pierced disc of stone in use as the weight for the stable-halter of a horse. It weighed between 1 and 2 lb.

(14.) Six Sink-Stones, from Shetland. These are of various shapes.

The two figured below, with the cord still attached to them, come from the district of Walls, in Shetland, and were sent to Dr Mitchell by the Rev. James Russell, of Walls and Flotta, a Corresponding Member of



Sink Stones from Walls, in Shetland.

the Society. The larger is a roughly-flaked piece of sandstone, and the other a water-worn beach-stone. In order to make the cord grasp these stones securely, grooves have been roughly cut in them in the way

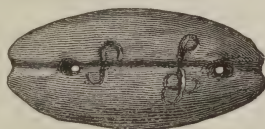
indicated by the woodcuts. The larger one is 8 inches long, and weighs 43 ounces. The smaller, to which the hook is still attached, is 5 inches long, and weighs 11 ounces.

The third is a fragment, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 2 inches thick, of a water-worn pebble, with a groove cut along the middle of one side. It is a portion of a sinker like the two just described.

The fourth is a roughly spherical piece of sandstone, weighing 34 ounces, with a hole through it, which Dr Mitchell found in a cottage at Wasbister, Rousay, in July 1865. It was said to have been recently used in cod-fishing.

The fifth, which is figured below, is made of coarse steatite, with some care, and has the initials of the owner cut on it. It comes from the north of Shetland. Its weight is 14 ounces.

The sixth, also made of steatite, and having a conical form, comes from the same district, where it was used in hand-line fishing in water which was not very deep. Its weight is 9 ounces.



Sink Stone of Steatite from Shetland.

(15.) Oblong Pounding-Stone, nearly cylindrical, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, found by Dr Mitchell and Mr Joseph Anderson, in 1866, in a crofter's cottage in East Watten, Caithness, where



Pounding-Stone from East Watten, in Caithness.

it was said to have been in use for the last half century for crushing coarse salt. It is a water-worn sandstone pebble. The sides are smooth and polished. The ends are rough, from occasional use as a hammer.

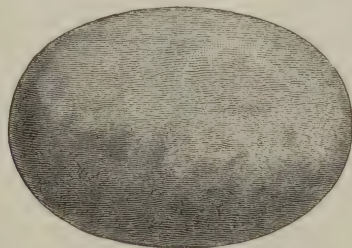
(16.) Weaver's Rubbing-stone. This is an oblong piece of hard black stone, 7 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick. It is smooth and polished. The corners are rounded off. It was found in

the cottage of a handloom weaver near Auchtermuchty, and was used by him for smoothing or calendering his web. The weavers in Frioekheim, Forfarshire, lately used a similar stone for smoothing the osnaburghs which were manufactured there. Sometimes a piece of hard wood or bone is preferred to stone, and acquires by use a highly polished surface.



Weaver's Rubbing-stone from Fifeshire.

(17.) Stone found in use in Orkney, within the last ten years, instead of a smoothing-iron for ironing clothes. It is figured in the woodcut which follows. It was sent to Dr Mitchell by the late Mr George Petrie. It is a large, smooth, egg-shaped, water-worn granite pebble, weighing 3 lbs., and measuring $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in its long, and 4 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its shorter, diameters.



Stone used in Orkney as a Smoothing-Iron for Ironing Clothes.

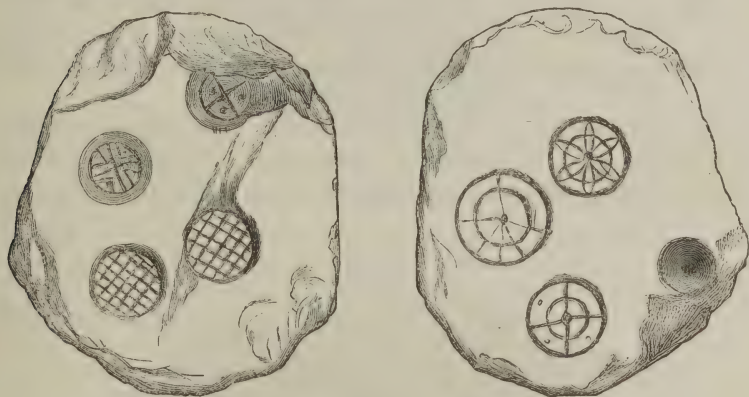
Another Stone of the same kind was sent to Dr Mitchell about seven years ago, from Walls, in Shetland.

Dr Mitchell first heard of these ironing-stones in 1865 from Mr Petrie, who stated that he had seen one in Kirkwall, which, from its shape, might have been mistaken for a large celt. In the same year Dr Mitchell was informed that they had been lately seen in use in the parish of Deerness, in Orkney.

(18.) A Button-Mould of sandstone, for casting pewter buttons, found

in the bed of a burn in Evie, Orkney, by the Rev. William Beattie, minister of the parish, and presented by him to Dr Mitchell. The moulds are on both sides. The buttons which were manufactured by this implement were from 1 inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in diameter.

The old home-made bone-button of Orkney Dr Mitchell has seen. It is a circular disc of bone, on the back of which a square projection is left, and through this, parallel with the plane of the disc, a hole is pierced, by which the button is fastened to the cloth. The home-made bone-button of



Two Sides of a Button Mould of Stone found in Evie, Orkney.

the Hebrides is often square or lozenge-shaped, and is sewed to the cloth through four holes pierced in it. The most primitive button to be seen in use in Scotland is a very serviceable and lasting one, still made in the Hebrides. It consists of a cylinder of bone, from 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in thickness, rounded at the ends, and with a neck, or contraction, at the centre of the length by which it is fastened to the cloth. Dr Mitchell has not preserved specimens of these three forms of home-made button, but he has drawings of them made by James Drummond, R.S.A.

(19.) Circular Stone Cup of dark granite stone, from Walls, in Shetland, sent to Dr Mitchell by the Rev. James Russell, Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot. It measures about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The hollow is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep

- (20.) Two Arrow-Heads of white flint—one serrated along the edge—found near Gretna about ten years ago, and given to Dr Mitchell by James Cunningham, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. They are of the variety with barbs and stem, the barbs being peculiarly formed, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. One of them is entire, but one of the barbs is broken off the other.



Flint Arrow-Head from
Gretna.

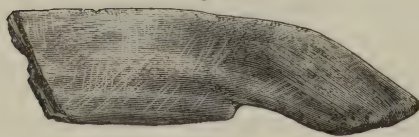
- (21.) Two fragments of Knives of Shale, from Walls, in Shetland, sent to Dr Mitchell by the Rev. James Russell. They are both carefully ground.

Fig 1 is a portion of the haft-end of a knife. Its longest measurement is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The tang measures 2 inches in length, and the blade 2 inches in width. The thickness nowhere exceeds $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of an inch.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

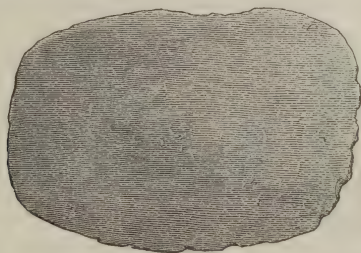


Fragments of Knives of Shale from Shetland.

Fig. 2 is also a portion of the haft-end of a knife. Its longest measurement is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The length of the tang or handle is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the width of the blade $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The thickness nowhere exceeds $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of an inch.

- (22.) Two Polished Flat Oval Knives or Implements of porphyry,

from Shetland. One is greyish in colour, and measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, 4 inches in width, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness at the centre, thinning towards the circumference, which exhibits a sharp edge all round. It is shown in the accompanying woodcut. The other is



Polished Oval Implement of Porphyry from Shetland.

greenish in colour, and measures 6 inches in length, 4 inches in width, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness at the centre, thinning towards the circumference, which is sharp all round, like the previous one.

(23.) Four of the handled type of Rude Implements of sandstone, from Shetland. No. 1 (figured below) is a complete implement. It measures

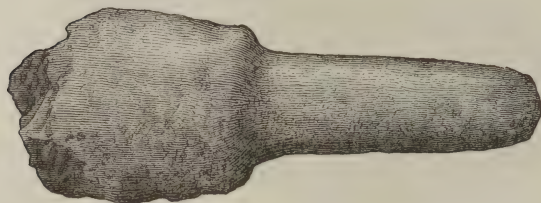


(No. 1.) Handled Implement of Sandstone from Shetland.

$11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, 3 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness. The handle, which is conical, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The point and sides are rounded off. The surface has been formed by pecking. This is most distinctly seen on the part forming the handle. No. 2 (see woodcut on the next page) is an incomplete implement, the handle of which measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. Only 3 inches of the body of the implement remain. It has been 3 inches wide and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick at the centre, thinning at the two sides. No. 3 (figured on next page) is a fragment of a handle only. Its length is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width 2 inches, thickness $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Its

peculiarity consists in its having a knob-like expansion at the butt end. No. 4, which is not figured, is an incomplete implement. Its handle, which is somewhat flattened, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 2 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$

No. 2.



No. 3.



Handled Implements of Sandstone (broken) from Shetland.

inches thick. The portion of the body of the implement remaining is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 3 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

(24.) Rude Implement of Sandstone from Shetland. It has a constriction round the centre, which is suggestive of use as a sink stone. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, and its weight is $22\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. Many stones of this form have been found in Shetland. It is represented in the accompanying woodcut.



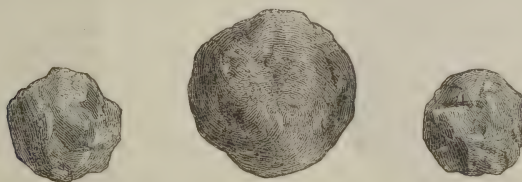
Implement of Sandstone from Shetland.

(25.) Two Stone Axes or Celts, from Shetland. One is of greyish porphyritic stone, and measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 2 inches in width, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It is well polished, the sides are rounded off, and the cutting end is somewhat rounded on one side and flattened on the other. Fragments have been broken off both ends of the implement. The other is of greenish porphyritic stone, 4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. It is highly polished. The sides have been rounded off, but one side is entirely chipped away, apparently with intention.

(26.) Small Polished Adze of porphyritic stone, from Shetland. Its length is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, breadth $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, tapering to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch at the butt-end. It nowhere exceeds $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness.

(27.) Celt of kaolin, from Rhianbreck, Lairg, Sutherlandshire. It was turned up during the diggings in connection with the railway in 1867, and was found by Dr Mitchell lying on the outside sill of a cottage window. A portion has been broken off the butt end of the implement. In its incomplete state it measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It is well polished, rounded off at the sides, so as to be oval in section.

(28.) Six of the Spherical type of Rude Implements from Shetland. (See Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 65.) They vary from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter, and are very rudely formed. Three of them are represented in the accompanying woodcut.



Spherical type of rude Implements of Sandstone from Shetland.

(29.) Three rude Sandstone Implements, of unique forms, from Shetland. They were sent to Dr Mitchell at different times by the Rev. James Russell, Corresponding Member of the Society. The first, represented



No. 1.—Curved Implement of Sandstone.

in the accompanying woodcut, is of a curved form, not flattened like the other two, but more or less cylindrical, and tapering to both ends.

It measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in greatest width, and 2 inches in greatest thickness. The second (No. 2 of the accompanying woodcuts) is a spade-like implement, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and about 1 inch in greatest thickness. The handle measures 5 inches in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in width. The form of the third is shown in No. 3 of the accompanying woodcuts. It measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The wider part is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and at the narrow end the width is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It nowhere exceeds a thickness of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



No. 2.—Spade-like Implement of
Sandstone from Shetland.



No. 3.—Implement of Sandstone
from Shetland.

(30.) Four of the smaller type of Oblong Rude Implements, from Shetland. No. 1 is of the ordinary type of oblong implement, tapering to both ends. (See Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 126.) It measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness. Nos. 2, 3, and 4

are of the type of implement described as flattened and wider at the one end than at the other. They are respectively 7, $6\frac{1}{2}$, and 6 inches in length.

(31.) Hand-Reel, found in use at Corpach, in Kilmallie, in 1866. A better made specimen of the hand-reel Dr Mitchell got from Dr Grierson of



Hand-Reel.

Thornhill, in 1865. Dr Grierson told Dr Mitchell that when it was in use in that part of Scotland, the old women, as they wound the yarn on it, were in the habit of repeating these words:—

“Thu’s yin,
Thu’s no yin,
An’ thu’s yin a’ oot.
Thu’s twa,
Thu’s no twa,
And thu’s twa a’ oot.”

And so on, as each strand of the cut was completed on the reel. Others,

according to Dr Grierson, repeated words which sounded something like what follows :—

“Corny MacCrib,
Caffy MacCrib,
Gilmic—thu’s yin.
Corny MacCrib,
Caffy MacCrib,
Gilmic—thu’s twa.”

And so on till the proper number was reached. The yarn, Dr Grierson informed Dr Mitchell, is wound off the hand-reel on to what are called winnles or windle-blades, consisting of two pieces of wood fastened together in the form of a St Andrew’s Cross.

(32.) Oblong Stone Basin, from Walls, in Shetland, sent to Dr Mitchell by the Rev. James Russell. Its length is 19 inches, its width 12 inches, and its thickness 3 inches. The size of the hollow is 14 inches in length, 8 inches in width, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth.

(33.) Two Stones used for heating water, both from Shetland. One of them is from the Walls district. No record has been kept of the district from which the other comes. They were both in use within the last ten or twelve years. One of them is 11 inches in length, and the other 6 inches. They both resemble in form the rude Shetland implements described in the Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 126, and appear to be fragments of such implements.

(34.) Two Spades from Shetland. The one is 4 feet 2 inches in length, the handle being 3 feet 6 inches long, and with a foot bar near the iron part. The other, which is used for cutting peats, is 4 feet 4 inches long, and the iron part, which is longer and narrower than that of the ordinary spade, is furnished with a wing or blade 7 inches long, attached to the side, at right angles, for cutting the side of the peat as the spade is pushed in below it.

(35.) Ears of Corn, unthreshed, and threshed by the feet of women, from Nedd, in Sutherlandshire. Two young women were seen at Nedd threshing corn in this way on the 7th of September 1866. They gave their feet a peculiar twist, which very effectually detached the grain.

(36.) Meal-büdie, or Meal-bag, made of straw, from Dunrossness, in Shetland. The straw *fetil*, or band, for passing round the shoulders in carry-

ing it, can be lengthened or shortened in a very simple way. It is attached to the büdie at the one end, while the other passes through a loop or lug on the büdie, and then through a loop in itself. The büdie is about 20 inches wide and 15 inches deep.

(37.) Two Kasies or Straw Panniers, from Dunrossness, in Shetland. They are beehive in shape, about 20 inches across at the mouth, and 15 inches deep, and are used for carrying peats, corn, manure, fish, &c. They are fastened to the saddle of the horse on either side, but they are also frequently used as creels, and carried on the backs of the people.

(38.) A Pair of Hapricks or small Kasies, from Dunrossness, in Shetland. They are united by a band or loop, which is laid over the horse's back, and are chiefly used for carrying manure. They are of a beehive shape, and are 17 inches across the mouth, and 12 inches deep.

(39.) Flakki or Mat, from Dunrossness, in Shetland. It is made of straw, and is placed on the horse's back under the wooden saddle. It is 26 inches by 27 inches in size. The under surface is covered with a pad of unplaited straw.

(40.) Klibber or wooden Pack-Saddle, with belly-girding attached, from Dunrossness, in Shetland.

(41.) Two Masies or Nets of Simmons (twisted ropes of floss, a species of rush), used for carrying hay, peats, &c., either on the backs of horses or of people, from Dunrossness, in Shetland.

(42.) A Halter for a Horse, made of wood and rope, from Dunrossness, in Shetland.

(43.) Waist-band Tape, woven in a primitive Loom, which Dr Mitchell saw at Balmaclellan, New Galloway, in 1867. The Loom is understood to be now in the possession of the Rev. George Murray of Balmaclellan.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

REMARKS ON THE COINAGES OF ALEXANDER II. By R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

There are three classes of the sterlings or silver pennies which bear the name of Alexander, King of Scots. These are distinguished from one another by the type of the reverse, and are commonly known among numismatists as the short double cross type (fig. 1), the long double cross type (fig. 2), and the long single cross type (fig. 3). The short single cross

Fig. 1.

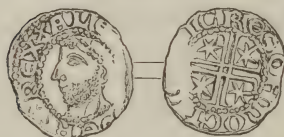


Fig. 2.

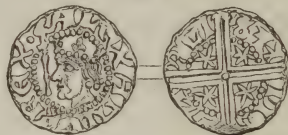


Fig. 1.—Short double cross type of Silver Penny of Alexander.

Fig. 2.—Long double cross type.

type (fig. 4) does not occur on the coins of the Alexanders, though it is found on the first coinage of William the Lion.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.—Long single cross type of Silver Penny of Alexander.

Fig. 4.—Short single cross type of Silver Penny of William the Lion.

With regard to two of these classes of coins, viz., the short double cross coins and the long single cross coins, there is now no difference of opinion.

At one time some of the older writers on the coinage of Scotland considered that the short double cross coins belonged to Alexander I.,¹ but this opinion cannot be maintained; and it is universally agreed that the short double cross type belongs to Alexander II. and the long single cross type to Alexander III. The same unanimity of opinion does not prevail with regard to the intermediate type, viz., the long double cross coins; for some maintain that none of these were struck till after the year 1250,² while others believe that some of them were in circulation before the death of Alexander II.³

The object of the present paper is to examine the grounds on which these opinions are based, and to show that good and sufficient reasons exist for believing that the long double cross coins were really introduced at some period prior to 1247, though, without doubt, the same type was used during the reign of Alexander III.⁴

In every question relating to the appropriation of coins of this early period, the available evidence may be classed under three heads:—

I. That derived from history, or documentary evidence;

II. That derived from a study of the coins themselves, or numismatic evidence; and

III. That derived from a consideration of contemporary seals; which, in the absence of medals, were almost the only other works on which the art of the die sinker was then exercised.

I. The historical facts are briefly as follows. The reverses of the coins of William the Lion present two varieties of type: (α) the short single cross, and (β) the short double cross.⁵ The “Chronicle of Melrose” says that in

¹ Anderson's *Dip. et Numis. Thes.* plate clvii.; Wise, *table xxii.*; Snelling, *plate i.* 1, 2; Jamieson, *fig. 3.*

² Haigh, *Numis. Chron.*, vol. iv. p. 67; Lindsay, *View of Coin. of Scot.*, p. 12.

³ *Records of Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 107.

⁴ It was a common practice, at almost every period, to use the coining irons of one reign in the succeeding one. Thus the dies of the Unicorn of James III. and his successors were used on one occasion in the reign of James V. (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 62, xxix. xxx.) The first coinage of Charles I. bore his father's head (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i. *Plate xii.* figs. 5–11.)

⁵ *Records of Coinage of Scotland*, *plate i.* figs. 2–4.

1195 "Willelmus Rex Scottorum innovavit monetam suam;"¹ and Wyntoun says that in the same year,

" Off Scotland than the Kyng Willame,²
Renewyd his monée than at hame."

Laying aside the later authors, whose facts are derived from the early annalists, the statements above quoted have always been held to indicate the exact period when the change of type on William's coins took place. Alexander II. succeeded in 1214, and in 1247 the Chronicler of Melrose³ again records a "mutatio monete." The short double cross type, which was introduced in the reign of William the Lion, was continued, beyond a doubt, by his successor, and was familiar to all who had monetary transactions. No one supposes that the long single cross type was known before the reign of Alexander III. The numerous changes which took place on the obverse of the coins of William the Lion and Alexander II. do not appear to have attracted any attention. We know from other authorities that no alteration took place either in the weight or the standard of purity. The question then arises, what was the change on the money referred to by the Monk of Melrose, if it was not the alteration of the type on the reverse from the short to the long double cross?

And in answering this question, it is important to note the difference between an official document authorising a new coinage and an historical notice recording that such had taken place. It often happened in the later history of the Scottish Mint that the official authority to issue new money was not acted on for one, or even more, years after the date of the warrant; but this is not the case with the chronicle before us. Whatever the alteration was, it *had* taken place at some period *prior* to the date of the entry in 1247, and enough time had elapsed to permit the new money to come into such general circulation, that it attracted the attention of the Chronicler, and was deemed worthy of the same notice which had formerly been given to an equally remarkable change of type on the reverse of the coins of William the Lion. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the only alteration of type which could be referred to in the Chronicle of Melrose in 1247 was the change from the short to the long double cross.

¹ Chron. de Mailros, Ban. Cl. ed., p. 102.

² Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 220 (ed. 1872).

³ Chron. M. deailros, p. 177.

Very shortly after his accession, Alexander III. made another alteration in the coinage, and introduced, for the first time in the Scottish series,¹ a long single cross passing through the legendary circle to the extreme edge of the coins, which had not been the case when the single cross was in use during the reign of William the Lion.

This alteration is not noticed either by Fordun or Wyntoun, but the continuator of Fordun records that it took place in 1250.

Such is a brief outline of the evidence afforded by history.

Let us now examine the opinions of the various authors who have treated of the coins of Scotland.

Anderson² appropriates all the long and short double cross coins to Alexander I. and II., and only the long single cross type to Alexander III. The attributions to Alexander I. are now known to be erroneous; but it is very important to observe that neither Anderson nor Ruddiman, the author of the preface to the "*Diplomatum et Numismatum Thesaurus*," who were both intimately acquainted with the history of their country, and familiar with all the early chroniclers, considered that any of the long double cross pennies belonged to Alexander III.

Wise, in his "*Catalogue of the Bodleian Coins*"³ (1750), doubts the appropriations of Anderson to Alexander I., but confirms those to Alexander III. Snelling was the first who suggested that the long double cross type might have been struck between 1249 and 1270, the date at which he fixed the introduction of the long single cross type.⁴ It will be necessary to examine the reasons which induced him to adopt this opinion. He says, "the improvement in the long single cross coins of Alexander III. followed that made in England by Edward I. in 1270." No authority is assigned for this statement beyond a general assumption that the Scottish coinage must have followed the example of the English mint, because it was always supposed to do so. If this was the case, it would no doubt be an important point for our consideration. But Dr Jamieson, in an article read before the Royal Society of Literature in March 1832, showed that this supposition of Snelling's was entirely erroneous. In the first place, Edward I. did not begin to reign till 1272, and his new coinage was not struck

¹ *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, x. 3.

² *Dip. et Numis. Thes.*, plate clvii.

³ P. 243.

⁴ Snelling, *Silver Coins of Scotland*, p. 5.

till 1279, six years only before the death of Alexander III. In the next place, he shows that there is not the slightest ground for supposing that the Scottish Mint followed the English one, in the coinages at this period. The head of the king on the Scottish coins was in profile; on the English coins, full face. The type of the reverse on the Scottish coins was stars and mullets; on the English pellets. The mint was named in full on the English coins; on the Scottish it was indicated by a secret system of points somewhat akin to that used for the same purpose on the coins of France. The portrait on the English coins was entirely conventional, which was not the case in Scotland, where an attempt was made in some cases at portraiture, as may be seen by comparing pennies of Robert I. with those of Alexander III. And lastly, the legend was not the same, for DEI GRATIA appears on the coins of Scotland long before it is found on those of England.¹ Dr Jamieson concludes his paper by quoting the continuator of Fordun's notice of the change of type in 1250 as a proof that the long single cross was adopted in that year. The authority of this eminent antiquarian and scholar is thus added to the view already expressed by Bishop Nicolson, Anderson, and Ruddiman, that the alteration of type mentioned in the "*Scotichronicon*" in 1250 was the first introduction of the *long single cross* into the Scottish series.

Adam de Cardonnel published his "*Numismata Scotiæ*" in 1786, and closely followed the work of Snelling; but it is important to observe that he does not endorse Snelling's views about the long single cross coinage being introduced after the coinage of Edward I. in 1279. In 1841 the Rev. D. Haigh published a paper in the "*Numismatic Chronicle*"² on the early Scottish pennies. He went a step beyond Snelling (whose conjecture that *some* of the long double cross coins were struck in the early part of the reign of Alexander III., has just been noticed), and maintained that *all* the long cross coins, double and single, belonged to Alexander III. His only authority for this opinion was the above-noticed entry in the "*Scotichronicon*," which he quotes from Sir J. Balfour; and the assumption, already referred to, that the Scottish coins always followed the English in their changes of type.

Mr Haigh's opinion was adopted by Lindsay in his "View of the

¹ Numis. Chron., N. S., vol. xi. p. 281.

² Numis. Chron., vol. iv. p. 67.

Coinage of Scotland," and he also appropriates all the long cross coins, double and single, to Alexander II. In accepting this view, Lindsay admits that it presents almost insuperable difficulties; but, on the authority of the entry in the "Scotichronicon," he arrives at the conclusion that the short double cross coins alone belong to Alexander II. One would almost be inclined to think that Lindsay looked on the notice of the change of type in 1250 as a new discovery of Mr Haigh's, the knowledge of which would have changed the views of the earlier writers had they been aware of it. But such is not the case.

Among the numismatic MSS. in my own collection, are some letters from the well-known numismatist and antiquary, the Rev. J. Martin of Keston, addressed to Mr Lindsay on this point, which merit attention, as showing that the opinion of Dr Jamieson, that the entry in 1250 referred to the single cross coinage, was shared by English numismatists also.

"I beseech you¹ place no reliance on Snelling, . . . who has shown a lamentable ignorance of chronology, which, as you have thought fit to repeat, I shall take leave to correct. 'The coins given to Alexander III. were struck in imitation of the improved English coinage of 1270.' Two falsehoods in a small compass. The Scotch coins could not be imitations of the English, neither was there any English coinage in 1270. Alexander III. came to the throne in 1249. The learned and very accurate Lord Hailes writes thus, 1250: 'In this year the form of the Scottish coin was changed, and the cross, which formerly went no further than the inner circle, was extended to the circumference.' This change, therefore, this imitation of the coinage of Edward I., must have taken place twenty years before that monarch ascended the throne." He then goes over *seriatim* the points of difference between the types of the English and Scottish coins which have been already noticed in detail, and continues—"I have no hesitation in appropriating all the coins with double crosses to . . . Alexander II."

In a later letter² he says: "I have not swerved from my opinion on any point that relates to the coinage of Alexander II. and Alexander III., neither am I disposed to change it."

In a still later letter he again returns to the subject: "Mr Haigh is quite at liberty to think as he pleases and exercise his wonderful superabundance

¹ May 27, 1840.

² Jan. 13 1843.

of fancy ; but I smiled when you mentioned the proofs he had adduced of the long (double) cross coins having been introduced in 1250. I beg leave to say that the passages in Fordun, Lord Hailes, and Sir James Balfour were well known to me long before he was born.”¹

We may therefore come to the following conclusions with regard to the historical evidence :—

1. That the short double cross type adopted by William the Lion was continued for a certain portion of the reign of his successor Alexander II.

2. That at some period prior to 1247 a change of type was introduced, which was noticed in the Chronicle of Melrose in that year.

3. That the only change likely to be noticed was the change from the short to the long double cross type.

4. That the entry in the “Scotichronicon” in 1250, noticed by Messrs Haigh and Lindsay as throwing new light on the subject, was known to the early writers, and was always held by them to refer to the introduction of the *long single cross* type.²

5. That the historical evidence entirely agrees with and confirms the conclusions arrived at on independent grounds, derived from a study of the coins themselves, and from the peculiarities noticeable on the only other works of the die-sinker extant at this period, viz., the seals.

II. Coming now to the numismatic evidence, it is necessary to remember that, though the arguments derived from a study of the coins themselves are often of great value in determining approximately the period to which they are to be assigned, experience has shown that appropriations made on this ground alone have very often had to be altered when more reliable evidence has been discovered. In cases when a long, continuous period of time is occupied by a succession of monarchs, all bearing the same name and often undistinguished on their coins by numerals—as happens with the Jameses in the Scottish series—peculiarities of lettering and differences in the minute details of type are highly important as offering a guide to the

¹ Jan. 31, 1843.

² In confirmation of this view, it may be noted that the author of the *Scotichronicon* uses the word *cruz* to express the long single cross on the reverse of the coinage of 1250, whilst Matthew of Paris, describing the change from the short to the long double cross type, uses the words *cruz duplicata*.

particular reign to which each piece ought to be assigned. But in the case before us the question at issue involves a comparatively short period, and the sequence of the series is not denied. The short single cross comes first, then the short double cross, then the long double cross, finally the long single cross. The only point is whether the long double cross type was introduced *before* 1247 or *after* 1250. Therefore any arguments derived from mere numismatic detail need not be entered upon here at length. The other evidence derived from the coins may be briefly summed up under the following heads :—

1. The specimens of the short cross coins of Alexander II. known to exist are very few altogether. The reign of that monarch extended to about thirty-five years, and was remarkable for the increase of national wealth and prosperity. His successor reigned very nearly as long, and the country was still progressing in material resources and civilisation. The coins which are undoubtedly to be appropriated to him (*viz.*, the long single cross type) are already the most numerous in the Scottish series. The long double cross coins are also common. But if the latter are taken from Alexander II. and given to Alexander III., then the whole national coinage of a reign of thirty-five years is represented in modern collections by not many more than a score of specimens.

2. Several finds of coins have been recorded, in which the pennies of William the Lion have been found along with the long double cross coins of Alexander, and without any mixture of short double cross coins.¹

3. The undoubted short cross pennies of Alexander II. present several varieties of type on the obverse, such as the uncrowned head and the crowned head turned to right and left. The same peculiarities are found in the long double cross series.

4. In 1250 Alexander III. was a boy not nine years of age. If the long double cross type was then struck for the first time, it is remarkable that the king's portrait should represent a full-grown, and not unfrequently even aged, man; and that the long single cross coins, which represent a youthful countenance, should be struck when the king was of more mature years.

5. During the early years of Alexander III. French art, owing to the influence of Marie de Couci, the Queen Dowager, was in great repute

¹ Lindsay, p. 12; Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, vol. i. p. 125.

in Scotland and can be traced in the legend *ESCOSSIE REX*, which occurs on the long single cross type.

6. That coins struck from the long double cross dies were in circulation during the reign of Alexander III. is certain; that the old dies were used in some of the provincial mints is not improbable; and it might even happen that dies of the old type were sunk after the new one was introduced. A coin of Alexander's has been described in the "*Numismatic Chronicle*" (N. S. vol. xii. p. 236), which may turn out to read *ALEXANDER TER*. If this is the case, it would be an additional proof that those without the numeral belonged to Alexander II.

III. With regard to the seals,¹ the first point to be noticed is that Alexander II. appears frequently on his seals without the crown. Sometimes the head is entirely bare, and sometimes it is covered with a sort of close cap.

I am indebted to Mr Richard Sims, of the MSS. Department in the British Museum, for going over the numerous charters of Alexander II. in that collection and sending me a note of the seals. In many cases the seals are broken or in bad condition, but the following are sufficiently good clearly to show the peculiarities noticed above:—A charter in 1231 to the abbey of Balmerinoch, with a fine seal, the monarch uncrowned; a charter to Melrose in 1229, with a fine seal, monarch with close-fitting cap with fillet; another charter to the same, with a very fine seal, showing the head-dress just noticed. Other examples are given in Anderson's "*Dip. et Numis. Thes.*" (pl. xxx.) and in Laing's "*Catalogue of Scottish Seals*" (part i. p. 4). Concerning this peculiarity Ruddiman says, in the preface to Anderson's "*Thesaurus*:"² "It is to be observed that all the kings of Scotland after Duncan II. are represented (on their seals) wearing the crown on their heads except William and Alexander II." Now coins of William are found bareheaded, and also coins bearing the name of Alexander, and with the long double cross on the reverse, which strongly confirms the view that these coins belong to Alexander II.

¹ The seals have an important analogy to the coinage. Thus the great seal of James II. only differs from that of James I. by the presence of amulets (Laing, pt. i. No. 45); and the same peculiarity is found on the coins.

² Section 47.

But there is another peculiarity to be noticed. The sceptre borne on the seals by Alexander II. has invariably two balls, or pellets, on the stem, at equal distances between the sceptre head and the hand of the king, and the sceptre on the long double cross coins shows exactly the same peculiarity. The head of the sceptre on the seals of Alexander II. is always a cross: the head of the sceptre on the seals of Alexander III. is always an ornament like a fleur-de-lis. The head of the sceptre on the long double cross coins is always a cross: on the long single cross coins invariably a fleur-de-lis.

Again, the crown on such of the double cross coins as have it, is rude and indistinct; while that on the long single cross coins is elegantly formed, showing an entire fleur-de-lis in the centre with a half on either side, and raised points between rising from a distinct circlet placed over long flowing hair; and the same crown appears on the seals of Alexander III. I am indebted to Mr Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, for the information that this seal, with the elegantly formed crown, the flowing hair, the youthful countenance, and the floriated sceptre, occurs as early as 1252, and consequently must have been made before that period, and in all probability at, or immediately after, 1250, when the same peculiarities are found on the coins.

It thus appears from the seals—

1. That the uncrowned Alexander is invariably Alexander II.
2. That the floriated sceptre always belongs to Alexander III.
3. That the crown composed of strawberry leaves or fleur-de-lis, placed over a youthful countenance with regularly disposed hair, was the work of some die-sinking artist before 1252.

Combining the results given by the evidence above mentioned, I think we are justified in concluding that the long double cross coins were in circulation before the death of Alexander II., and that the long single cross type was introduced as early as 1250.

II.

NOTICE OF TWO CISTS AT LUNAN-HEAD, NEAR FORFAR, CONTAINING REMAINS OF UNBURNT SKELETONS, &c. BY WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Esq., ARCHITECT, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT. (PLATE XVIII.)

Immediately to the east of the village of Lunan-head, by means of a bend and a slight cutting, deepest on the north side, the old road between Forfar and Brechin is carried across a broad undulating ridge of moderate elevation, which, rising in the vicinity of Forfar, sweeps onward, narrowing as it advances, till merged in the western base of Pitscandlyhill. Like most of the *diluvium* in the surrounding district, this ridge is chiefly composed of a coarse gravel, in which rolled pebbles of all sizes, small boulders, and other rock-debris, are promiscuously massed together, their accumulation being evidently due to the extensive and long-continued action of water.

At the part of the road indicated the ridge rises into a slight knoll, locally known as "The Dog's Knowe," and here for a considerable number of years back advantage has been taken to form a gravel pit, from whence an annual supply of material is drawn to be broken up for road metal.

In the course of these operations, the two cists which form the subject of the present notice were recently found, the first on Wednesday the 16th of May, the other on the following Saturday. Unfortunately, their demolition was just as speedy as their discovery was unexpected. The first stood all day till the evening, when it was torn down by some mischievous persons. The second stood from Saturday till Monday, when it also was cleared away by the workmen engaged in excavating. I reached Restennet on Tuesday, and hearing of the occurrence went across in the evening, but there was nothing visible except the shattered fragments of the enclosing and covering stones flung on the bing, a deep indentation on the face of the bank marking where the upper cover of the first cist had been, and further to the east a large circular orifice occasioned by the removal of the shoulder-stone packing which had enclosed the second cist.

This speedy obliteration is the more to be regretted, as, an adequate

supply of material having been obtained, with the destruction of these cists the labours of the season in the pit terminated.

While still intact, the cists were seen by no one specially informed on the subject, my information regarding them while in this state being chiefly obtained from the very intelligent foreman William Maclaren. With exception of the internal dimensions of the second cist, the more minute details of which are due to the accidental presence of a party with a foot-rule, the sizes of the stones, &c., are given from recollection only.

The cists lay east and west, and as nearly as possible in a line, the precise spot being between 60 and 70 feet to the north of the main road, at a point 138 yards distant from the eastern extremity of the school-house. The adjoining field is under crop close up to the verge of the gravel pit, and at the time of discovery the men were working from west to east on an allotted section, 10 feet or so in breadth, and as many in depth, parallel with the cultivated ground, and therefore across the run of the bank. I mention this as proving not only the direction in which the cists lay, and the fact of their being in a precise line, but also as explaining the mode of approach. Had the operations been conducted on the face of the bank itself, one or other of the cists would have been exposed on the side, and, as the process of excavation was essentially one of undermining, this would have been a much more awkward and dangerous predicament both for the men engaged, and for any examination that might be attempted.

The first intimation the men had of anything unusual was the exposure of the south-west corner of the first cist. None of them had met with anything of the kind before, and seeing through the chinks an internal vacancy, they resolved to examine the contents by removing the covering stones as carefully as possible. One peculiarity of this cist was the possession of a double cover, the upper one being the most massive of all the stones on the ground. It lay about 18 inches or 2 feet below the surface, and was from 5 to 6 feet in length, by 3 to 4 feet in breadth, and 1 foot thick, the weight being over a ton. The united efforts of three men were required to get it displaced, and it was the only stone permitted in any degree to remain intact, through the sheer impossibility of breaking it up with the tools at command. Between it and the real cover there lay a

depth of from 6 to 9 inches of the gravelly soil ; and it is to be remarked that although both covers were about the same breadth, the upper one seems originally to have been inaccurately placed, there being about a foot of overlap on the north side, with of course as much in defect on the south. The lower cover was about the same dimensions as the upper one, the thickness being much less, say at most 8 or 9 inches, with a corresponding decrease in weight. Once cleared of soil it was elevated at one extremity by the insertion of boulders, and the end-slab of the cist, now relieved of superincumbent weight, was got out. At first there was nothing visible, save the natural soil forming the bottom of the grave, and the care taken to avoid any disturbance seemed to have been in vain. A party present, with more experience in grave-digging, asked the men engaged if they had not found "any bugles?" "What kind of bugles?" "Black beads;" and stirring the earth toward the nearest or west end he brought to light some of the beads referred to. A diligent search was now instituted, and the parts of the necklace to be noticed afterwards were exhumed. On the principle of share-and-share alike, they were then divided among the three men, the original suggester of the search being on request rewarded with one bead. Some minute fragments of bone not yet mouldered into dust, and the enamel crowns of a few teeth, all in the last stage of decay, were the only other evidence that the cist once held a human occupant. A whitish incrustation on some stones, on others a matted hairy looking substance resembling a fungous growth occasionally to be met with in gravel pits, were also observed.¹

Of this cist no dimensions were taken, but all who saw it agreed that it was smaller than the other by a few inches each way. The side stones were about 5 feet long by over 2 feet deep, the end stones set in between them leaving an overlap at each end. The depth from the surface of the ground to the bottom of the cist was about 6 feet. On quitting work for the evening, the boulders were taken out, the cover lowered, and the

¹ Notice of a similar appearance is mentioned in the Proceedings (vol. vii. p. 112) as occurring in the cist opened by Mr Chalmers at Inverurie, and of which a specimen is preserved in the Museum. I may also state that all the perforations in the beads and plates were filled with what were apparently the brown fibrous rootlets of plants, probably a specimen of the rhizomorphic fungus referred to by Mr Sadler in the same volume (p. 562).

end-slab replaced, but in the morning all was found demolished. With exception of the intractable upper cover the stones were now broken up, and used in forming successive roadways to the top of the bing.

The work of excavation was then continued eastwards with no thought of any further discoveries. It may be worth stating, however, that some children at play on the surface, being seen removing a few small boulders, when asked what they were doing, replied in frolic that they had found another grave and were digging it out. The result proved this really to be the case. The first intimation of the second cist was an avalanche of these small boulders, with which it is evident the pit had been packed after the interment. On the cist becoming exposed it was found to be much more deeply buried in the soil than the previous one. The bottom of the cist was nine feet from the surface, being thus nearly on the working level.

In this case also the stones were fixed and immovable. A piece of the side stone at the south-west corner large enough to admit the hand and arm was accordingly broken off, and on the foreman inserting his hand, he first came upon the urn exhibited, which thus stood on the south side of the cist, and at the west end. It also appeared to him, as got hold of in the dark, to be slightly tilted to one side. Nothing else of any importance presenting itself, the end stone was driven in, partially broken, and got out of the way. A close scrutiny was made of the bottom of the cist. The flint-flake exhibited was found lying at the west end, near to where the urn had been. Further in lay the two thigh bones and the two leg bones (*tibiae*) exhibited. Beyond the articles just mentioned nothing was observed, although the soil was carefully turned over, the special object of search being teeth. The end having been replaced, the cist was permitted to remain intact till Monday morning, when it, like the other, was demolished, and the stones broken up.

This cist is calculated to have been 6 feet 6 inches or 7 feet distant from the other. The internal dimensions were 4 feet 8 inches in length, 2 feet 6 inches in depth, and 2 feet 4 inches in breadth. The side slabs were over 6 feet long. As in the case of the first cist, the end stones were let in between them, and owing to a defect in the upper corner of the eastmost stone, by which it failed to grip the side slab, a small

triangular piece had been inserted to steady it: even with this precaution the stone had swayed inward. The cover was in three pieces, about 7 feet long in all, averaging 1 foot in thickness, the centre piece being from 2 to 3 feet in breadth. I may mention that while examining the fragments on the bing, I found three pieces, evidently parts of a stone 7 inches thick, of good quality. The fractured edges exactly fitted each other, and when united formed a piece nearly 3 feet long. The outline of these united fragments was not only distinctly segmental, but the edge of the stone had been not less decidedly rounded by artificial means—rudely, it is true, as if hammer-dressed, but to a regularity of outline by no means likely to be the result of mere accident. No one could tell me exactly the position of the intact stone, but the foreman thinks it must have been the north side-slab of the second cist, and that the fragments so put together had formed its western extremity. He noticed that this was an exceptionally good stone, and very thick and massive compared with the others. It may be mentioned that all the slabs were of freestone, and such as may have been obtained from the immediate neighbourhood.

Even after the lapse of so many centuries, the line of demarcation between the disturbed and the original undisturbed soil was quite apparent at both the cists. This was especially the case with the second one, where the pit dug must have been at least 9 or 10 feet in diameter, and filled up, not with the dislodged soil, but with boulders and other land stones, both round the cist itself and the six feet of depth from the cover to the surface.

I was informed by people resident in the locality, that two cists had been found previously in this gravel pit, one about twenty years back and another only two or three years ago. The latter was nearly in a line with those already described, but between 60 or 70 feet further to the west. The dimensions were much smaller, not exceeding 3 feet in length, by 1 foot 6 inches in breadth and depth. It was formed of four stones and a covering stone, but slight in size compared with those in the cists recently found. Some fragments of bone seem to have been the only recognisable remains.

Within the recollection of some of the older inhabitants there existed, on the level space at the top of the knoll, immediately to the north of

the recently discovered cists, a circular enclosure, to which they gave the name of the "The King's Camp." It was about 20 feet in diameter, hollow in the middle, and sufficiently raised toward the circumference to form a distinct ring. All traces of it are now gone, the site having been for a considerable period under the plough. Beyond this there never seems to have been any external indication of human occupation or interment, at least within the memory of man.

This locality was entirely under wood down to the close of last century. According to a date on one of the lintels, the row of cottages which formed the nucleus of the modern village was erected in 1796, and the well recently demolished bore the date 1798. It was the earliest occupants of these cottages who, after the wood was cut down, first brought the ground under cultivation.

The articles found in the cists, and now transferred to the Museum, are as follows:—

The urn (shown in the accompanying woodcut) is of small size, 6 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. When found, it contained a small quantity of earthy matter; it was also quite sound, the fracture being due to incautious handling while in a damp state. It is of a reddish colour externally, and black in the centre, as seen in the fractured portion. The entire exterior surface and the lip are decorated with diagonal lines of little pits or dots zig-zagged in alternate bands. These lines are produced throughout by the successive applications of one serrated tool, formed, it may be, of wood or bone, and applied while the clay was still in a soft state, previous to firing. The teeth have been nine in number, of irregular width; and it is a curious fact that, although there are 607 or 608 several imprints of the tool upon the urn, owing to partial application, defective pressure, or subsequent obliteration at the extremities, there are only two or, at the most, three impressions in which the full number of indentations are recorded.



The flint-flake measures $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches in length by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth

and $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch in thickness. One side presents a natural corrugated or conchoidal fracture, the other from a slight ridge has evidently been trimmed down to a sharp knife-like edge convex in profile, the edge being irregular.

The necklace, of the material known as jet or lignite, is the largest and the most complete yet added to the Museum. In addition to four oblong and two triangular plates, there are seventy-eight beads of various sizes. They are all elongated in form, thickest in the middle, and tapering toward the extremities, varying in length from $1\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch, the larger proportion being from $\frac{7}{8}$ to $\frac{11}{16}$ of an inch long. In addition to the number given I am aware of five at least which have not been recovered, and have reason to believe that there were a few more, so that the full number of beads attached to the necklace, as worn by its original possessor, cannot have been much short of ninety. Of the four examples already in the Museum, the one found at Balgay, near Dundee, has forty beads; that from the Boghead of Kintore, Aberdeenshire, thirty-seven; that from Assynt, Sutherlandshire, twenty-two; and that from Rothie, in the parish of Fyvie, fourteen beads; but they may be all more or less defective. Three of them have pendants—small triangular plates pierced with a central hole. In the present instance there was also a pendant, unique, so far as I am aware, in its character, but which unfortunately no longer exists. As described to me, it appears to have been of a cubical form, rounded off at all the angles. It was about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch cube, or between that and half an inch, and, if the pierced side be considered as the top, the depth was slightly less than the other dimensions. On this side there were two converging holes connected together below the surface, as if for suspension of the little dice-like ornament. These holes, my informant tells me, appeared to him to be more worn towards their inner sides, as if by continued friction of the suspending thread. With this exception, the pendant was quite plain, the material of which it was composed being precisely similar to that of the other beads—glossy black, highly polished, and in perfect preservation. The rest of the beads, affording easy passage to a needle, had been strung on a worsted thread, and hung up on a nail. The little cube, presenting more difficulty, was strung separately, and placed on the same nail. In removing the string of beads, the pendant, to the great regret of its temporary possessor, whose fancy this

curious relic seems particularly to have struck, must have dropped down unobserved, and been crushed under foot. The last that was seen of it was a little black powder like coal-dust strewing the floor.¹

The plates are ornamented with various punctulated devices, represented in the drawing in Plate XVIII. In explanation of this drawing, I may mention that the exceptionally large number of elongated or cylindrical beads originally pertaining to it forms one of the most striking features of the necklace exhibited, and in this respect, with one exception,² it surpasses all others with which I am acquainted. Mr Bateman mentions a necklace having been found at Windle Nook, in Derbyshire,³ containing seventy-six cylindrical beads, but this forms the nearest approach to it. Where a greater number of beads do occur, they are simple discs of various thicknesses pierced with a central hole.

As usually arranged there is only one set of graduated beads introduced between the plates. But it is evident that in the present instance an undue proportion of beads would thus be left for the back part of the necklace. The plates are pierced for nine rows in the centre space, for five rows in those on either side, and for four rows in the spaces between the triangular and small oblong plates. Allowing one set of beads between each plate, only twenty-seven beads would thus be required, leaving over sixty to be disposed of otherwise. Assuming the pendant to have hung centrally on the breast, this arrangement also provides no means for its suspension. It also appears to me that the difference in the length of the plates themselves requires for their symmetrical arrangement—more space

¹ The Rev. Dr Gordon informs me that the Newmills Necklace, in the Elgin Museum, has a small square, $\frac{5}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick, with two perforations.

² Two of the smaller beads have their sides pierced through to the longitudinal perforation. I at first attributed this to accident, but Dr Gordon of Birnie has sent me a drawing of a similar bead found in 1857 in a cist at Roseisle, near Burghead. A note attached to the drawing states: "This bead, $\frac{4}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{3}{16}$ thick at middle, is flattened in the middle, and bored half through, or only through to the central longitudinal bore." With this bead there are two triangular plates, perforated as usual, and having a punctulated device on the front, and thirty-one beads from $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. For a parallel instance of this mode of perforation, see Bateman's "Ten Years' Diggings," p. 48.

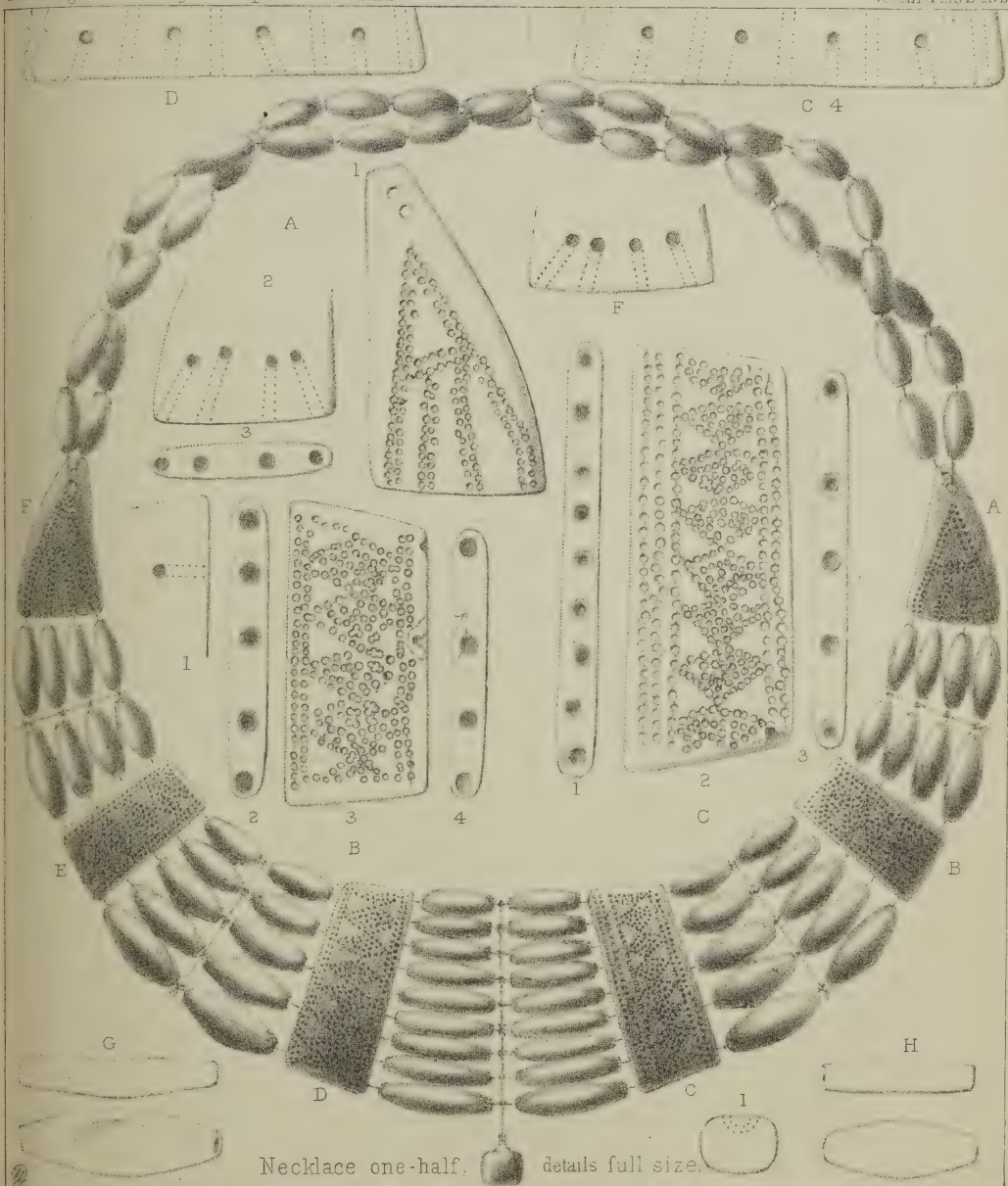
³ Catalogue of Antiquities, p. 10, and Vestiges of Antiquities of Derbyshire, pp. 88, 89. See also the Additional Note at the end of this paper, p. 298.

than is provided by a single set of beads. To obviate these disadvantages, I have introduced two sets of beads between the plates, giving fifty-four to the front part of the necklace, and thirty-six or so to the back. A suitable means of attachment for the pendant is thus supplied, while at the same time the entire ornament becomes more agreeably disposed over the breast of the wearer.

Another curious feature characterising this necklace in common with other examples, is the contrast between the number of beads in the middle space as compared with the side spaces. In the middle space the plates are pierced for nine rows of beads, with an average distance of fully $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch from centre to centre of the holes. In the side spaces the number of rows is respectively five and four, giving, notwithstanding the lessening size of the plates, an average of fully $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch to each row. What makes this contrast the more curious is that $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch is considerably below the average diameter of the beads, even the smallest of them never falling below this size, while the largest go up to $\frac{3}{8}$, the average being $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch. At their full diameter it is evident the allowance given would be quite inadequate for the suitable distribution of the graduated beads. While the great majority of them, however, are quite globular, out of the seventy-eight recovered there are nearly two dozen of all sizes, from the largest to the smallest, which, whether by abrasion or otherwise, are more or less flattened and compressed on both sides. The reduction is sometimes as low as $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch, or one half the major diameter of the bead, all variations being presented from this size up to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch (see Plate XVIII., H). The reason for this disproportionate numerical excess in the middle space is by no means apparent; keeping to the same ratio as the side spaces, it is just one-half more than could be otherwise accommodated, *i.e.*, six rows at the most.

Of the necklaces already in the Museum, that from Boghead, Kintore, has, in the provision made for the rows of beads, precisely the same numerical arrangement as this one from Lunanhead, or 9, 5, and 4. The necklace from Balgay, near Dundee, has 8 rows in the centre space, and 5 and 4 in the side spaces—an arrangement which also occurs in that found at Torrish, Kildonan.¹ In the necklace from Assynt there are

¹ Illustrated notices of these two necklaces occur in the Proceedings, vol. viii. pp. 408-412.



Necklace one-half. details full size.

W. Galloway, del.

Engr. by W. & A. K. Johnston Edinburgh

JET NECKLACE FROM CIST AT LUNAN-HEAD NEAR FORFAR.

seven rows, and four in the single side space. That from Rothie is quite exceptional in its character, it having been perforated throughout for three rows only.

In addition to the flattening of their sides, many of the beads, probably by accident or injury, are variously indented. One of the largest has a distinct hollow, which can scarcely have been accidental (Plate XVIII., G). In many of them the external orifice is neatly bevelled, and quite sharp and fresh; in others it is considerably worn. This bevelling also occurs in many of the plate perforations.

With regard to the question whether these beads were turned or not, I would only remark that, still unobliterated by the polish, several of them exhibit toward the extremities a tendency to angular or polygonal markings, as if they had been shaped down from the centre. Notwithstanding their general rotundity of form, very few of the beads are quite cylindrical, while many of them exhibit peculiarities in their formation which seem inconsistent with this mode of production.

The oblong plates are all more or less trapezoidal in form. Accurate illustrations of the most perfect, together with one of the triangular plates, are given to the exact size of the originals in Plate XVIII. The entire surface of all the plates is striated or scratched in various directions on the back and sides, only the exterior faces and rounded ends having been polished. Unlike the necklace at Torrish (Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 409), where most of the holes are quite short, the plates are perforated from side to side, the perforations, after traversing a certain distance, only emerging at the back of the plate in the case of the discontinuous rows.

With regard to the punctulated ornamentation, the same leading design is repeated on the respective plates on either side. On the oblong plates the basis of this design is a series of diamonds, six and two halves to the large plates, and four and two halves to the small, with a double marginal line of dots on each side. At one side of plate C this line of dots is tripled (see Plate XVIII., C 2). In the triangular plates the ornament is entirely linear in double rows of dots, their direction determined by the form of the plate, and apparently suggesting a continuation of the four terminal rows of beads. In all these plates the leading outlines, *e.g.*, the exterior lines of all the diamonds, the exterior dotted lines both of the oblong and triangular plates, and one line in each of the central and cross rows of

dots in the latter, have been traced with a very fine continuous draught-line, frequently running out beyond the extremity of the rows, and in general distinctly traceable between the several dots, a dot indeed occasionally falling as if by mischance to one side of it. These guiding lines are by no means drawn with mathematical nicety, still they must have been a considerable aid, as may be seen in the triple line of dots in plate C, where the two exterior rows, having been previously traced by draught-lines, are tolerably regular, whereas without such aid the central row has been filled in much more irregularly. The perfect preservation of these delicate lines, especially at their extremities, indicates clearly that this punctulated ornament must have been produced after the exterior surface of the plate had received its final polish. Owing to the brittle nature of the material, where the dots are crowded, two or more of them often get run together, and sometimes a small indent will be seen beside a dot, as if a false start had been made, and then the position slightly varied.

In concluding this description of the various articles found in the cists, it only remains to add that the special thanks of the society are due to Robert Whyte, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., Procurator-Fiscal for the county of Forfar, for the active interest which he took in their recovery. To his instrumentality it is largely due that these valuable relics have found their way to the National Museum.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The exception referred to on p. 295 is the "necklace" mentioned in the "New Statistical Account" (*in loco*), and in Professor Daniel Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals" (vol. i. p. 434), as having been found, in the year 1841, in a cist on the estate of Burgie, in the parish of Rafford, Elginshire.

In reply to a communication upon the subject, the Rev. Dr Gordon of Birnie states: "I have examined the statistical report of Rafford, and also what Wilson says of the Burgie find in his 'Prehistoric Annals.' From what I recollect hearing of it at the time, and from what a friend who was then living near Burgie tells me, I have every reason to believe that what they say is correct." Dr Gordon has also very kindly obtained for me additional interesting information, as well as drawings of this "necklace."

The circumstances under which the cist and its contents were discovered are minutely narrated in the *Forres Gazette* of April 7, 1841. In the Falconar Museum at Forres there is also preserved a full-size drawing by the late Mr Miller, editor of the *Gazette*, giving a supposed arrangement of the various jet ornaments found in the cist. From a note appended, it appears that in addition to two triangular terminal plates, two large and two small oblong plates, there were "120 beads found large and small;" but in the drawing itself there are 128 beads shown, ranging from $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in length. There was also a ring of the same material, "2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter," pierced at one part of its circumference with three holes.

In Mr Miller's drawing the plates and beads are disposed alternately in the usual way, but in two equal divisions, like a necklace bisected, so as to form two pendulous ornaments, mutually attached to the ring, which forms their only connecting link. If this arrangement was suggested by the disposition of the relics when found, the ornament in question would be "evidently not a necklace;" if, on the contrary, it was quite arbitrary, or due only to supposition, the usual necklace arrangement would be just as suitable as any other. Pierced as it is in its circumference with three perforations, the ring may have formed part of a pendant, or may have been used in some other way. In Mr Miller's drawing the plates are perforated for four rows of beads in the spaces between the triangular and small oblong plates, for five rows in the spaces between the large and small oblong plates, and depending from the two large plates, he shows *ten* beads, with corresponding perforations on the one plate and nine upon the other. It is possible, however, that this irregularity may be due to inadvertence, as judging from the perforations on the back of the plates, there are only *four* discontinuous and five continuous rows in each of the large plates. It may also be remarked that neither in the original account nor in this drawing, is there intimation given of any decorative device occurring upon the plates. In addition to a tracing from Mr Miller's drawing, Dr Gordon of Burgie House has kindly made a full-sized sketch of one of the triangular plates found in 1841 at Burgie, and now in the Falconar Museum. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, and fully 1 inch broad at the base, and in so far agrees with the size of those sketched by Mr Miller, also in having four perforations in the basal edge, and in the absence of any decoration. One thing is evident, as at first recovered, this interesting relic must have been remarkably complete, and if the several parts had been preserved intact and kept together, it would have been undoubtedly one of the finest ornaments of the kind yet described. Unfortunately it seems to have fallen into various hands—only the triangular plate just mentioned having found its way to the museum at Forres.

In the Museum at Elgin are preserved the remains of yet another "Burgie Necklace," which it is necessary to distinguish from that just mentioned. The latter was found at the "Dam" of Burgie, in the parish of Rafford, that in the Elgin Museum, at Newmills, in the immediately adjoining parish of Alves, the distance between the two sites being about half a mile. Alluding to that found at Newmills, Dr Gordon of Birnie informs me "there is a part, sorry to say but a small part, of this Burgie necklace in the Elgin Museum, viz., four of the larger bits, and about twice as many of the smaller, with some mere fragments. There is also a small square bit (a pendant?)."

Dr Gordon has also favoured me with a very careful, full-sized drawing of one of "the largest, and by far the finest of the bits." It is one of the triangular terminal plates, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by nearly $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in breadth at the base. It is perforated in the usual manner with two holes at the apex, and only three at the basal edge. The front shows the usual punctulated decoration. In the upper part a triple line of dots forms a diamond-shaped figure. In the lower part the lines are quadrupled, and form half diamond, slightly convex in outline.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The Necklace (Plate XVIII.) is drawn to one-half the size of the original, the detail-diagrams are full size. In both scales the respective plates are designated by corresponding letters of the alphabet.

A—Triangular terminal Plate of the Necklace.

1. Front view of Plate A, showing its punctulated ornamentation.
2. Lower edge of Plate A, showing perforations on back.
3. Lower end of Plate A, showing its perforations.

B—First oblong Plate of the necklace.

1. Portion of back of Plate B, showing single perforation.
2. Lower edge of Plate B, showing its perforations, five in number.
3. Front view of Plate B, showing its punctulated ornamentation.
4. Upper edge of Plate B, showing its perforations, four in number.

C—Second oblong Plate of the necklace.

1. Lower edge of Plate C, showing its perforations, nine in number.
2. Front view of Plate C, showing its punctulated ornamentation.
3. Upper edge of Plate C, showing its perforations, five in number.
4. Lower edge of Plate C, back view, showing the apertures of the perforations, four in number.

D—Oblong Plate of the necklace corresponding to C.

1. Lower edge of Plate D, showing its perforations, four in number.

E—Oblong Plate of the necklace corresponding to B.

F—Triangular terminal Plate of the necklace corresponding to A.

1. Lower edge of Plate F, showing its perforations, four in number.

G—Flattened bead of the largest size in the necklace, showing depressed cavity on one side.

H—Bead flattened to one-half of its major diameter.

—Pendant to the necklace.

III.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF A CIST, WITH THREE SKELETONS,
AT INNERTOWN, NEAR STROMNESS. BY W. G. T. WATT, Esq.,
KEIRFIELD HOUSE, STROMNESS.

On the 24th April last, while cutting a boundary ditch between the farms of Westerleafea and Kingshouse, the drainer came upon a stone cist eighteen inches from the surface, and which was placed in the centre of a mound about 12 feet deep, through which he had to cut. The cist was 4 feet 1 inch in length, 2 feet 5 inches in breadth, 2 feet 10 inches in depth, and lay due east and west. The sides and ends were of particularly fine slabs, in excellent preservation, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, evidently taken from the sea-shore, which is distant from the spot about half-a mile.

The flags had been carefully shaped and set on their edges. The covering was a flag fitting closely, as also did the one at the bottom; thus forming a very complete and neatly constructed cist. The slab on the south side of the grave was supported by placing a flag of equal length against it, about half way up at an angle of 45 degrees.

The grave contained nothing but the bones of three skeletons of full-grown people. It may, therefore, be supposed from the length and size of the grave, that they had been placed in it in a crouching position, and one might also infer that the three bodies had been interred at the same time. Two of the skulls lay in the east end, one in each of the corners, the third in the north-west corner; all the other bones were together in the centre.

Notwithstanding that the mound is of loose sand, none had found its way into the grave. The mound stands on a gentle slope of a hill running toward the sea-shore, but from its general appearance it is difficult to say whether it is an artificial or natural mound, though it is considered to be the latter.

It is believed that there are a number of graves in the immediate neighbourhood, because, from time to time, people ploughing have come upon what they took to be graves, but which were never examined.

It may here be interesting to mention that an old man, who was present at the opening of the grave, told the writer that a number of years ago he

found, a few hundred yards from the place, a half of a highly polished granite hammer-head, which he gave to the late Mr William Watt. This hammer-head is at Skail House, among the collection of implements of stone and bone, &c., formed by Mr Watt, and derived principally from the curious group of underground houses at Skail.

IV.

NOTES ON THE AGE OF THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE SANDS OF CULBIN.

By ALLAN MATHEWSON, Esq., CORR. MEM. S. A. SCOT.

The object of this short paper is to assign a definite period to the metal-work found so abundantly over a certain area of the Culbin Sands, near the mouth of the Findhorn, Morayshire, first discovered by Mr Hercules Linton, F.S.A. Scot., and described by him in a paper read to the Society in June last, and printed in the Proceedings of that date.

It is extremely probable that the sands of Culbin were inhabited at a very early period, from finding on them so many flint implements, such as arrow-heads, scrapers, &c., many of which are of very rude workmanship. Besides the cairn mentioned by Mr Linton, I found another when at Culbin in the summer of 1876, nearly at the west end of the Sand-Hills. It was a much smaller one, being only about 4 feet in height, and 8 to 10 feet diameter at the base, and situated about half a mile from the sea. The stones of which it was composed are very similar to those of the large ones, and I do not think that they have undergone the action of fire, as has been asserted, but rather that they have got their worn vitrified appearance from the action of the sand upon them.

About ten yards east from the small cairn, there was a very interesting example of burial by cremation. There had been no cist, and if there had been a mound, it must have been blown away by the wind.

In a radius of 20 yards round the cairn, a large number of rude flint arrow-heads, scrapers or thumb-flints, and flakes were found. But evidences of a much more recent occupation of the district are seen in the so-called bronzes, which are found scattered over the sands. They have been described as belonging to the Bronze Age; but I know of no

celts, daggers, swords, or other implements characteristic of the Bronze Age, or any object undoubtedly of bronze, having yet been obtained from the Culbin Sands. The articles found have always been of a class not usually associated with the Bronze Period.

I have had a portion of the Culbin metal analysed by my friend Mr F. W. Young, F.C.S., Dundee, with the following result :—

Copper, . . .	77·2
Zinc, . . .	21·166
Tin, . . .	·916
	<hr/>
	99·282
	·718 traces of iron and other impurities.
	<hr/>
	100

This analysis shows that undoubtedly the articles do not belong to the Bronze Age, and also that they are not made of bronze, but of brass.

The presence of zinc in so large a quantity proves that the metal is of comparatively recent manufacture ; and the tin, which is present in so small a quantity, seems as if it had been the result of accident or impurity. The metal very closely resembles the variety of brass known as pinchbeck metal, which consists of three parts copper and one part zinc, and very probably was made in imitation of gold, to which it has a good resemblance, when freed from its incrustation of oxide of copper.

About half a mile west from the mouth of the river Findhorn, there is a piece of ground about 100 yards long by 50 yards broad, which seems to have been the place where these articles of brass were manufactured. They are found here in great numbers, and of a great variety of forms, such as brooches, brooch-tongues, rivets of two kinds, pins, needles, buckles, clasps, &c. The articles found are not entirely confined to those of brass ; there are also a great number made of iron, such as fish-hooks, rivets, pins, &c. Along with pieces of pottery, pieces of the crucibles were found in which the metal had been melted, many of which had the metal still adhering to them, also coins of Mary of Scotland, Francis and Mary, James VI., and Charles II.

That this was the place of manufacture is suggested by finding there, and in no other part of the sands, the parts of the crucibles, brass and

iron slag, cuttings of both metals, and a number of large blocks of sandstone fused on one side as if the fire had been built on them.

Immediately to the north of this manufactory there is a large stratified shell-heap, and my opinion is that these shell-heaps were formed at the same time, probably by the same people, and that they are not necessarily of an earlier time than the coins found in the manufactory.

Shell-mounds are found in great numbers along the north border of the sands, but the large one before mentioned appears to be of a more recent date than any of the others that I met with. They are nearly all situated on old sea-beaches, and in none of them but this one did I observe any pieces of metal. Also, in the others, the shells of which they are composed are very much more worn by the action of the sand, and the pottery found in them is of a much ruder type and ornamentation.

The explanation given by Mr Linton of the coins being found in the manufactory is, "that the flints and bronzes were deposited first, and then covered by the alluvial soil, the iron articles occupying a higher stratum, and the coins the highest of all." The soil being now carried away by the wind, flints, bronze and iron articles, and coins are now found on one common level. If this was the case, why are the coins found only within the area of the manufactory? I know of very few cases where coins have been found in any other part of the sands. Supposing that they had been deposited separately, in all probability they would not now be so strictly confined to the same small area.

The presence of so many coins in so small a space cannot satisfactorily be accounted for, unless there be proof of a number of people inhabiting it, as must have been the case in the manufactory or settlement.

The brooches were at first thought to be Scandinavian, from having on them what seemed to be Runic inscriptions. They were afterwards declared not to be Runic, but made after the time of, and in imitation of the Runic by people who had seen, but not understood, the Runic characters. This seems a probable enough explanation; but to me the so-called inscriptions on the rings of the brooches seem to be but a simple and rude form of ornament, the four divisions or panels which occur in all of them that I have seen being introduced merely to diversify or break the monotony of the pattern.

The pins are very similar to those in use up to the end of last century.

They are made of one piece of wire with another piece twisted round one end of it. From finding a number of pieces of iron-ore (hæmatite) along with iron fish-hooks and rivets, another proof is obtained of the recent date of the manufactory. Hæmatite occurs in the heights of Morayshire, in the north-west of Caithness, and in parts of Sutherlandshire. About the year 1630 the natives of the latter county made rather good iron from native ore. Remains of their workings may be seen yet in various parts of the county. The iron articles are all those of use and not of ornament, while the brasses comprise many ornamental articles. This seems to warrant the inference that they were made and used by the same people; indeed, there is direct evidence of this, as one of the brass buckles had an iron rivet through it.

They seem to have been in use by the inhabitants of the estate of Culbin before it was destroyed by sand about the year 1695, as I found numbers of them round about the ruins of one of the houses which was uncovered from the sand.

The dates of the coins would imply that they had been in general circulation when the estate was destroyed.

That the manufactory and the large shell-mound were formed at the same time is, I think, proven from finding the brass and iron articles in both. The pottery found in them is the same in material, form, and ornamentation, many of the pieces being partially glazed and coloured. For these reasons I believe that the so-called bronze found on the sands of Culbin is not bronze, but brass; that the brass and iron articles are of the same age as the coins found with them; and that the large shell-mound to the north of the manufactory is of the same age as the manufactory itself, and was probably formed by the same people, being the refuse of the shell-fish and animals which constituted their food.

V.

NOTICES OF RECENT FINDS OF COINS IN SCOTLAND. BY GEORGE SIM,
ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., CURATOR OF COINS.

STEINISH TREASURE TROVE.

In April or May 1876, some boys found in a peat moss at Steinish near Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, a small quantity of old coins inclosed in a horn, which was quite rotten and broken to pieces.

The coins were recovered and sent to Exchequer in June following, and were found to consist of—

Francis and Mary, "Jam Non Sunt," 1559,	1
Mary, Edinburgh Plack,	1
James VI., Nobles (ten of them much oxidized and adhering together), all poor,	23
James VI., Sword Dollar, 1571, well preserved,	1
Total,	26

GEORGEMAS HILL TREASURE TROVE.

In August 1876, William Gray, son of David Gray, farmer at Georgemas Hill, near Thurso, found under a large boulder stone (which forms a corner boundary mark between the three parishes of Bower, Halkirk, and Thurso), a quantity of coins inclosed in a small coarse linen bag, which was very much decayed.

The coins were recovered, with a small portion of the bag, by Mr Brims, the procurator-fiscal at Thurso, and sent to Exchequer in September following.

They consisted of—


English—Elizabeth, Sixpence,	1
Scottish—Charles I., Half Noble,	1
Carry forward,	2

	Brought forward,	2
Scottish—Charles II., Merks, 1671, 1673, and two 1676,	.	4
Half Merk, 1675,	. . . . .	1
Bawbees,	. . . . .	105
Bodles or Turners,	. . . . .	34
German Dollar—Maximilian Henry of Bavaria as Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, 1661,	. . . . .	1
Total,	. . . . .	147

OLD MONKLAND TREASURE TROVE.

In February last, a lot of coins, with a fragment of an old leather purse, were found in a field on West Farm Toll Cross, Old Monkland, in Lanarkshire. They were recovered and forwarded to Exchequer in March last.

The following is a list of the coins—

English—Elizabeth, Shilling and three Sixpences, all very poor,	4
Charles I., Shillings, one with square shield, and mint mark  , and the other with oval shield, and m.m. crown, both with "Christo Auspice Regno,"	2
Scottish—Charles II., Merks, 1664 and 1672, both very well preserved,	2
Turners or bodles,	88
Total,	96

The fragment of the leather purse accompanied them, and seemed strong and tough.

VI.

NOTES ON THE SPINNING GEAR OF FORMER TIMES.

By D. R. RANKIN, ESQ., CARLUKE.

These notes are brought forward on the occasion of presenting the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland with specimens, namely, two distaffs or rocks, two spindles with whorls, and one reel. The distaff, the spindle, and the reel are ancient implements, the whole constituting the spinning machinery of ages long past, up till a comparatively late period. The spinning wheel and check-reel then came into use, but were soon supplanted by machinery. Specimens of either description will, even now, be difficult to procure; for through disuse and careless keeping, articles made of wood fall a ready prey to rot, or to the beetle (*Annobium tessellatum*).

1. The distaff or rock is staff-like, square at the lower end, commonly octagonal in the middle, and from thence of round form to the top, in all two feet eight inches in length. Two-thirds from the upper end the thickest part occurs, being about one inch diameter, tapering gradually to the extremity or point to four-tenths, and in the opposite direction to about half an inch square. The square portion is eleven inches in length, half of which is rudely, but effectively carved, with the date 1704; the octagonal part, five and a half inches long, is more elaborately carved, and the round portion, fifteen inches and a half long, is without ornament. The ornamentation in this specimen consists of the St Andrew's cross of different sizes, of zig-zag patterns, and of lozenge-shaped work, all slightly relieved. At the lower end, within an inch of the extremity, there is a perforation or hole to admit the apron-string for fixing purposes. This rock may be reckoned a typical specimen, although perhaps no one can say that two were ever made perfectly alike. Distaffs were fabricated with the knife by young men, and presented to a sweetheart as a love-token, bearing the initials of both, a ceremony generally accepted by "outrals" and "frem folk" as a formal engagement.

2. Another distaff of similar character, but not bearing quite the same relative proportions or style of carving. The square portion, in this example, is feebly carved, and has a cross mortise-like slit, giving that part

the appearance of square columns, carved in a similar manner; below this there are a cypher apparently (C Y), and the initials EM, of inlaid metal, with the date 1733.

3 and 4. Spindles of two sizes, with whorls, all formed in the lathe, used to give the twist to the thread,—the one for wool and tow (coarse part of flax), the other for fine prepared lint (flax). The larger is nearly a foot in length, and at the middle or thickest part is fully half an inch in diameter, from which part it tapers to two-tenths at the ends. On one end there is a peculiar notch for placing the thread, centrally, while being “let out” and undergoing the “twining” process. The small specimen is nine and a fourth inches long, and half an inch in diameter in the middle, tapering off towards the ends to three-twentieths. No doubt the turned and perforated iron-stone nodules (whorls) were added to the spindles to aid, by their greater diameter and weight, the required rotation.

5. The reel, which completes the series of parts of the spinning gear, is for the purpose of winding off the spun thread from the spindle. It consists of a short beam, near the ends of which cross-heads are fitted of anchor-like form. Measuring along the stem, from the outer curve of one cross-head to the other, it is twenty-five inches, but the length of the thread by turning over both cross-heads will be twenty-six inches; and it appears that, when the cross-heads are rightly adjusted, all the threads are of one length when “reeled on.”

The manner of using these implements few now living can have witnessed. Not having seen the shield or socket—often an extemporised thing—which was attached to the spinner’s waist, in front, to set the distaff in position, one can only conceive



Carved Scottish Distaffs (32 inches in length).

of many methods of doing so. The rock so "set," was properly "dressed," *i.e.*, surrounded with outspread flax connected at the top of the distaff with a band sufficiently firm to keep it in place, while free enough to admit of being turned from time to time, in order that the flax might be drawn out equally all round. The rock and spindle were now connected; fibres were drawn, but not severed from the rock, with one end fixed to the spindle, and the thread placed in the notch at the end; the spinner, with the palm of the right hand applied to the spindle placed across the right thigh, gave it a smart rotatory impulse, so that, when set free, and suspended by the thread, it whirled, and produced the required twist to the thread, while the left hand supplied the necessary supply of fibres, till enough was spun by one such impulse. The spindle was then taken in the right hand, the thread in the left, and rolled back in the fore part of the spindle. The thread being again placed in the notch, the same process was repeated again and again.

When the spindle was filled with the spun thread it was then transferred to the reel by the following process. The thread being fixed to the cross-head, the reel was held by the middle of the shaft with the left hand, and the right engaged with the thread, the process of "winding off" was proceeded with. As the right hand guided the thread from cross-head to cross-head, the winder began to count in this manner. As the thread passed over the first cross-head, she said, "Thoo's ane," at the next, "Thoo's nane," and as another length was reached, somewhat emphatically, said "Thoo's ane a' oot." Thus it seemed, that one thread was as three lengths of the reel. The reckoning proceeded: "Thoo's twa," "thoo's no twa," and "thoo's twa a' oot," and so on till the threads made a "cut," when these threads were tied together. Then so many cuts make a "hank," and again the thread was thrown round that quantity and fixed. All these manipulations, tiresome to enumerate, were nimbly and gracefully performed.

A congregation of spinners, in the older time, was denominated a "Rocking,"—from rock or distaff. The guidwife of one of a certain range of "farm towns" announced her rocking, and the others followed in turn, at intervals, in a circuit of one or more winters. The guests usually were the up-grown sons and daughters of the farmers with an "antern" stranger; but there were in addition a few professionals, so to speak, *viz.*:—a

singer, a story-teller, and a never-failing adept to prepare the “champet taties”—the feast and chief source of merriment of the night. This important official was a celebrity, and much sought after far and near. Not only did she make the best dish of potatoes ever tasted, but she possessed a “lammer (amber) bead,” which, during the last whirls of the “spurtle” in the potato pot, was dropped in the mass and lost to sight. The story, song, and spinning went on without interruption, other than a laugh, or other sign of applause; but at a certain moment the spinning gear was set aside, and the cheering mess, in the pot in which it was prepared, was brought and placed on the floor, around which, sitting or standing or moving about, each, furnished with a wooden or horn spoon, was ready for the onset. The lammer bead was the prize; for whosoever found the famous relic would be first married! A sort of proem was uttered by the gleg, bustling, and pawky owner of the bead—

“Ho! Big spinfus or wee spinfus, tak y’er pleasure,
But eat up a’, then try to catch the treasure!”

‘And, braw lads and lasses, blessings on the ane that gets the lucky bead.”

VII.

JOHN EARL OF GOWRYE, AND THE ALLEGED CONSPIRACY AT PERTH, AUGUST 5, 1600: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY, IN TWO PARTS. PART FIRST—THE KING’S MANIFESTO; OR, “A DISCOURSE OF THE UNNATURAL AND VILE CONSPIRACIE,” &c. EDINBURGH, 1600. BY DAVID LAING, ESQ.,
For. Sec.

[This first portion of the Historical Inquiry is reserved for the “Archæologia Scotica,” Vol. V. Part II. (now in the press), the Author expecting that he will be able to complete the Inquiry and to lay it before the Society during the present Session.]

VIII.

LADY GRANGE, IN EDINBURGH, 1730.
FORMING A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICE TO THAT IN THE
"PROCEEDINGS," VOL. XI.

The following autograph letter has been presented to the Society by THOMAS SPOWART of Broomhead, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. It may be called a Letter of Separation and Aliment, addressed by Lady Grange to her husband, and is interesting from its intimate connexion with the subsequent "Episode in the Life of Mrs Rachel Erskine, Lady Grange," first inserted in the Proceedings, vol. x. page 722, and reprinted in a corrected form, vol. xi. page 593.

The separation of Lord Grange and his wife was previously well known ; but while this letter furnishes the date and terms of the proposed Separation, it also refers to Judicial proceedings before the Commissaries of Edinburgh. Some papers in this case might furnish some curious particulars ; but I could find no reference to the case in the Court Registers.

The present letter of mutual agreement has the date 27th July 1730, and stipulates the term of Separation to last for the limited period of five years. As she continued to reside in Edinburgh, in his immediate neighbourhood, she was considered to be a spy not only on her husband's course of life, but his political intrigues. This no doubt was the immediate cause that led to her abduction at night, January 22, 1732, so feelingly described in her own letter from St Kilda in January 1738, which is contained in the "Episode" already mentioned.

Another singular circumstance connected with this case has also recently transpired. In a valuable collection of Erskine of Grange papers, in the possession of James T. Gibson Craig, Esq., evidence was found to show that Lord Grange had contracted a second marriage in London, where he then resided, in or about December 1745, at which time we may conclude he had obtained information of his Wife's death in the course of that year. The lady is named Miss Lyndsay, and there is reason to believe she had lived with Lord Grange as his mistress for several years. He himself died at London, January 24, 1754. At all events this Episode is one that reflects so little credit on Lord Grange, or any of the persons immediately concerned, that it may be allowed to sleep.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF SEPARATION, &c., RACHELL CHIESLY
TO JAMES ERSKINE OF GRANGE.

27TH JULY, 1730.

MY DEAR,—Since you are angry with me & will not live with me I promise that if you'll allow me a hundred pounds Str : yearly and pay it at two Terms in the year, in full of all I can ask or crave of you during the time I retire, and if you'll drop the Process of Separation you have raised against me befor the Commissars of Edinburgh then I will retire and live by my self for five years from the date hereof and shall not trouble you nor sett my Foot within your Doors in Town or Country and I also expect you'l [give] me such Household furniture Linnings & Plate as you think fitt for my service and use & I will instantly on your acceptance hereof retire from your House and fulfill what is above on Honour. Thes Letter I have writt and subscribed with my own hand at Edinburgh the twentyseven day of July one thousand seven hunder & thirty years.

I am, Your

*Unfortunate tho obediente Wife
Rachell Erskine.*

To

JAMES ERSKINE OF GRANGE.

(The letter so addressed is also endorsed as having been duly registered
—"Edinr. 28 July 1730.")

IX.

NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONTENTS OF THE BROCHS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF THEIR CELTIC OR NORWEGIAN ORIGIN. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM. (PLATES XIX., XX.)

In this paper I propose to review the evidence derived from considerations of the structural characteristics, the geographical range, and the contents of the Brochs, with special reference to the questions of their origin, and their relation to the groups of structural antiquities with which they are associated in northern Scotland.



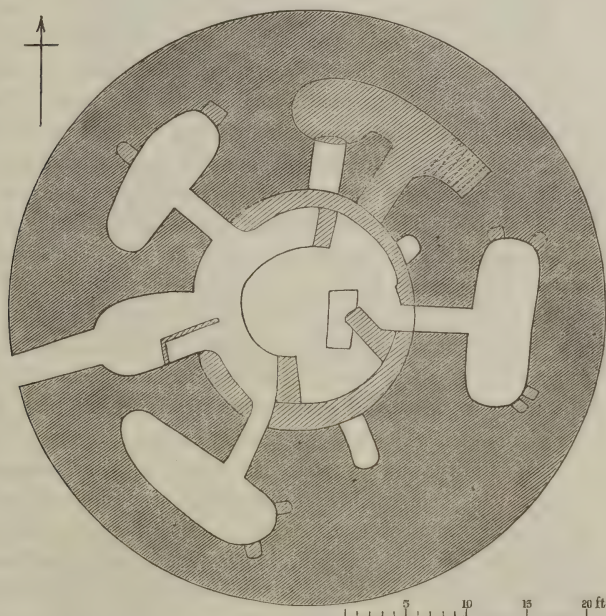
Exterior View of the Broch of Mousa, Shetland.

The typical form of the Broch¹ is that of a hollow circular tower of dry-built masonry, about 60 feet in diameter and about 50 feet high. Its wall,

¹ The measurements here given as those of the "typical form of the broch" are to be taken as approximate averages merely, and not those of any particular example. Ground-plans, sections, and elevations of many of these structures are given in the papers on the Brochs of Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," vol. v. part i. 1873. I am indebted to the Messrs Chambers for the view of Mousa here given.

which is 15 feet thick, is carried up solid for about 8 feet, except where two or three oblong chambers with rudely vaulted roofs, are constructed in its thickness.¹

Above the height of about 8 feet the wall is carried up with a hollow space of about 3 feet wide between its exterior and interior shell. This



Ground Plan of the Broch of Mousa, Shetland. (From Plan by Sir Henry Dryden.)

hollow space, at about the height of a man, is crossed horizontally by a roof of slabs, the upper surfaces of which form the floor of the space above. This is repeated at about every 5 or 6 feet of its further height. These spaces thus form horizontal galleries, separated from each other vertically by the slabs of their floors and roofs. The galleries run

¹ See the accompanying ground plans of the Brochs of Mousa and Colding.

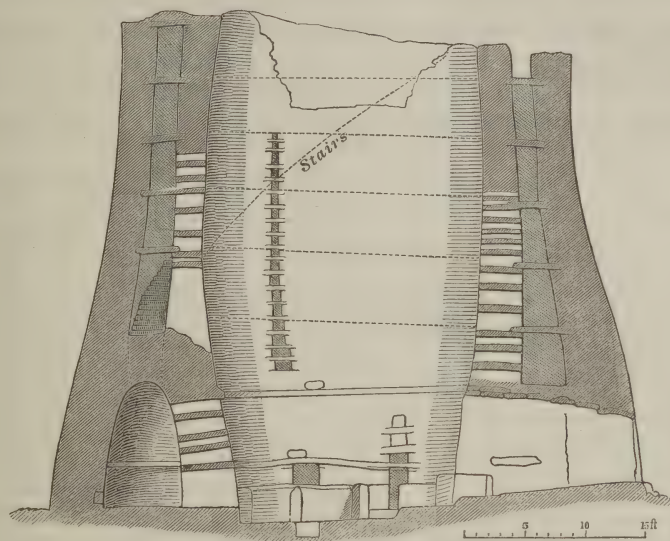
completely round the tower, except that they are crossed by the stair, so that each gallery opens in front of the steps, and its further end is closed by the back of the staircase on the same level. (See Plate XIX.)

The only opening to the outside of the tower is the main entrance, a narrow tunnel-like passage 15 feet long, 5 to 6 feet in height, and rarely more than 3 feet in width, leading straight through the wall on the ground level, and often flanked on either side by guard chambers opening into it. This gives access to the central area or courtyard of the tower, round the inner circumference of which, in different positions, are placed the entrances to the chambers on the ground-floor, and to the staircase leading to the galleries above. In its external aspect the tower is a truncated cone of solid masonry, unpierced by any opening save the narrow doorway; while the central court presents the aspect of a circular well 30 feet in diameter, bounded by a perpendicular wall¹ 50 feet high, and presenting at intervals on the ground floor several low and narrow doorways giving access to the chambers and stair, and above these ranges of small window-like openings rising perpendicularly over each other to admit light and air to the galleries.

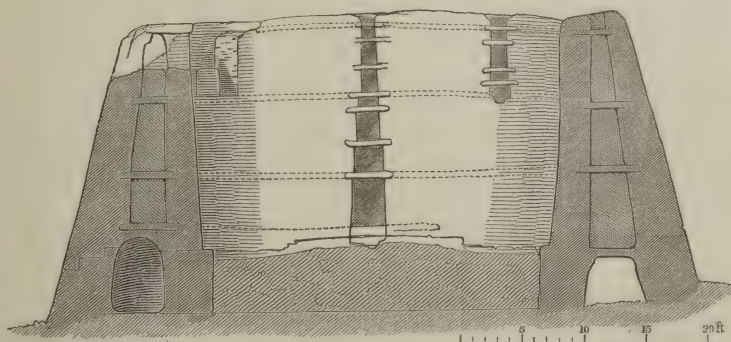
The concentration of effort towards the two main objects of space for shelter and complete security was never more strikingly exhibited than in these peculiar structures, which though rude in construction are admirably designed for size, solidity, and complete defensibility. They present other features of interest in their surprising uniformity of design and construction, in the limited range of territory they occupy, and in their extraordinary numbers within that territory. They are entirely unknown out of Scotland, and in it they are chiefly though not exclusively confined to the territory north of the great Caledonian valley; where upwards of 350 examples have been enumerated.² They form a very important and remarkable group of structural antiquities, unparalleled in number and magnitude, and unrivalled in interest as disclosing the existence at that early period of an amount of energy and constructive skill of which we had previously no adequate conception.

¹ While the exterior elevation shows a considerable "batter" or inclination, sometimes approaching a curved outline, like that of a lighthouse, the inner elevation is nearer the perpendicular.

² See my list of the Brochs in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," vol. v. pp. 179-198.



Section of the Elevation of the Broch of Mousa.



Section of the Elevation of Broch in Glenelg.

Sections of the Elevations of Brochs in Shetland and Glenelg.

(From plans by Sir Henry Dryden.)

As the typical broch thus possesses an individuality of structure so distinct and peculiar, there can be no difficulty in defining its geographical range, for there is no building, ancient or modern which can by any possibility be confounded with it. Yet though the general features are so constant, the dimensions vary greatly¹ as the following table will show:—

Situation of Broch.	Thickness of Wall.	Internal Diameter.	External Diameter.
	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.
Edin's Hall, Cockburn Law, Berwickshire, .	17	56	90
Okstrow, Birsay, Orkney,	12	45	69
Lamb-head, Stronsay, Orkney,	12	45	69
Cairn Liath, Dunrobin, Sutherland,	19	30	69
Brindister, Mainland, Shetland,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	43	68
Cinn Trolla, Sutherland,	18	31	67
Clickamin, Mainland, Shetland,	20	26	66
East Broch, Burray, Orkney,	15	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tappock, Stirlingshire,	15	35	65
Craig Carril, Sutherland,	17	30	64
Snabroch, Unst, Shetland,	18	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
Burgar, Evie, Orkney,	17	26	60
Ingishow, Firth, Orkney,	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	60
Birstane, St Ola, Orkney,	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	60
Howbie, Fetlar, Shetland,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	58
How of Hoxay, S. Ronaldsay, Orkney,	14	30	58
Dingishow, St Andrews, Orkney,	12	33	57
Burraness, Yell, Shetland,	15	27	57
Manse of Harray, Mainland, Orkney,	12	33	57
West Broch, Burray, Orkney,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	31	56
Yarhouse, Caithness,	13	30	56
Old Stirkoke, Caithness,	13	30	56
West Burrafirth, Shetland,	13	30	56
Undahool, Unst, Shetland,	15	25 $\frac{3}{4}$	55 $\frac{3}{4}$
Burralland, Mainland, Shetland,	9	37	55
Castle Ellye, Glenbeg, Inverness,	11	33	55
Borrowston, Shapinsay, Orkney,	12	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dun Alisaig, Ross-shire,	12	30	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
Levenwick, Mainland, Shetland,	13	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
Castle Troddan, Glenelg, Inverness,	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	53
Broch, Unst, Shetland,	12	26	50
Culswick, Mainland, Shetland,	13	24 $\frac{3}{4}$	50 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mousa, Shetland,	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	49
Stirlingow, Firth, Orkney,	9	27	45
Cullswick, Shetland,	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	44
West Burrafirth, Shetland,	13	30	43
Burraness, Yell, Shetland,	10	31	41
Langskaill, St Andrews, Orkney,	10	20	40
Castle Gruagach, Loch Duich, Ross-shire,	9	25	34

¹ Like the "eminent Scotch Antiquary" whom he once heard "gravely maintain-

The theory of the Norwegian origin of the Brochs—a theory first propounded at a time when systematic observations had not begun to be applied, or even to be considered necessary, for the elucidation of such questions,¹ has lately been revived and maintained with much ingenuity by Mr Fergusson,² who contends “that it can be proved with as much certainty as such a question is capable of attaining, that they were all erected by the Norwegians, the bulk of them in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.”

The assertion that the Brochs are of Norwegian origin might be legitimately met by a simple denial, and this would be justified by the fact

ing” (the gravity of a Scotch joke is proverbial), “that they were all built at one time, and from one plan and specification,” Mr Fergusson, exaggerates the uniformity of the Broch structure, when he extends it so as to include dimension as well as design.

¹ Martin adopted this theory because it was the tradition of the natives. M'Culloch went further, and affirmed that similar structures are found in Norway. Sir Walter Scott, and most of the writers of the Statistical Accounts, unhesitatingly pronounce them Scandinavian. But no Scandinavian writer has ever claimed them as the work of his countrymen. Worsaae and Munch both regard them as Celtic, and state that there are no analogous structures in Scandinavia.

² The work in which Mr James Fergusson, the well-known author of the “History of Architecture,” “Rude Stone Monuments of all Countries,” &c., has discussed this question is entitled “A Short Essay on the Age and Uses of the Brochs, and the Rude Stone Monuments of the Orkney Islands and the North of Scotland,” 8vo, Lond. 1877. It is stated in the prefatory note, that it is intended to serve as an appendix to his work on Rude Stone Monuments, in which the word “Brochs” does not occur except incidentally in a note. In order to explain why I have made such special reference to Mr Fergusson's views in dealing with this subject, it is necessary to quote the opening sentences of his Essay. They are as follows:—

“The publication of a translation of the ‘Orkneyinga Saga,’ with an elaborate introduction by Mr Joseph Anderson, has recently had the effect of directing attention to the important group of antiquities that exist in the Orkney Islands. From his position as Curator of the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and having been employed personally to superintend some important investigations in the north, Mr Anderson has perhaps had better opportunities than almost any other living antiquary for making himself acquainted with the facts of the case; while his elaborate paper on the ‘Brochs’ in the fifth volume of the ‘Archæologia Scotica’ is by far the most complete and exhaustive treatise that has appeared on that branch of the subject. His statements of facts may, therefore, be accepted without hesitation, but whether the inferences he draws from them may be as implicitly relied on, remains to be seen.”

As this is a distinct challenge to the full discussion of the subject, I am under the necessity of maintaining my own inferences, by first showing that there is no foundation on the facts for Mr Fergusson's.

that neither Mr Fergusson nor any one else has ever attempted to show that there are any analogous structures in Norway, or that the relics found in the Scottish Brochs are of the same character as the remains of the Viking period in Norway. But as Mr Fergusson professes to have obtained sound and satisfactory conclusions by the philosophical application of the science of architecture to the solution of a complex problem in archæology, it is necessary to indicate his position, to examine the method by which his conclusions are reached, and to consider his principal arguments in detail.

His position is that "either the Brochs were erected by the Picts or Celtic races who inhabited these islands from the earliest times to which history and tradition ascend; or they were the work of the Norwegians who settled on the islands in or before the eighth century after Christ." Hence if the evidence fails to establish their Norwegian origin the only alternative conclusion is that they are Celtic.

His method is unscientific, inasmuch as he seeks to set aside the value of admitted facts, by accumulating probabilities in favour of a hypothesis which is in itself improbable, viz. that the Norsemen, when they settled in the north of Scotland, did what they had not learned to do at home,—what they never did anywhere but in Scotland,—and what there was not the least necessity for their doing there.

His arguments are derived from two sources:—(1) His estimate of the constructive capabilities of the Celts, and their inferiority in this respect to the conquering Norsemen; and (2) the suitability of the structures to the conditions of Viking life.

His first point is, that if we admit the Celtic theory to be the correct one, we should then have, in the districts of Scotland known to have been possessed by the Norwegians, some 400 or 500 fortified residences of the "older and inferior race;" while no one has yet been able to point out even the site of a single residence, fortified or unfortified, of their Scandinavian conquerors. But, although this were the exact truth, it would be nothing to the point at issue, because, in the same general sense it is true that no one is able to point to the site of a single residence of the Viking time in Norway itself, or in the Viking colonies in Normandy, in Man, or in Ireland, where the colonists were of the same age and kindred as the settlers in northern Scotland. The reason is plain. The Northmen

of the Viking time were still in their timber age, and it is not at all surprising that no one should now be able to point out the sites of such residences as they were in the habit of constructing, either in Scotland or in Norway. If, therefore, we adopt the theory that the Brochs were built by the Vikings, we must also admit the fact that they were the work of a people who were entirely unskilled in the use of stone as a constructive material.

I cannot adduce more authoritative testimony to the fact that the Northmen of the Viking time (8th to 11th century) were unskilled in constructing edifices of stone, than that of M. Nicolaysen and M. Lorange, who have done so much for the elucidation of the structural antiquities of Norway; and I may add, that there is no difference of opinion among the Norwegian archaeologists and historians on the subject.

The following extract is taken from M. Nicolaysen's "Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden" ("Norwegian Buildings of Former Times," Christiania, 1860-66, folio, p. 6):—

"As long as Paganism reigned throughout the land, all buildings were constructed of timber. On the introduction of Christianity (that is, in the beginning of the 11th century), our forefathers first learned to employ lime and stone in building; but as the art followed in the train of the new doctrine, it was for a long time only employed in the service of the spiritual power, and used alone in the construction of churches, monastic buildings, and bishops' palaces. An exception seems to have occurred at an early period when King Magnus the Good commenced a hall of stone, at the king's dwelling-place in Nidaros, but the building remained unfinished at his death (1047), and on its completion by his successor Harald Sigurdsson, it was converted into a church. The first secular buildings of stone were therefore constructed by King Sverre when he erected Castle Sion at Stenbjergt in Nidaros, 1183, and about the same time, or shortly before 1185, a second one, called Sverre's Castle, at Bergen. No remains of these buildings now exist, and we only possess a few details of the plan of the latter. It would appear that King Sverre took an Anglo-Norman castle for model; the inner part was the real *donjon* with its hall, the whole being surrounded by an embattled wall, with a barbican over the entrances. An interval of fifty years occurs before we hear of any further stone buildings."

Again, in his "Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergen's Museum" ("Catalogue of Norwegian Antiquities in the Museum at Bergen,"—Bergen, 1876, 8vo, p. 126) M. Lorange says:—

"In the remoter glens and among the islands of the west coast (of Norway)

there may still be found residences having the same form and arrangement as in ancient times. The ancient style is still kept up, of having on each great garth a considerable cluster of erections close to each other, each of which has its own special purpose. The chief of these in old days was the Skali, which was built of dressed timber, as all such buildings were, and had the form of an oblong quadrangle, with smoke-vents in the ridge, and light-openings in the lower part of the roof. The floor was of trampled clay, and flat stones were placed along the middle, on which the fire was burned. This style of dwelling and internal arrangements, which was of the highest antiquity, continued till the 11th century,¹ when Olaf Kyrre introduced built fire-places, and other improvements into his royal residence, which were soon generally imitated."

Thus, for three centuries after the time when the Vikings began to frequent the coast of Scotland, their edifices in their own country were constructed only of timber. This is at once the distinct testimony of the Sagas, and the deliberate conclusion of all the Norwegian archæologists and historians who have made it a matter of special investigation. Yet Mr Fergusson prefers to treat the subject as if there were no such testimony extant, and no investigation were necessary. "If the Norwegians required castles or strongholds of any sort," he says, "they *most probably* were square towers . . . and they had limestone, and knew apparently how to use it for mortar." Thus his case for the Vikings is, that if they required strongholds in their own country, they made them square, and built them with lime; but when they came to Scotland, they made them round, and gave up the use of mortar. It is to be observed, however, that he does not

¹ It was the same in Sweden. Speaking of the dwellings of the Viking times in that country, Dr Montelius says:—"At this period the houses were without doubt exclusively constructed of wood; the art of building with stone and lime did not reach the northern nations till after the introduction of Christianity. The Swedish dwellings of the Viking time were doubtless similar to those described in the Norse Sagas. In the remoter districts, houses of this identical construction are still found, known by the name of *ryggås-stugor*, survivals of the architecture of past ages.—*Montelius*, "Om lifvet i Sverige under Hednatiden," p. 79. The Swedish town of Björko, on the isle of that name, in Lake Maclar, founded in the 8th century and destroyed in the 11th, is also a case in point. Its remains have recently been excavated by M. Stolpe, who, after describing the general results of his excavation, says—"Mais n'existe-t-il pas de traces des edifices mêmes, ne fût-ce que quelques fondemens? Je suis forcé de répondre par la négative!" He goes on to tell, however, that sufficient evidence existed to show that the houses were built of wood or wattles and lined with clay, the interstices between the timbers being filled with moss.

state this as a fact in the history of architecture established by record, or ascertained by investigation. His position is that the testimony of record and the results of investigation ought to be set aside in favour of what seems to him probable, although it contradicts both.

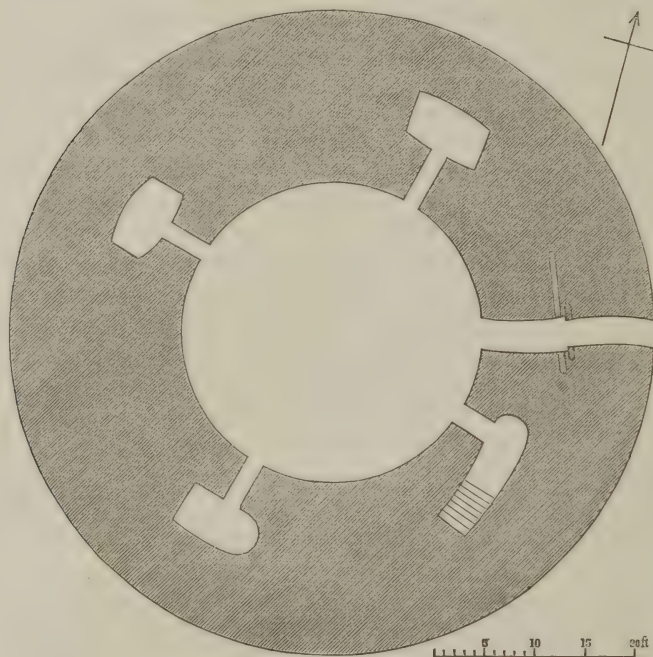
His next point is that all the known Brochs (with few exceptions)¹ are situated in those parts of Scotland which are known to have been occupied by the Norwegians. "I cannot of course judge," he says, "how this coincidence of distribution may strike other people, but to me it appears that in any other science at least than archaeology it would be considered as nearly conclusive as to their Norwegian origin." But why should it? If it cannot be shown that the Norwegians ever built a Broch on any other area they ever occupied either at home or abroad, why should the fact that there are many Brochs in the area they occupied in Scotland be sufficient to assign the Brochs to them?² The fact that these structures are limited to the area occupied by the Norwegians in Scotland (even if it could be established) might be held as proof that they were the work of one of the two races, Celts or Norwegians, by whom that area was possessed; but, by itself, it is destitute of significance sufficient to assign them either to the one or to the other. It only acquires that significance when associated with other facts. The chief of these are,—(1) that there are no Brochs in Norway, (2) that there are Brochs in Scotland in other districts than those that were possessed by the Norwegians, and (3) that there are districts conquered and possessed by the Vikings in which there are no Brochs.

But the actual truth is that the area covered by the Brochs is greater than the Norwegian portion of Scotland in one direction and less in another; that is, they do not cover the whole of the Norwegian area in Scotland, and they are not exclusively confined to it. I give here the ground plan of the Broch at Coldoch, in Perthshire, on the north side of the valley of the Forth, where there can be no

¹ These exceptions cover a very wide range of territory, however, including the counties of Forfarshire, Perthshire, Stirlingshire, and Berwickshire.

² By the same process of reasoning, the round towers of Ireland would be equally assigned to the Norwegians, *e.g.* :—There are no such towers in Norway. But they are confined (with few exceptions) to the area in Ireland invaded by the Norwegians, and in any other science than archaeology this would be held as conclusive evidence that they were erected by the Norwegians!

suspicion of Norwegian influence. Yet the plan of this building is identical in its main features with that of Mousa, in Shetland (given on p. 315 *ante*). The same features are seen in the Broch on the Tappock of Torwood, in Stirlingshire, situated on the south side of the valley of



Ground-plan of the Broch of Coldoch, Perthshire.
(From a plan by Mr Ballingall.)

the Forth.¹ No one who has examined these buildings can doubt for a moment that they are identical in design and construction with the Brochs of Orkney and Shetland, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, and the Western Isles.

¹ A ground-plan and view of the masonry of the Broch at the Tappock of Torwood is given in the Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 259. See also the plan of the Broch of Edin's Hall, in Berwickshire, in the Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 41.

If we adopt the theory that they were built by the Norwegian Vikings, the most striking fact in connection with their geographical distribution will be, that being Norwegian, they are not found in Norway itself, the home of the Vikings; nor in the Viking colonies of the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland; nor in the Isle of Man, the seat of the Norse kingdom of the Sudreyar; nor in Ireland where two Norse dynasties held sway for centuries; nor in Normandy, colonised by the kinsmen of the conquerors of Orkney and Caithness.¹ If, therefore, as Mr Fergusson suggests, the peculiar design of these unique structures had "sprung at once with Minerva-like completeness from the brain of some Scandinavian Vauban," and was found so admirably adapted to the necessities and conditions of the Viking life that it was repeated by them a thousand times on Scottish soil, it is inconceivable that it should not have occurred in their own home, and that it should not have been repeated once, on some of the many foreign shores which equally with northern Scotland were at that time infested by the Vikings. Yet the principal fact disclosed by the examination of the question of their geographical distribution is, that while the Brochs are found in great numbers on ground occupied and fought over for centuries by contending bands of Northmen and Picts, they are not found in even a single sporadic instance on any other area ever occupied by Northmen.

Again, when constructing his argument from considerations of the local distribution of the Brochs, Mr Fergusson, confining his attention to the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, comes to the conclusion, that, as matter of fact, the Brochs are mostly all placed on the seaboard; and he deduces the inference from this, that they are nothing but the fortified nests of a race of sea-rovers. Moreover, he adds, that as the Celtic population were "an inferior race," "a wretched scattered race of fishermen, hardly ever rising to the dignity of an agricultural people, and certainly never indulging in maritime pursuits, they neither required such edifices, nor had they the energy and ability to construct them."²

¹ King Harald Harfagri gave the Orkneys to Rognvald, Earl of Moeri, whose second son Hrolf became the founder of the Norman dynasty. Among the first Earls of Orkney were two brothers, an uncle and a cousin of the conqueror of Normandy.

² It need scarcely be said that, beyond the urgent necessities of Mr Fergusson's theory, there is nothing whatever to justify this gratuitous depreciation of the condition and capabilities of the Celtic population. Their Scandinavian conquerors have never alluded to them but with the respect due to foemen worthy of their steel.

But though it is true that in Orkney and Shetland (where it is difficult to get far from the seaboard) the Brochs are commonly situated on the sea-margin, as for the most part the inhabited hamlets are at the present day ; yet it is also true that in the Western Isles they are frequently on inland lochs, while in Caithness they mark the area of the best land, and in Sutherland they are thickly planted in the fertile straths, following the courses of the rivers to distances of twenty-five or thirty miles inland—as far from the sea as any residences are at the present day. Thus the principal fact disclosed by the examination of their local distribution over the whole Norwegian area in Scotland is, that they are *not* confined to the seaboard ; and the true inference is, that they are the work of a people in possession of the soil from sea to sea, and not the nests of sea-rovers perched on promontories with the sea at their back. On the other hand, if they were built by the marauding Vikings, who never did anything of the kind anywhere else, there must have been some very special reason for their universal adoption of such an elaborate system of defensive fortifications here. Yet the specialty of Mr Fergusson's case for the Vikings is, that, while they did all this which they had never done anywhere before, they did it only in the very place where there was no special reason for it, their opponents here being merely a few wretched scattered fishermen.

When he comes to treat of the structural characteristics of these edifices, however, Mr Fergusson speaks with an authority which no one will dispute. " For all purposes of active or offensive warfare," he says, " the Brochs are absolutely useless." On the other hand, he states that " for passive resistance they are as admirable as anything yet invented."¹ Now the warfare that ebbed and flowed for centuries over the area chiefly occupied by the Brochs was peculiar. It was an irregular, intermittent warfare, a succession of forays by marauding bands, against which there could be no more effective system of defence provided than a multitude of *safes* which were burglar-proof and big enough (as the Brochs were) to contain the families, goods, and cattle of the joint proprietors. But the peculiarity of Mr

¹ It is pleasant to find that on some points Mr Fergusson's inferences agree so thoroughly with my own. In 1871, I had written of the Brochs that " they are eminently and peculiarly structures of defence, and not of aggression. The castle holds a threat in every loophole of its embattled walls, but the broch is the architectural embodiment of passive resistance. Its leading idea is simply that of a perfectly secure place of refuge for men and cattle."—*Arch. Scot.* vol. v. p. 151.

Fergusson's theory is that it obliges him to give the *safes* to the burglars, and not to the people whose property was continually threatened with burglary.

Thus while it is manifest that Mr Fergusson's leading arguments have failed to establish his main conclusion as to the Norwegian origin of the Brochs, it also appears on a general review of the evidence that—

- (1.) No Brochs are found in Norway or in any of the Viking colonies except Northern Scotland.

But Brochs are found in the Celtic as well as in the Norwegian area of Scotland.

- (2.) No dwellings or edifices of dry-built stone masonry are known in Norway either of the Viking time or of preceding ages.

But edifices of dry-built stone masonry are characteristic of the Celtic, or early Christian period of Scotland and Ireland.

- (3.) There is not on record in all Norway a single specimen of a vaulted roof of dry-built masonry in any ancient structure, whether dwelling or tomb.¹

But the vaulted roof of dry-built masonry is a characteristic feature of early Celtic structures.

Therefore, on the principle so strenuously advocated by Mr Fergusson, of "letting every monument tell its own story, without reference to any empirical system," I am compelled implicitly to believe the testimony of the Broch structure when it speaks for itself so conclusively as to the absence of Norwegian, and the presence of Celtic affinities.

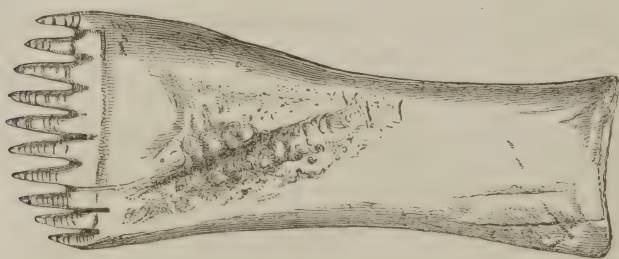
CONTENTS OF THE BROCHS.

It is, however, conceivable that the character of the structures might have been such as to render it impossible to say with certainty to which of the two races they were to be assigned. But even though this had been the case with the buildings there never could have been any such uncertainty in determining the nationality of their occupants from an examination of their contained relics. The character of the national pottery and cutlery, household utensils and personal ornaments, still differs to such an extent

¹ The chambered cairns of Denmark and Sweden are without exception un-vaulted. In Norway there are no cairns with chambers

as to make it possible to distinguish the general *mobilier* of a Norwegian from that of a Scottish dwelling. In the Viking time that difference was so great that it would have been impossible to mistake the one for the other. No group of antiquities is better known or more readily recognised by its distinctly national character, than that which marks the duration of the Viking time in Norway. If the Brochs, then, were built by the Norwegians, the relics found in them, being the refuse of Viking life, ought necessarily to correspond in character with the remains of the same period found in Norway, and in the rest of the Viking colonies. Yet nothing is more certain than that this well-marked Norwegian group is not distinguishable among the extensive collections obtained from the Brochs;¹ while, on the other hand, nothing is more obvious than that the general *facies* of these collections from the Brochs agrees completely with the remains of the late Celtic or post-Roman period from other parts of Scotland.

For instance, the most characteristic implement of the brochs is the long-handled comb,² which I have shown to be the weaving implement of the



Long-handled Comb, from the Broch of Burrian, Orkney.

time, used for beating together the threads of the weft to form the cloth in the upright loom.³ I saw no specimen of this peculiar implement in the museums of Christiania and Stockholm. It does not occur in the catalogues of either of the museums at Bergen or Trondheim; and, so far as I

¹ The relics of the Viking time and of Norse origin that are found in Scotland are mostly from Norse graves.

² Upwards of 36 of these combs have been obtained from the Brochs.

³ See my paper entitled "Notes on Spinning and Weaving in Pictish Towers," in the Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 550.

am aware, it has never occurred in Norway. But we have specimens in our museum from kitchen-middens, and hut circles in central Scotland, and from underground houses in the Hebrides. It has also occurred in the Borness Cave in Kirkcudbrightshire,¹ where it is associated with a group of stone and bone implements exactly similar to those from the northern Brochs, and which no one can hesitate to refer to the post-Roman period. On the other hand, the weaving implement of the Scandinavians was the *spatha*, a flat, sword-like tool, of which no specimen has ever occurred in the Brochs.

The most characteristic ornament of the Viking time in Norway is the tortoise or bowl-shaped brooch. This relic is so specially characteristic of the Viking time that it marks every settlement of the Norsemen. It occurs in Scotland, England, Ireland, Iceland, Normandy, and Russia, so that wherever the Norsemen established a colony these relics attest the fact. Yet none of these have ever been found among the relics of the occupation of the Brochs. One pair occurred in connection with a ruined Broch at Castletown in Caithness, but they were found along with a skeleton buried



One of a Pair of Tortoise Brooches, found with a Skeleton buried on the ruin of a Broch at Castletown, Caithness.

on the top of the mound which covered the ruins, and consequently were not contemporary with the occupancy of the building as a residence of the

¹ See the Proceedings, vol. x. p. 493, and plate xix.

living. On the other hand, the Celtic form of brooch, at this period penannular in shape, a form which is not Norwegian, is found in the Brochs.

The pottery of the Brochs differs widely in character from the pottery of the Viking time in Norway; but it agrees with that of the post-Roman period from other parts of Scotland. If there is any indication of definite date in the fact of the red ware, usually termed Samian, being found in the Orkney Brochs, it points to their occupation at a period considerably earlier than the time of the Norse invasion; and, while I am not acquainted with any instance of Samian ware having been found among Viking remains in Norway, it has occurred pretty frequently in the eirde-houses of central Scotland. Its occurrence in the Brochs is therefore quite in keeping with the character of the Celtic remains in other parts of Scotland.

A peculiar class of stone utensils which I have described as "lamps" is of frequent occurrence in the Brochs. They are so rudely made by simply

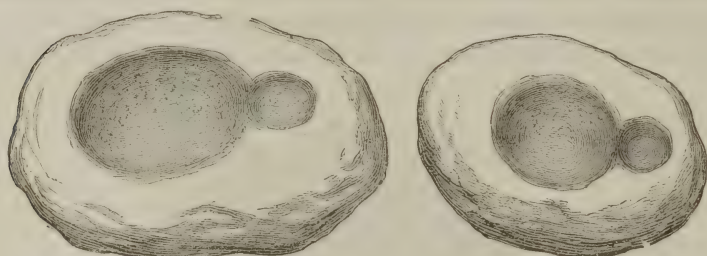


Fig. 1.

Lamps of Sandstone.

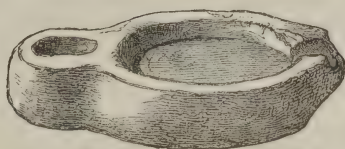
Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.—From the Broch of Kettleburn, Caithness.

Fig. 2.—From the Broch of Okstrow, Orkney.

hollowing two intersecting circles, one three or four times the diameter of the other, in the surface of a water-worn boulder of convenient size, that it would have been difficult to imagine them "degradations" of the well-known classic form in bronze or terra-cotta. The specimen I have here figured from a Broch in Birsay, however, seems an unskilful imitation of the Roman lamp. Such lamps as the two first figured are also found in the eirde-houses of central Scotland; but no specimen is on record in Norway or anywhere else that I know of.

The stone cups, with short, perforated handles, so frequently found in the Brochs of the North of Scotland, are still more frequently found in districts far to the south of the Caledonian valley. This form is peculiarly



Lamp of Sandstone, from a Broch in Birsay, Orkney.

Celtic, inasmuch as it is abundant in the Celtic parts of Scotland, and far from rare in Ireland; but it is altogether different from any of the forms of stone cups or vessels of the Viking time in Norway.



Stone Cups, with Perforated Handles.

Fig. 1.—From a Broch in Caithness.

Fig. 2.—From Tullynessle, Aberdeenshire.

The only inscribed stone ever found in connection with a Broch bears an inscription in Ogham characters, along with a cross of a peculiar form which frequently occurs on the sculptured stones of Pictland. It need hardly be said that Oghams are peculiarly Celtic, and that no Ogham has ever turned up in Norway. On the other hand, no Runic inscription has ever occurred in a Broch. Christianity was planted among the Celts of the Orkneys

by the followers of St Columba in the end of the sixth century. But the Norsemen were Pagans, from the time of their arrival in Orkney in the end of the eighth century, to the beginning of the eleventh. On the other hand, the presence of Christian Celts in this Broch at an early period is demonstrated not only by the occurrence of the cross carved on this Ogham inscribed stone, but also by the presence among animal bones in its refuse heaps, of a metatarsal bone of a small ox, on which are incised two of the



Metatarsal Bone of Ox, with Carved Symbols, from the Broch of Burrian, Orkney.

symbols of unexplained meaning which occur so constantly on the sculptured stones of the early Christian time in Scotland. These stones, Mr Fergusson admits, "were one and all the work of the Picts."¹ They

¹ In this connection Mr Fergusson has a note, which shows with what remarkable facility his conclusions are reached. Speaking of two maps, one compiled by Dr John Stuart to show the distribution of the Sculptured Stones, the other by myself to show that of the Brochs, Mr Fergusson says—"The curious part of the business is, that the nature and importance of architectural or sculptural remains, for illustrating questions of political geography or ethnology, is so little understood or appreciated in this country, that these two distinguished antiquaries were hardly aware of the service they were rendering when they compiled their maps. In his two introductions (to the two volumes of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*) Dr Stuart proves, in a

are found throughout the whole region of the Brochs, and are the only works of the Picts that Mr Fergusson admits in that region. Yet he denies to the people that carved these strikingly impressive monuments the energy and ability to build such a tower as Mousa ; and in face of the fact that the Celts had been constructing vaulted roofs of dry-stone work from the earliest times, he assigns all these structures in Northern Scotland to a race of timber architects, from a country where vaulting was unknown, and the use of stone as a building material unpractised.

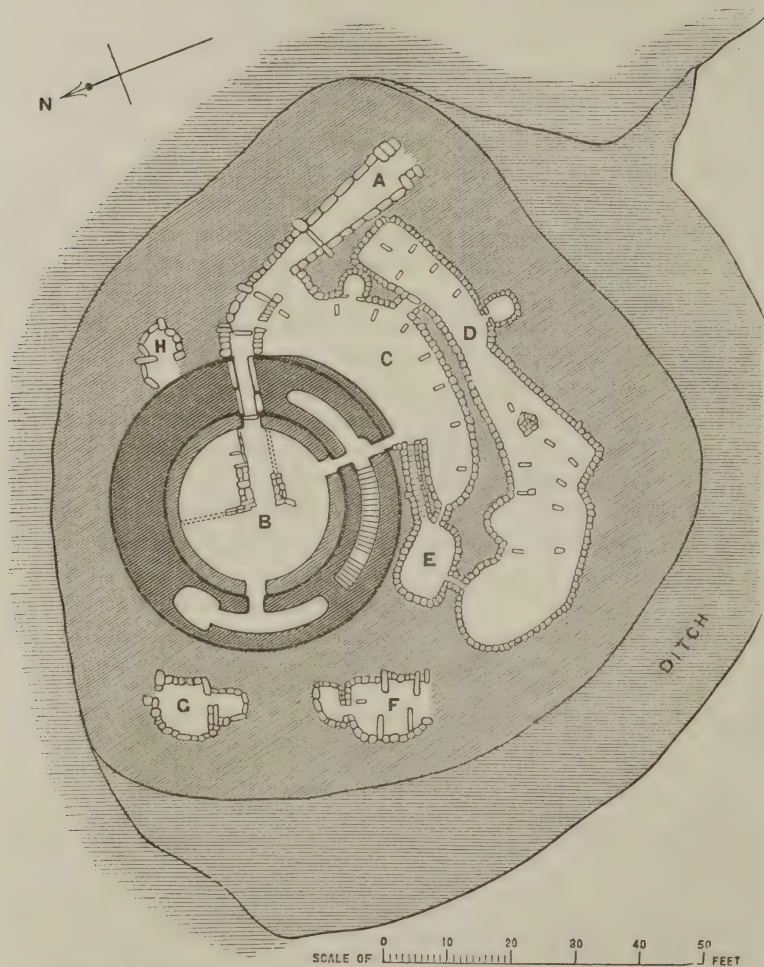
Upon the whole, the general character of the Broch relics is rude and poor—a character quite in keeping with the desperate nature of the struggle for existence which the Celts in these regions were then maintaining, but not at all in keeping with the circumstances of sea-robbers, enriching themselves with the spoils of all lands. In short, Mr Fergusson's theory obliges those who adopt it, to hold that all these things are Norwegian, for the very curious reason that they are utterly unlike anything known to have been made and used by Norwegians, either in Norway or anywhere else.

It would not be correct, however, to affirm that nothing of Norwegian origin has ever been found in connection with a Scottish Broch¹. What I have said on this subject refers to the general character of the Broch contents considered as a group of relics, and not to every specimen obtained from them. We know from the Sagas that certain Brochs were occupied at certain times by Norwegians ; and the testimony of the relics confirms the historical statement. Articles corresponding in character to those found in Viking grave-mounds in Norway and in Scotland have occurred in some Brochs, but these cases are few and exceptional. Before these

manner that will hardly be disputed, that the Sculptured Stones were one and all the work of the Picts, but it does not seem to have occurred to him as a natural consequence, that where a sculptured stone now is found a Pict must previously have existed. While so unconscious is Mr Anderson of the science of architectural ethnology, that he will probably be very much astonished to be told that he has compiled the best geographical and ethnographical maps of Scandinavian Scotland from the best and in many instances the only available materials for the purpose. For thirty years I have been trying to persuade my countrymen to take up this subject. Had they done so, many of the problems that puzzle and perplex antiquarians would never have arisen, or would long ago have been settled."—*Essay on the Brochs*, p. 13.

¹ See my paper on the "Remains of the Viking Period of the Norsemen in Scotland," in the Proceedings, vol. x. p. 536.

were known, I had expressed my conviction, founded on quite other evidence, that there had been in a great many instances a secondary



Ground-plan of the Broch of Yarhouse, Caithness, with its Secondary Constructions.
(From a plan by J. Anderson.)

occupation of the Brochs.¹ This is indicated by certain constructions, internal and external, of a different character of masonry from that of the original structure, and having their foundations placed upon a layer of varying thickness, composed of ashes and food refuse mixed with the debris of the building in and around which they are situated. In one case I found these later constructions at three or four different levels in the interior of a Broch, the last having been formed at a period when eight feet of rubbish, arising from the dilapidation of the original structure, had accumulated in its interior.² It is part of Mr Fergusson's case to put these secondary constructions out of court. He therefore ignores the evidence afforded by the fact that the interior partitionings of the central area are found at different levels above the original floor, on which the debris of the building had accumulated to these levels before the partitions were built ; and he assumes that the additional constructions, around the external walls of the Broch, do not differ in kind from the masonry of the Broch itself. But no one, I think, who has ever seen a Broch and its outbuildings, would doubt that they differed in kind. These secondary constructions are sometimes almost rectangular in the ground plan, more frequently they adapt themselves in shape to the space in which they are placed ; their walls are thin, and loosely built, without that packing of small stones in the interstices between the larger ones which is so characteristic of the Brochs. They are often faced only on the inner side, and constructed with slabs set on edge in the face of the wall to save building, or placed on end at right angles to the face of the wall to give stability to the loose masonry, features never seen in the original structure of the Broch proper. Pillars are built in the area, and long slabs set on end here and there, presumably to assist in bearing up either a regular roof or a penthouse roof of flags. It is in the case of those Brochs that are most completely dilapidated that the greatest amount of secondary construction is found. Those that have still most of their height remaining, as Mousa, Dun Dornadilla, and the Glenelg Brochs, have no appearance of outbuildings around their bases.

¹ This was also the opinion of Mr Petrie, who says in reference to the Brochs of Orkney, "there is scarcely one that does not afford clear proof of subsequent additions by later inhabitants."

² See the description of the secondary structures in and around the Broch of Yarrowhouse, Caithness, in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v. pp. 135-137.

On the other hand, the Broch at Lingrow, in Scapa Bay, had only a few feet of the original structure remaining, and here nearly the whole of the



Ground-plan of the Broch of Lingrow, Orkney, with its Secondary Constructions.
(From a plan by Mr George Petrie.)

material of the original structure was found to have been utilised in secondary constructions around its base.

It is altogether another question who these secondary builders were.

The special question at issue is whether the additional constructions were or were not "secondary" in the sense of their having been built out of the materials of the original structure after it was partially in ruin, and not having been expansions in the way of enlarging the accommodation, and altering the style and character of the residence in order to meet requirements which were not contemplated when the original structure was built. Mr Fergusson puts his view of the matter as follows :—

"The fact is that the Brochs underwent the same process of transformation that the Peel towers have been subjected to in every part of Scotland. As security of property and modern forms of civilisation advanced, wherever these towers continued to be inhabited—which has happened in some hundreds of cases—wings were thrown out to afford additional accommodation for the family, out-houses were added, and the rooms of the old tower subdivided, till it lost all its character of a fortalice, and became the picturesque and commodious dwelling of the modern laird, who, however, was in most cases the lineal descendant of the original tower-builder. Precisely the same thing happened in the Orkneys, when more peaceful times converted the Viking into a Udaller. He required not only more accommodation, but of a different class from that which satisfied his warlike ancestor. The upper part of the Broch was removed as no longer required. The court was subdivided, and in some instances at least roofed, or at least partially so, and outside drinking-halls and other necessary appliances added, but in the same style and with the same materials. It is, in fact, a case of 'continuous' and not of 'secondary' occupation, and so far as any evidence now available bears on the question, it goes to prove that those who built the Brochs built also the additions."³

But this hypothesis proceeds upon assumptions that are either contrary to the facts or unsupported by evidence. For instance, it is assumed that the Brochs underwent the same process of transformation to which the Peel Towers have been subjected in every part of Scotland. But the Peel Towers do not exist in every part of Scotland, and the process of transformation which they underwent (as here described by Mr Fergusson) was totally different from that which happened to the Brochs. "Wings," it is said, "were thrown out to afford additional accommodation to the family." But where shall we find a Broch with wings? Again, we are told that what happened to the Brochs was "precisely the same thing" that happened to the Peel Towers, and that "when more peaceful times converted

³ Essay on the Brochs, p. 17.

the Viking into a Udaller, the upper part of the Broch was removed as no longer required." But where shall we find a Peel Tower so treated by its owner? Or where shall we look for a Broch with "outside drinking-halls," or any other "halls," added in the same style as the original construction? Not only is there no parallel between what is thus alleged of the Peel Towers and of the Brochs, but the statement of what did happen is not consistent with itself, and the whole strength of Mr Fergusson's previous argument, *mutatis mutandis*, would have gone to prove (if it were worth anything) that the Peel Towers were the work of the invading English, and not of the Scots.

STRUCTURAL ANTIQUITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE BROCHS.

The structural antiquities associated with the Brochs in the area to which the latter are chiefly confined, that is, in the region lying north of the Caledonian valley, are (1) chambered cairns, (2) stone circles, and (3) earde-houses or weems.

Before proceeding to discuss the question of the origin of these three classes of structures, it is necessary to consider the significance of their association with the Brochs, because that association forms the basis of the next part of Mr Fergusson's argument.

Having assigned the Brochs to the Norsemen, he proceeds to say that, "the further question is not so much whether the chambered tumuli and stone circles of the Orkneys are those of the Celts or of the Norwegians, as whether the Broch builders erected also the various mounds and edifices that are found everywhere mixed up with them." In other words, he claims that the Brochs, being assigned to the Scandinavians, the other structural remains must necessarily follow them.

It seems to me that nothing weaker in the shape of an argument can well be imagined than that which assigns one age and one origin to remains which are certainly of different classes, and may thus be of different periods, simply on the ground that they are "mixed up" together. But Mr Fergusson has no hesitation in using this argument. On the contrary, such is his confidence in its validity that he declares that not only is he convinced by it himself, but he would find no difficulty in proving his proposition by it to others, "were it not that our one inflexible guide, common sense, here forsakes us."

If contiguity necessarily implied contemporaneousness, such an argument as this might be used with effect. But Mr Fergusson has not attempted to prove that in the case of the Orkneys this contiguity does mean both contemporaneity and community of origin. Instead of doing so, he simply asserts that "the sepulchral remains of the Orkneys show a style of art so similar to that of the Brochs, and both represent a state of civilisation so nearly identical, that it will be difficult to separate the one from the other." But that difficulty disappears when it is known (1) that there are differences between the styles of art of the chambered tombs and of the Brochs sufficient to prevent them being regarded as in any sense similar; and (2) that the state of civilisation represented by the one is not in the least like that represented by the other. These, viz., the "similarity of art" and "identity of civilisation," are the two things which Mr Fergusson's case required him to prove, and this proof (which he has not attempted) would have constituted the only evidence capable of carrying his conclusions.

Let us now examine the nature of the association of these classes of structural remains.

It is not an association of groups that are conterminous in area. The area of the Brochs is limited to a portion of Scotland; the areas of the chambered cairns, the stone circles, and the eirde-houses are not confined to Scotland.

Again, it is not an association of groups having their greatest development in the Orkneys. Even if we admit this for the Brochs (which is doubtful), the chambered cairns are more abundant on the mainland of Scotland than they are in the Orkneys; and the stone circles and eirde-houses are but few in number in the Northern Isles, while in other districts of Scotland they are numerous where chambered cairns are few, and Brochs are altogether unknown.

Thus, while we have in the part of Scotland lying to the north of the Caledonian valley the same classes of structural remains that are found over Scotland generally, we have these wide-spread groups there augmented by the additional group of the Brochs—a group more local in its range and more peculiar in its characteristics. Does the presence of this local group in northern Scotland imply for the other groups an origin in that particular quarter different from their origin in other parts of Scot-

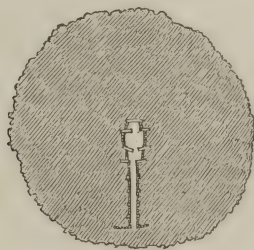
land? Or, to put it in another way, are we to assume one origin for the chambered cairns, stone circles, and eirde-houses to the north of the Caledonian valley, because there they are associated with many Brochs, and another origin for the same classes that lie to the south of that valley, because there they are associated with few Brochs? This we must do, if we adopt Mr Fergusson's opinion that "the Celts or Picts of the north of Scotland did not at any time between the departure of the Romans and their subjugation by the Norwegians, attain to such a stage of civilisation as would have enabled them to erect such a tower as Mousa, such a sepulchre as Maeshowe, or such a circle as that at Stennis;" and if we believe with him that the Norwegian Vikings erected the Brochs as places where they could leave their families and their treasures in safety when absent on their peculiar business, and constructed the chambered cairns and the stone circles as sepulchres for their dead.

The issue thus raised with respect to the group of Orcadian monuments, taken as a whole, is distinct and easily stated. If they are an extension westwards of the Norwegian group of stone monuments, they ought to exhibit such a similarity of character and contents as to demonstrate their affinity with the parent group from which they are an offshoot. If, on the other hand, they are an extension northwards of the Celtic group of stone monuments, their character and contents ought to be also those of the group of monuments lying to the south of the area occupied by the Norwegians in Scotland, and ought not to be those of the group of monuments in Norway, from which these settlers emigrated. The determination of the issue thus resolves itself into a process of simple comparison of the characters of the structure and contents of the Orcadian group of monuments, with the view of ascertaining whether their affinities are traceable eastwards into Norway, or southwards into Celtic Scotland.

For this purpose it is necessary to examine (1) What the main features of these monuments are; and (2) Whether these features are found in Norwegian or in Celtic monuments.

Chambered Cairns.—The chambered cairns are not generally distributed over the face of the country like the Brochs. Sometimes they occur singly here and there, at other times in clusters, widely separated from each other. They are often of enormous magnitude, and from their situation they form conspicuous features in the landscapes. Though vary

ing in external configuration, and differing from each other in the details of their internal arrangements, they always possess certain features in common, which distinguish them as a generic group.¹ The chamber is



Ground-plan of Chambered Cairn at Camster, Caithness, 75 feet in diameter.

(From a plan by J. Anderson.)

always small in proportion to the huge size of the pile in which it is enclosed. The passage leading into the chamber is longer, lower, and narrower than the entrance to a Broch, and it differs also in being



Section of the Chambered Cairn at Camster, Caithness, showing Passage 20 feet long and Chamber 10 feet high.

(From a plan by J. Anderson.)

gradually enlarged as it proceeds inwards. The characteristic feature of the chamber is the rude vaulting of the roof by overlapping stones, a

¹ For detailed accounts of the structure and contents of these chambered cairns see my papers on "The Chambered Cairns of Caithness," with the plans, in the Proceedings of the Society, vol. vi. p. 442, and vol. vii. p. 480; and Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London, vols. ii. and iii.

feature also common to the chambers on the ground floors of the Brochs.¹ The external configuration of the "cairn" was defined by a retaining wall, single or double, which gave it a definite structural form and an external elevation in the architectural sense. Thus it results that a chambered cairn is not at all a "cairn" in the sense of an agglomerated heap of stones; but is a distinct structure, with a regular ground plan, and a well-defined exterior and interior elevation—a building designed and constructed after a pattern which varied in its details, but was constant in its leading structural features.



Section of Chamber in Broch of Kintradwell, showing Rude Vaulting of Roof.
(From a drawing by Rev. Dr Joass.)

The floors of the chambers are covered to a considerable depth with deposits of burnt bones, human and animal, intermingled with fragments of pottery, of a style and texture different from that found in the Brochs. The weapons found in them are invariably of flint or polished stone. Weapons of this description have never been found either in Brochs, or in tombs of the Viking period.

¹ Compare the section of the chamber in the cairn at Camster, with that of the Broch here given. If the Brochs were Scandinavian, this feature might be used as an argument for the Scandinavian origin of the chambered cairns. But the vaulted roof does not occur in Scandinavia, either in tombs of the Viking times or of any previous age.

Are these then the features found in Norwegian burial-mounds of the Viking time? The answer is decisive. There is not on record in all Norway a single chambered tomb of the Viking time, or the later Iron Age.¹

It is true that Mr Fergusson adduces the evidence of "eighty chambered tumuli" explored by M. Lorange in Norway.² But when the evidence is examined, it is found that these tumuli are not chambered, and that they are not of the Viking period, but of the early Iron Age.

"The information regarding these tombs," says Mr Fergusson, "is contained in four reports published in Norwegian, in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of Norway, in 1867-70, and resumed by M. Lorange in a work entitled 'Om spor af Romersk Kultur i Norges aeldre Jernalder;' it need hardly be added that neither of those works is to be found in the British Museum Library, but they do exist in that of the Society of Antiquaries, where I have had an opportunity of consulting them."

Now these detailed reports by M. Lorange are full and precise, and leave no room for doubt as to the character of the "eighty chambered tumuli" cited by Mr Fergusson. They contain no chambers, only cists of flags. It is true that M. Lorange uses the Norwegian word *gravkammer* for cist, and uses it in this sense correctly, because the *gravkammer*, in the sense of a chamber with built walls and a passage leading into it, does not exist in Norway—a fact which Mr Fergusson, in his haste to prove the

¹ Mr Fergusson classes the so-called "Picts' Houses" of Orkney with the Gang-graben or passage-graves of Denmark, of which he says they are the counterparts. Yet the architectural features of the Picts' Houses are, that they are built with irregularly coursed stones, and have vaulted roofs formed by overlapping, while the Gang-graben are megalithic, and have lintelled roofs. Kettleburn, too, he classes with these structures, but Kettleburn was a Broch. The Gang-graben are of the Stone Age, but Mr Fergusson does not believe in the Stone Age.

² Mr Fergusson has apparently been led into this misapprehension by a hasty reading of M. Lorange's condensed description of these in the "Compte Rendu du Congrès International à Stockholm en 1874" (p. 644), where he says—"Une premiere categorie (de tumulus) ne presente pas de chambre une seconde categorie se caracterise par des petites chambres carrees, formes de dalles une troisieme categorie de tumulus contient des grandes chambres egalement formes de dalles. Nous connaissons environ 80 tumulus Norvegiens de ce genre." But these "square chambers, formed of slabs" (whether small or large) are *cists*, and not chambers, like those of the chambered cairns of Scotland. In fact, M. Lorange expressly calls them cists in his other papers, subsequently referred to.

Orkney tombs Norwegian, has completely overlooked. But the context in M. Lorange's descriptions always suffices to show the precise sense in which the term *gravkammer* is used by him, because the measurements are given, and there is never a passage leading to the *gravkammer* from the outside of the mound. For instance, in the very work "*Om Spor af Romersk Kultur*," &c., to which Mr Fergusson refers as containing the information on which he founds his statement, M. Lorange says of these same "eighty tumuli": "In 1868 we had information of about 90 tumuli with large *chambers or grave chests*," or in his own words:—"I 1868 havde man underretning om ca. 90 Haugen med store Kammere eller Gravkister;"¹ and he adds that the chambers (cists) are seldom under a man's length, and are from two to four feet in height and breadth—"Kammerne ere sjeldene under mans-laengde og fra to til fire fod hoie og brede."

That there may remain no doubt whatever as to the actual character of these early iron age tumuli in Norway, I quote from another work by M. Lorange the following passage, which is sufficiently explicit for the present purpose:—²

"The grave finds from the Early Iron Age have been deposited in tumuli (grav-hauger), and mostly in tumuli with grave-chambers (grav-kammerne). The form of the tumulus is either round or oblong. In the round form the grave-chamber is either small and squarish, or large and chest-like,—the latter being characteristic of the long tumuli. These two forms also indicate two varieties of burial-customs. The small chambers usually enclose a single urn, and are only large enough for this purpose. The urn is either of timber-staves (a wooden bucket) or of burnt clay, or occasionally a large vessel of bronze. It always contains burnt bones, and among them usually are some personal ornaments. Sometimes weapons are found, either placed on or beside the urn, and these have been invariably burnt on the pile with the body, and deposited in a bent, crumpled, and destroyed condition, although the smaller ornaments show no signs of similar treatment. This form, with small grave-chambers, burnt bodies, and partially burnt grave-goods, is common. The larger grave-chambers show greater variety in their contents. They are usually over a man's length, but seldom more than 2 feet broad, and 2 to 3 feet high.

¹ Om Spor af romersk Kultur i Norges aeldre Jernalder af A. Lorange (Christiania, 1873), p. 45.

² As this work "*Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergen's Museum, ved A. Lorange*" (Bergen, 1876), is not scarce, like the one previously mentioned, I have not thought it necessary to give the passage in the original Norwegian. It will be found at pp. 46 and 47 of the work cited.

While in the small chambers, each side of the chamber is formed of a single stone, the sides of these are lined, or are constructed, with slabs set on edge or on end, and roofed over with large flat stones. They contain burnt bones, but also unburnt bodies. There is a striking difference between the accompaniments of the two forms of burial. With the unburnt body the deposit is mostly always very rich and consists of vessels, ornaments, implements and weapons, sometimes single weapons, sometimes a warrior's whole panoply, consisting of a two-edged sword, spear and lance-heads, arrows, a shield, and often an axe, which in the Iron Age was probably more an implement than a weapon. But in none of these larger grave-chambers do we find any trace of the intentional rendering of the weapons useless; they are deposited with the dead in proper order and good condition. It is in these graves also that we find the intermixture of Northern and Roman art, and to them belong the greater part of the Roman antiquities found in Norway. Similar Roman relics are found in the smaller grave-chambers, but only exceptionally; while, on the other hand, it is the exception that one or more Roman objects are not found in the larger. The first grave form is also peculiar to Norway; the second is found over the whole of the Scandinavian north."

It is needless to say that not a single one of the characteristics, either of the structural form or of the included contents of these tombs, is found in the chambered tumuli of Orkney. The comparison does not yield a single feature of similarity. M. Lorange says that his eighty grave chambers are lined with slabs, and covered with flat stones, and that they are seldom over a man's length, 3 or 4 feet broad, and 2 or 3 feet high. On the other hand, the chambered tumuli of the Broch region in Scotland have passages leading into chambers with built walls and vaulted roofs. The floor of the one in Papa Westray contains (exclusive of its side chambers) a superficies of 320 square feet, that of Maeshowe 225 square feet, and that of Quanterness 140 square feet. That the true character of the Norwegian tumuli, of the Early Iron Age, is that of cisted and not of chambered tumuli, is a fact well-known to all who have studied the subject, and only requires to be demonstrated here, in consequence of Mr Fergusson's having cited M. Lorange as an authority for the existence of "eighty chambered tumuli" in Norway, which are held by Mr Fergusson to be the counterparts of the chambered tumuli of Orkney.¹

¹ There is one *dolmen* in Norway, discovered in 1872 by M. Lorange. It cannot however, be claimed as a counterpart of the chambered tombs of Orkney. It is constructed of five blocks of granite, which form the supports of a large covering slab,

But he further argues for the probability of the chambered tombs of the Orkneys being of Norwegian origin, that the barrows of King Gorm and his Queen Thyra at Jellinge, in Jutland, are "identical with Maeshowe," the principal difference being that the one is constructed with wood, and the other built in stone. Even if this might be used to prove that the Orkney tombs were the work of the Danes (who never were settled in Orkney), it could scarcely affect the question of whether these tombs were the work of the Norwegians. But the *grav-kammer* in Queen Thyra's barrow (that of King Gorm's has not been found), has really nothing "identical with Maeshowe." It is merely a cist, though a large one. Engelhardt says, "The grave-chamber (in Queen Thyra's mound), which had no entrance, was placed at the bottom and in the centre of the mound, so that there is a distance of about 50 ells between its walls and the exterior base of the mound." The difference is thus not merely that one construction is of wood, and the other of stone. The one is a rectangular box, cist, or whatever else it may be called, without any opening for entrance—top, bottom, and sides, all constructed of planks; the other is a chamber regularly built of stone, with an earthen floor, a vaulted roof of stone nearly 20 feet high, and a lintelled passage fully 50 feet long leading into it. If there be any "identity" between the two constructions, either in an architectural or any other sense, I confess I am unable to perceive it.

But even if the alleged identity were proved, there still remains to be considered the very important fact (not once alluded to by Mr Fergusson), that instead of being an example of the common or typical form of barrow of the Viking period, Queen Thyra's grave-mound is an entirely exceptional instance. There is not another like it either in Denmark or in Norway. The common or typical Norwegian barrow of the Viking time was destitute of cist or chamber. To make this fact as clear as possible, I quote the general statement of Professor Rygh on this subject, from a paper by him on the "Barrows of the Iron Age in Norway."¹ He says: "Of the also of granite. Lying in the neighbourhood of Frederikshald, it is interesting as being the most northern dolmen yet known; but it seems to be rather an outlier of the group in southern Sweden, than an indication of the existence of this class of monument in Norway.

¹ Om den Aeldre Jernalder i Norge, af O. Rygh, Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1869, p. 161.

extraordinarily large number of grave-finds from the younger Iron Age (*i.e.*, the Viking period) which are known, in all about 1000, there are but *two* which were undoubtedly derived from Hows (or barrows) with *grav-kammere*.¹ Burial in *grav-kammere* thus appears never to have been in use, as a custom, in the Viking time." Thus any significance which Queen Thyra's tomb might have had, disappears entirely when it is known that it is merely an exceptional case; while the fact that the Norwegian barrows of the Viking period are not only not chambered, but are destitute of cists, precludes the further use of the argument that the chambered tombs of the Orkneys must be Norwegian, because they have chambers.

Stone Circles.—The stone circles, as their name implies, are circular areas marked off from the surrounding surface by tall undressed pillar-stones, set on end at intervals round the circumference of the inclosed area, which



Stone Circle at Brogar, Stennis, Orkney (340 feet in diameter).

(From "Celtic Antiquities of Orkney," in *Archæologia*, by Captain F. W. L. Thomas).

is sometimes further defined by a trench outside the stone circle, or by a low mound raised round it. Few of the stone circles of Scotland are now entire; and though their remains are so numerous, complete measurements and accurate plans of the best examples are still wanting to enable us to

¹ M. Lorange gives similar testimony. In his description of the Raknehaug he says:—"The grave-mounds in the North which come nearest the Raknehaug in size are the mounds at Upsala, and Thyra's and Gorm's Hows at Jellinge. . . . I had hoped, from the abundance of the material which its builders seem to have had at command, that the Raknehaug might have contained a chamber (of timber), although this was scarcely to be expected, since, as a rule, *grav-kammere* were not in use in the later Iron Age. There are but two exceptions that can be cited in all Denmark, viz., Queen Thyra's How and the Mammen How near Viborg. The case is precisely similar with respect to Norway, where there are also only two exceptions." *Fra Raknehaugen, Antiquarisk Meddelelse af A. Lorange*, p. 6.

understand their comparative anatomy. They vary greatly in diameter, in the size and number of the pillar stones and their distances apart, but they possess certain distinctive characteristics in common which mark them as a specific group of sepulchral monuments allied to the chambered cairns.



Stone Circle at Stennis (104 feet in diameter).

(From "Celtic Antiquities of Orkney," in *Archæologia*, by Captain F. W. L. Thomas.)

Occasionally, as at Clava, the cairn is surrounded by a stone circle. At Callernish a small chambered cairn was placed within the circle. Cremation is the prevailing sepulchral custom, both in the circles and the



View of one of the Chambered Cairns at Clava, near Inverness, with its surrounding Stone Circle.

(From a drawing by Rev. Dr. J. Joass.)

chambered cairns. It is worthy of remark, that while these stone circles occur sparsely among the Brochs and chambered cairns of the north and

west of Scotland, they attain their principal development in Pictland proper, and are most abundantly found in the region between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Tay.

"In the absence of any direct testimony to that effect," says Mr Fergusson, "one of the most obvious reasons for believing that the circles are of the same age as the Brochs is the mode in which they are all mixed up together and apparently parts of one contemporaneous group." But, as I have before remarked, the "mixed up" argument must be put out of court as unphilosophical and unscientific. If the area to which it was applied were not Orkney, but Scotland, or Denmark, or London, or Jerusalem,



Urn found inverted over burnt bones in the Stone Circle of Tuack, near Kintore, Aberdeenshire. (12 inches in height.)

Mr Fergusson would be the first to protest against it. He overlooks the fact that the stone circles in the Norwegian area of Scotland are few,¹ while

¹ Mr Fergusson speaks of them as "the circles which are found at Stennis in the Orkneys, at Callernish in the Hebrides, and *occasionally* on the mainland," as if their occurrence in the Northern and Western Isles were the rule, and in the mainland the exception. Precisely the opposite of this, however, is the fact. Properly

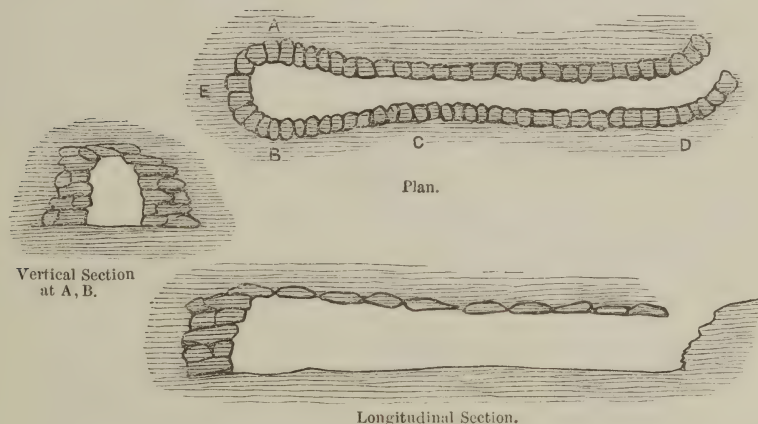
beyond that area there are many. Moreover, the few in Orkney are of the same character as the many in the Celtic region of Scotland, and they differ in character and contents from the *Sten-satninger* of Norway. Those of the Scottish circles that have been examined have yielded interments of the Bronze Age, which was long over both in this country and in Norway before the Vikings came to Orkney. The pottery found in them is specially Celtic in character, and differs in form, texture, and ornamentation from all the varieties of sepulchral pottery found in Norway. No urn of the form and character here figured (p. 349 from the Stone Circle of Tuack, Aberdeenshire) was ever found in Norway.

But the question of the structural and other differences between the stone circles of this country and those of Norway is too large a subject to be entered on here. It is sufficient for the present purpose that the few in the Orkneys do not differ in character from the many in Pictland, and that these are not only under no suspicion of Norwegian origin, but are not open to the objection of being "mixed up" with Brochs.

Eirde-Houses.—The eirde-houses or *weems* range along the east coast of Scotland from Shetland to Berwickshire, although they attain their chief development in the region lying between the Tay and the Spey. They are long, narrow curved galleries, formed beneath the natural surface level. The opening is often beside or within the remains of a structure on the surface which has been of less substantial construction, and is almost entirely obliterated. They seem thus to have been subterranean adjuncts to the overground sites of habitations of slighter materials. They present (like the Brochs) a curious similarity of plan and construction.¹ A low and narrow entrance slopes downwards to the floor-level of the chamber, which speaking, there are no Stone Circles in Orkney unless at Stennis. The others (of which there are but three or four) may or may not have been "Stone Circles," but they are now in such a condition that it is impossible to say that they were ever like that at Brogar. But allowing that there were six in Orkney, the number in Aberdeenshire must have been nearer sixty than six.

¹ The four instances of which illustrations are given—viz., at Eriboll, Sutherlandshire, Crichton Mains, Edinburghshire, Newstead, Roxburghshire, and Broomhouse, Berwickshire—are selected partly to illustrate the geographical range of the eirde-houses, and partly because they happen to be *dissimilar* in plan. The general resemblance of the eirde-houses to one another may be studied in the numerous plates given of them throughout the Society's Proceedings. No class of structural remains has been more fully illustrated.

is elongated, curved generally to the left, and gradually widening to the back, which is often rounded off instead of being terminated by a straight wall. The side walls are sometimes built, at other times they are constructed almost entirely of single stones set on edge. The roof is composed of flat slabs laid across, and sometimes the opposite walls are constructed so as to converge considerably inwards, thus lessening the space to be

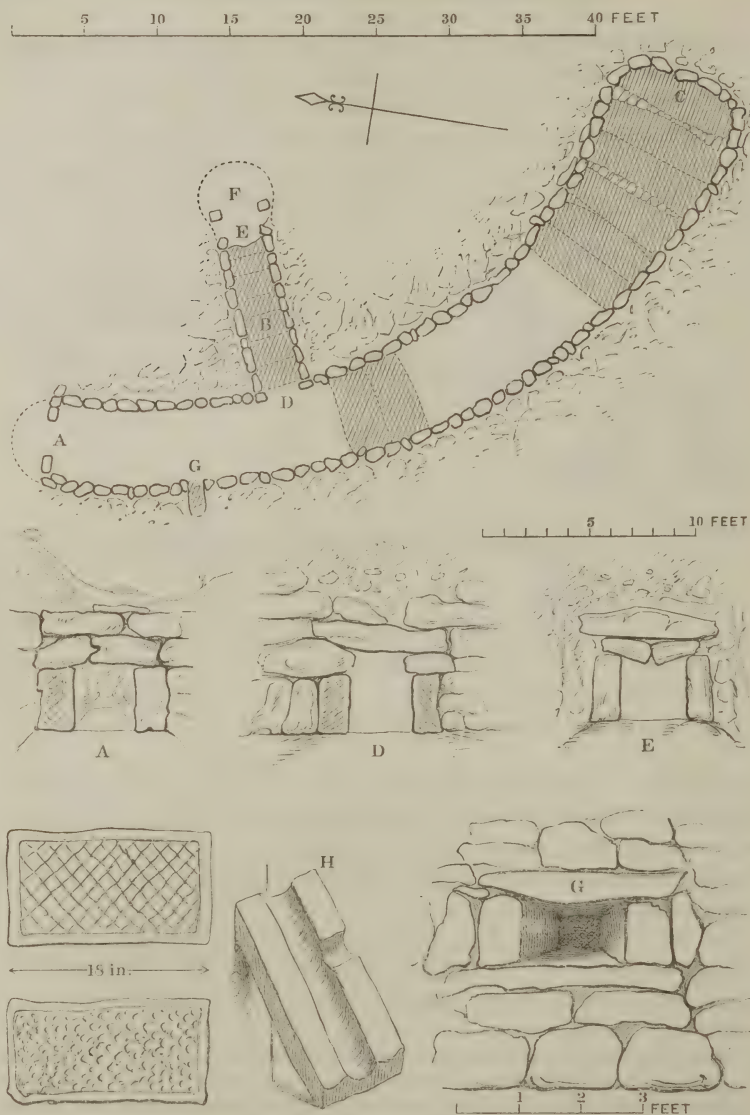


Plan and Sections of Eirde-House at Eriholl, Sutherlandshire.
(From Plan by Dr Arthur Mitchell.)

lintelled over. Occasionally a small circular or oblong bee-hive chamber branches off from one side of the main gallery. This chamber is frequently roofed in the same manner as the chambers in the Brochs and in the chambered cairns, by the gradual convergence of the side walls so as to form a rudely-constructed dome.

But although the Eirde-Houses, like the Brochs, generally present a striking similarity of plan and construction, they also vary greatly in dimension and detail, as the following table will show¹ :—

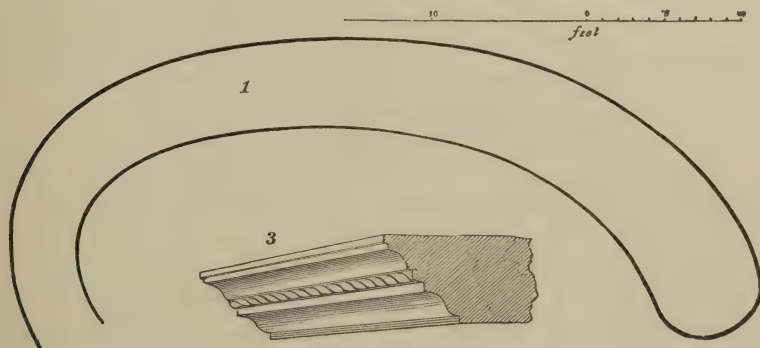
¹ This table might easily have been made to include double or treble the number of examples given; but there is no necessity for an exhaustive detail of the characteristics of these structures in this connection. It is sufficient to show their general features and their geographical range in Scotland.



Plan and Sections of Eirde House at Crichton Mains, Edinburghshire. Three chisel-dressed stones inserted in its walls are shown at H.

Eirde Houses.	Length.	Width at Entrance.	Width at End.	Greatest Height.
	Feet.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
1. Tealing, Forfarshire,	80	2 6	8 6	5 8
2. Buchaam, Newe, Aberdeenshire,	58	3 6	9 3	7 0
3. Middleton, Edinburghshire,	57	2 6	5 8	5 6
4. Newstead, Roxburghshire,	54	4 0	7 0	6 0
5. Eriboll, Durness, Sutherland,	33	2 0	3 6	4 6
6. Crichton, Edinburghshire,	51	1 10	9 0	6 0
7. Drummahoy, Castle Fraser, Aberdeen,	51	2 0	6 0	6 0
8. Pirnie, Wemyss, Fife,	50	2 8	7 0	8 0
9. Clova, Aberdeenshire,	50	4 6	6 9	5 8
10. Culsh, Tarland, Aberdeenshire,	47	2 0	6 0	6 0
11. Conan, Forfarshire,	46	2 6	8 6	5 6
12. Safester, Shetland,	45	1 4	2 6	2 6
13. Migvie, Aberdeenshire,	41	1 10	6 0	6 0
14. Fallaws, Forfarshire,	36	1 9	6 0	5 6
15. Kinord, Aberdeenshire,	21	1 6	3 0	2 6
Average,	50	2 9	6 3	5 6

Although these structures are quite as much "mixed up" with the Brochs as the stone circles are, Mr Fergusson has not alluded to them.¹

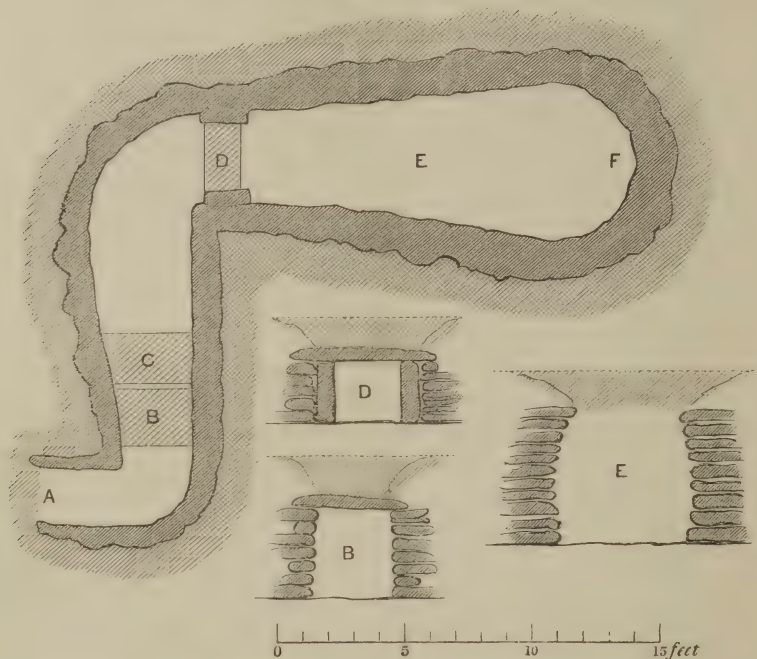


Outline of Ground-plan of Eirde-House at Newstead, Roxburghshire, and Stone with Moulding found in it.

Yet they form an element in the problem of the determination of the origin of the Brochs quite as important as any of those that he has discussed.

¹ Eight of these eirde-houses, for instance, are recorded as occurring in Sutherlandshire.

They show beyond the possibility of doubt, that, centuries before the Vikings came to the Orkneys, the Celts were habitually constructing long



Ground-plan and Sections of Eirde-House, with double curve, at Broomhouse, Berwickshire.

covered galleries and vaulted chambers of dry-stone building essentially similar to those of the Brochs. The occurrence of the red ware, commonly called Samian, in so many of these eirde-houses proves that they must have been constructed and occupied at no great distance of time from the Roman occupation of the southern part of the country, which came to a close four centuries before the Vikings made any permanent settlement in the Orkneys.

I have already shown that the earlier sepulchral structures of the Celts were also distinguished by these prominent constructive features, the long

horizontal gallery and the vaulted chamber. Thus the principal features that are characteristic of the Broch structure were specialties peculiar to the Celts for centuries before the Vikings had begun to frequent the Scottish seas, while they are features that were unknown to the Vikings in their own land, and, so far as their own Sagas afford evidence, unpractised by them even after their settlement on Celtic territory.

CONCLUSIONS.

On a general review of the foregoing considerations, the following conclusions appear to me to have been established :—

(1.) That the Brochs are allied by their structural characteristics to the Celtic and not to the Norwegian group of stone monuments, in which no instance of a vaulted chamber ever occurs.

(2.) That their geographical range, which is confined to Scotland alone, and their local distribution, imply their native origin, and are incompatible with the theory that they were built by the Norwegians.

(3.) That the Norwegian remains from graves of the Viking period in Scotland are wholly similar to the remains of the Viking period in Norway, and thus form a group easily distinguishable from the group of Celtic remains with which they are locally associated.

(4.) That the general *facies* of the group of relics found in the Brochs agrees completely with that of the group of relics of the post-Roman period of Celtic Scotland, and that this is sufficient evidence that their occupants were not Norwegian.

(5.) That the Chambered Cairns are earlier than the Brochs and consequently cannot belong to the Viking time, and that they have no analogy with the tumuli of the Iron Age in Norway.

(6.) That the Stone Circles are also earlier than the Brochs, and that they differ widely in character and contents from the Circles of the Iron Age in Norway.

(7.) That Mr Fergusson's case for the Vikings as the constructors of the Brochs, Stone Circles, and Chambered Cairns of the Orkneys and the North of Scotland, is not supported by relevant evidence; that his arguments are destitute of sufficient foundation in fact; and that the *onus probandi* lies altogether with those who assert that the Viking practice in Scotland was different from the Viking practice everywhere else.

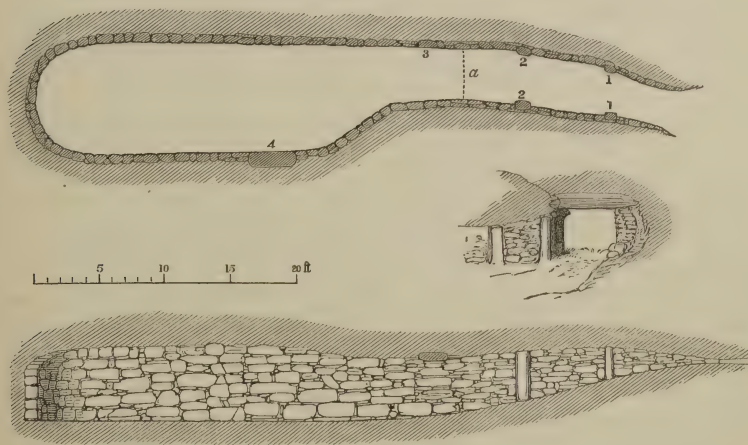
X.

NOTES OF THE OPENING OF TWO EIRDE-HOUSES AT CLOVA, KILDRUMMY, ABERDEENSHIRE, AND OF A CIST WITH AN URN AND FLINT IMPLEMENTS AT NEW LESLIE. BY HUGH GORDON LUMSDEN, OF ACHINDOIR AND CLOVA, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

Eirde-House No. 1.—The structure now under notice is one of a number of weems or earth houses situated in the moor of Clova, Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire. It is the northmost one of two, which were cleared out (being mostly filled with earth and stones) under the personal superintendence of Hugh G. Lumsden, of Auchindoir, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., in the autumn of 1875. The ground on which they are situated belongs to C. P. Gordon, Esq. of Wardhouse and Kildrummy, who likewise evinced great interest in the operation, and visited the work several times. The progress was slow, as the weather was often very rigorous, with snow and severe frosts; and notwithstanding the subsoil being gravelly, the water did not sink away so fast as the snow melted, which rendered the thorough searching of the earth a difficult operation. Scarcely anything was found which had belonged to the original inhabitants, except some broken querns and a stone (which was likewise broken), scooped out as for a lamp. In almost every part of the weem ashes and charred wood were found, mixed with bones of horses and other animals. No flint implement was found. It is probable that the earth in the weem had been turned over and searched formerly, as some of the oldest inhabitants in the neighbourhood remember smugglers making malt in the "Picts' houses." The site is a gently rising slope inclining to the east, dry, with an open gravelly subsoil as already mentioned. The weem runs nearly due east and west, curving round to the southward at the west or entrance end, where the entirety of the structure is destroyed, evidently by the stones being removed at some former period. The other or east end has suffered from the same cause. The flags were taken away in 1821 by a neighbouring farmer, to be lintels for doors in a farm-steading he was erecting at that time; the space uncovered by him is about six feet, but the rest of the roof is entire, as left by the original builders. It consists of one chamber rather irregularly built of stones, bearing no marks of hewing or hammering, without mortar; the entire length as it now stands is about 50 feet, the

width varying from about 4 feet 7 inches to 6 feet 8 inches, and the height from 5 feet to 5 feet 8 inches; the walls, as the section shows, are not perpendicular, but widen a little from the floor, while towards the roof they are made to converge somewhat by the stones overlapping each other, which admits of the roof being spanned over by stones of less dimensions than would otherwise have been required. Near the east end, and about 2 feet 6 inches from the floor, is an opening in the wall about 2 feet square, and extending 4 or 5 feet in a southerly direction. It appears as though it had come to the surface, although now defaced by the plough, and had probably been used as a door or entrance, or for watching their cattle, as there are vestiges of a fold about 20 yards from the place. The floor of the weem is roughly paved throughout.

Eirde-House No. 2.—In clearing out house No. 2, we commenced at the entrance, and found that the covers had been removed, extending as far



Plan and Sections of Eirde-House at Clova.

as where the first cover-stone is marked at *a* on the plan. The rest of the house is completely roofed in with large rough stones spanning the width. On clearing out the earth, we found that it mostly consisted of mould,

mixed with a great quantity of charcoal, bones, horses' teeth, and the jaws of dogs. Below that there was a depth of about a foot of sand, and below that again rough flag-stones. The sand, however, extended only about 10 feet from the entrance, after that there was nothing but earth with rough stones. The stones marked (1) at the entrance are upright pillars; those at (2) are the same; but (3) a stone with cup-markings on it; and No. (4) a large boulder with many cup-markings.

About eight feet distant from the house, we discovered a rough pavement of slabs about a foot and a half under ground, and about 7 feet in width. It seems to extend for some distance, but we only cleared a small space.

Cist found in New Leslie.—A stone cist or ancient grave was recently found on the farm of William Ingram, New Leslie. It contained a skeleton, and along with it was a very neatly made urn, a flint spear-head, and also a rough flint bearing marks of chipping. These were found in the sandy decayed granite below the urn.

The grave, which was made of slabs of what they call in these parts Coreen stone, was also covered with the same. It was about 4 feet long, and 2 feet 9 inches in width.

XI.

NOTE ON THE PTOLEMAIC GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

By CAPTAIN F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., F.S.A. Scot.

An error has been pointed out to Captain Thomas in his "Notes on the Ptolemaic Geography of Scotland" in the preceding volume of the Proceedings which he is anxious to correct. By inadvertence he has used 58° instead of 54° when calculating the difference of latitude between *Londinum* and *Novantarum Chersonesus prom.* The correct reading from line 18, p. 208, vol. xi. Pro. Soc. Antiq. Scot., is—"But the Ptol. latitude of London is 54°, so the Ptol. difference of latitude from London is 460 miles. The real difference of latitude between St Paul's and the Mull of Galloway is 187 miles, and the error of 273 miles is excessive. And the difference of longitude," &c.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

NINETY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1877-78.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING, *30th November 1877.*

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

A Ballot having taken place, the following Gentlemen were duly admitted Fellows :—

ROBERT BRUCE ARMSTRONG, Esq., Junior Carlton Club.

J. LAMBERT BAILEY, Esq., Ardrossan.

HENRY CAMPBELL BANNERMAN, Esq., M.P.

ROBERT BURNS BEGG, Esq., Solicitor, Kinross.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Esq., M.D., Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals,
H.M. Indian Army.

THOMAS A. CROAL, Esq., 16 London Street.

WILLIAM FETTES DOUGLAS, Esq., R.S.A.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, Esq., 4 Learmonth Terrace.

Rev. WILLIAM MAKELLAR, 8 Charlotte Square.

Rev. WILLIAM PETERS, Minister of the Parish of Kinross.

Colonel T. W. PREVOST, 25 Moray Place.

DAVID PRYDE, Esq., LL.D., 10 Fettes Row.

JOHN SHIEL, Esq., Solicitor, Dundee.

CHARLES WATSON, Esq., Writer, Dunse.

The Office-Bearers of the Society for the ensuing Session were elected as follows :—

Patron.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, K.T.

Vice-Presidents.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

ROBERT HORN, Dean of Faculty of Advocates.

Capt. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N.

Councillors.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, } *Representing the Board*
FRANCIS ABBOTT, } *of Trustees.*

JOHN R. FINDLAY.

Professor JOHN DUNS, D.D.

Rev. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D.

Sir J. NOEL PATON, LL.D., Kt., R.S.A.

Professor Sir C. WYVILLE THOMSON, LL.D., Kt.

Sir WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

THOMAS DICKSON, H.M. General Register House.

Secretaries.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, *Assistant Secretary.*

DAVID LAING, } *for Foreign Correspondence.*
WILLIAM FORBES, }

Treasurer.

DAVID DOUGLAS, 9 Castle Street.

Curators of the Museum.

ROBERT CARFRAE.

WILLIAM FETTES DOUGLAS, R.S.A.

Curator of Coins.

GEORGE SIM.

Librarian.

JOHN TAYLOR BROWN.

Auditors.

ROBERT HUTCHISON.

THOMAS B. JOHNSTON.

Publisher.

DAVID DOUGLAS, 9 Castle Street.

Keeper of the Museum.—JOSEPH ANDERSON.*Assistant.*—GEORGE HASTIE.

The following list gives the names of the Fellows deceased during the year, with the dates of their elections:—

Members Deceased, 1876-77.

	Elected
BUIST, ANDREW WALKER, of Berryhill, Fife,	1857
BURNS, WILLIAM, Belmont, Glasgow,	1875
COCHRANE, Rev. JAMES, Cupar-Fife,	1869
COVENTRY, ANDREW, of Pitillock,	1873
DRUMMOND, JAMES, R.S.A., Curator of Museum,	1848
DUNDAS, Sir DAVID, of Dunira, Bart.,	1827
GRAHAM, BARRON, of Morphie,	1852
HAMILTON, Right Hon. R. C. NISBET, of Dirleton,	1861
HEBDEN, ROBERT J., of Eday, Orkney,	1856
LOGAN, GEORGE, Clerk of Teinds,	1858
NEAVES, CHARLES, Hon. Lord Neaves,	1857
SINCLAIR, ALEXANDER,	1857
STUART, JOHN, LL.D., Secretary,	1853
THOMSON, THOMAS, W.S.,	1847
WINGATE, JAMES, Linnhouse, Hamilton,	1870

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society held on 30th November 1877, the list and brief notices of deceased members were read by Mr LAING, and he was requested to prepare these notices to be inserted in the "Proceedings," with such additions as might seem to be suitable, in order to record their sense of the great loss the Society has sustained in the death of these members, and more especially of Dr John

Stuart and Mr James Drummond, who for many years occupied important positions as office-bearers, and by their labours contributed greatly to the prosperity of the Society.

NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS, 1877.

The losses sustained this year by the Society have been very heavy, not so much as regards numbers,—this will at least be compensated for by the ballot of to-day,—but the vacancies occasioned by the deaths of Dr John Stuart, Lord Neaves, and Mr James Drummond cannot be easily supplied, as they were Fellows to whom the Society had been deeply indebted, having in their official capacities taken a prominent share in conducting its affairs for a lengthened period.

In beginning these notices with Dr Stuart and Mr James Drummond, it may be the most suitable place to insert the following extract from the Council Meeting held on the 13th November 1877 :—

“Meeting of the Council, Tuesday, 13th November 1877.

“The Council resolved unanimously to record on their Minutes their sense of the great loss they have recently sustained in the death of one of their Secretaries, Dr John Stuart, who had held this office since 1854, and during that time had thus occupied a prominent place both in the deliberations of the Council and in the ordinary business of the Society. They feel that in his death they have to lament the loss not merely of an able and zealous Secretary, but of an antiquary whose special knowledge was equally ripe and extensive, of an author whose numerous works bear testimony to his industry and research, and of an associate whose sterling qualities at all times commanded respect, and whose presence and influence will be much and long missed in the Society.

“The Secretary was requested to communicate an extract of this Minute to Mrs Stuart.

“Thereafter the Council resolved unanimously to record on their Minutes their sense of the great loss they have sustained in the death of one of the Curators of the Museum, Mr James Drummond, R.S.A., who had filled that office for the long period of twenty-six years. By his death they feel that they have lost one whose artistic faculty, no less

than his energy and ardour in antiquarian pursuits, contributed greatly in various directions to the prosperity of the Society, while his genial nature and his many admirable qualities as a friend and fellow-worker endeared him to all his associates.

"The Secretary was requested to communicate an extract of this Minute to Mrs Drummond."

Dr JOHN STUART was a native of Aberdeenshire, and was born at Forgue, in that county, in November 1813. He was educated at the Northern University, and having applied himself to the legal profession, was admitted in 1836 a member of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen.

After several years of practice, Mr Stuart came to reside in Edinburgh in 1853, on his appointment as one of the Official Searchers of Records in the General Register House, from which post he was, in 1873, advanced by the Lord Clerk Register to the Principal Keepership of the Register of Deeds.

In the year 1839, in concert with his friend Joseph Robertson, LL.D., he became the Founder and Secretary of the Spalding Club, Aberdeen. It was instituted for members interested in printing and illustrating the historical, ecclesiastical, genealogical, topographical, and literary remains of the north-eastern Counties of Scotland. This Club continued to flourish for upwards of thirty years, and issued thirty eight volumes in 4to. Of these thirty-eight volumes no less than fourteen were produced under the editorship of Dr Stuart. Of these contributions, the most important for archæology were Dr Stuart's two large and handsome volumes of "THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND," issued to the members in the years 1856 and 1867.

Mr Stuart had been elected a corresponding member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in April 1839, and, on coming to reside in Edinburgh, he joined the Society as a Fellow in December 1853. On the occasion of a vacancy in November 1854, he was induced to accept the office of Principal Secretary; and became a frequent contributor to the "Proceedings," although his exertions were still continued in behalf of other Societies. As separate works, he edited for this Society—(1) "Records of the Priory of the Isle of May," 1868; (2) "Records of the Monastery of Kinloss," 1872. Besides these, and two volumes of Extracts from the Council

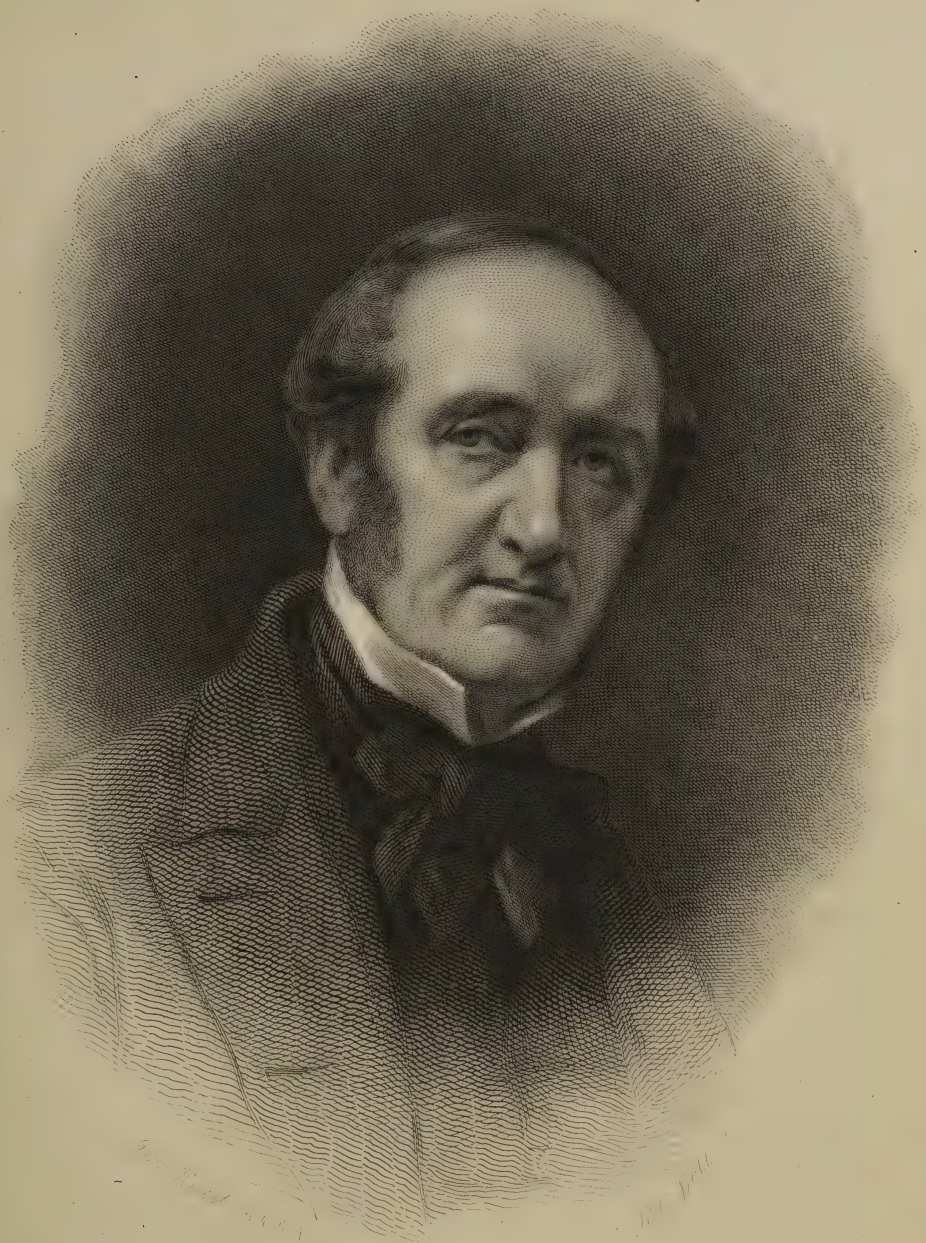
Registers of Aberdeen, which he edited for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, he fortunately had revised an elaborate paper on the history of the celebrated Crozier of St Fillan of Glendochart, Perthshire, and also an account of the Priory of Restennet, near Forfar, both of which are in course of publication by the Society, the first in the "Proceedings," the other in the "Archæologia." As a fitting recognition of the industry and learning displayed in the publication of so many valuable works, the University of Aberdeen, in 1866, conferred on Mr Stuart the degree of LL.D.

The Editors are much gratified in having it in their power to give the excellent engraved Portrait of Dr John Stuart, which appeared in the concluding volume of "Notices of the Spalding Club" in their series of Publications, 1839-71 (Edinburgh, 1871, 4to), from the painting by Mr George Reid, A.R.S.A., and engraved in a first-rate style by "R. C. Bell, Sc."

JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., Joint-Curator of the Society's Museum, was a native of Edinburgh, born at the Netherbow, 1st September 1816. In a newspaper notice it is said his parents occupied the house known as John Knox's: they may have occupied a portion of the building, which was divided into more than one shop and dwelling-place. In the Edinburgh Directories of the time, we find the name, "James Drummond," Grocer, No. 49 High Street (1816 to 1823).

In virtue of his father's claim as a burghess and member of the Merchant Company, James Drummond, on 4th October 1824, was admitted as a pupil in George Watson's Hospital, specially devoted to the education of the children of burghesses.

After leaving this institution he entered the employment of Captain Thomas Brown, then resident in Edinburgh, and author of several popular works on Natural History. If I mistake not, he also was employed by John Lizars, surgeon, in preparing anatomical drawings. With the view, however, of devoting himself to art, he became a student under Sir William Allan, then Master of the Drawing School of the Board of Manufactures. Here he proved an apt pupil, and was little more than eighteen years of age when one of his paintings found a place in the Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1835. Having con-



JOHN STUART LL.D.

tinued in later years a regular exhibitor, he was enrolled as an Associate of the Academy in 1846, and was elected an Academician in 1852. In 1848 he became a member of this Society, and rendered most valuable services as one of the Council and Joint-Curator of their Museum, during the rest of his life.

In 1868, on the death of Mr William B. Johnstone, R.S.A., a member of this Society, Mr Drummond was appointed to the very important office of Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland.

In later years he devoted his summer holidays to wanderings among neglected scenes in the Highlands of Argyllshire and other places, and he made a large collection of drawings of ancient crosses and sepulchral monuments. These drawings have fortunately been secured for the Society. He also, with equal zeal, took great interest in drawing the old buildings of Edinburgh, and other remarkable objects, many of which no longer exist. A proposal for publishing a selection of these sketches and drawings relating to Edinburgh has been submitted to the public, and has met with great approbation.

Two of the more important historical works painted by Mr Drummond, are happily preserved in the National Gallery, namely, "The Porteous Mob, 1736;" and "The Marquis of Montrose on his way to Execution at the Cross of Edinburgh." His communications to the Society may also be specially noticed, being subjects which admitted of interesting illustrations from his own sketches, for instance, his "Scottish Market Crosses;" "The Bloody Banner of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge;" "Highland Targets and other Shields;" "The Portraits of John Knox and George Buchanan;" "Mediæval Triumphs and Processions;" "Wanderings in the West Highlands; and Monumental Stones at Iona."—Mr Drummond died in August last at his residence at Royal Crescent.

THE HON. LORD NEAVES.—Charles Neaves was born in Edinburgh, October 14, 1800. His father, of the same name, was for many years connected with the Court of Session, and latterly held the office of Principal Clerk of the Court of Justiciary, and died in 1867 at the advanced age of ninety. His son Charles was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh. From the day he appeared as Dux of the Rector's Class

in July 1814, he continued to distinguish himself in the various positions in which he was placed. He came to the Bar in 1822, and soon became one of the best employed among the junior counsel. In 1841 he was Advocate-Depute, and Sheriff of Orkney and Shetland in 1845. He was made Solicitor-General for Scotland by Lord Derby's Government in 1852, and was raised to the Bench by the Government of Lord Aberdeen in May 1854, with the approbation and sympathy of the whole profession, and four years later he was made a Lord of Justiciary. In 1872 he was elected Rector of the University of St Andrews, and a second time in the year following. It is unnecessary to add that, as a Chairman of meetings, and as a Vice-President of the Society, he was a universal favourite; and being in the habit of joining the Annual Congress of the Royal Archæological Institute, in their pleasant excursions in various parts of England, on reaching the place of meeting the first question usually put to me was, "I hope you have brought Lord Neaves along with you?"

It is not necessary to notice various public matters contained in the newspapers recording his death. As might be expected from the name he himself assumed of "An Old Contributor to *Maga*," the most interesting of these accounts and eulogiums may be found in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for the month of March 1877, which closes with the following words:—"The books are closed now, and the chair empty, and the world so much the poorer. But his life was long and happy and prosperous, flowing steadily on through all interruptions to its peaceful close, surrounded by his family, in his seventy-seventh year."

ANDREW WALKER BUIST, of Berryhill, Abdie, Fifeshire, elected a Fellow of the Society in 1857, died on 1st May 1877, in the 61st year of his age. In early life he devoted his attention to natural history, and chiefly to the study of the native reptilia. He succeeded to the estate of Berryhill on the death of his father in 1865. It is worthy of being placed on record that his father, when a boy, walked four miles to and from his father's residence with his grandfather, who was born in 1690. The traditionary recollections, therefore, of these two lives extended to nearly one hundred and seventy years.

WILLIAM BURNS, a well-known citizen of Glasgow, was born in Saltcoats,

Ayrshire, December 4, 1808. Being destined for the law, he was apprenticed to a practitioner at Greenock, and while still a young man he came to Glasgow, where he continued to pursue his legal studies. He passed as a member of the Glasgow Faculty of Procurators in 1844, although he had been in business for several years previously, and was successful in his profession. He was the founder and a leading member of the Glasgow St Andrew's Society, and was induced to collect materials for an historical work, illustrating the early state and history of Scotland, chiefly in connexion with the "erection of a proposed national monument to the memory of the Scottish hero, William Wallace." This work appeared under the title of "The Scottish War of Independence: its Antecedents and Effects." Glasgow, 1874, 2 vols. 8vo. The volumes were well received, and a new edition, under the revisal of his learned friend, and one of our Honorary Members, M. Francisque Michel, was in progress at the time of Mr Burns's death, and may soon be expected. The Hon. Lord Shand, a Fellow of this Society, is his stepson.

Rev. JAMES COCHRANE, Cupar-Fife, was educated for the Church at the University of Edinburgh, and took his degree of A.M. in January 1828. While attending the classes at the College he acted as librarian to the Edinburgh Theological Library; and afterwards published an edition of the works of Hugh Binning, minister of Govan, near Glasgow, with a life of the author, and notes, Edinburgh, 3 vols, 1839, 12mo. He became one of the ministers of Cupar-Fife in 1843, about which time he published a volume of "Family Prayers," which passed through several editions, and other works, also much esteemed, and had the honour conferred on him of D.D. by the University of Edinburgh in 1871.

ANDREW COVENTRY, Advocate, was the son of Dr Andrew Coventry, Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh from 1790, who became a member of this Society in March 1796, and died in 1830. His son Andrew, born in 1801, was educated for the legal profession, and called to the Bar in 1823. It has been stated that "though he never distinguished himself in practice, succeeding as he did to a large fortune, he was considered a man of extremely cultivated tastes, and possessed a very varied store of knowledge."

Sir DAVID DUNDAS, of Beechwood, Bart.—Robert Dundas of Beechwood, Writer to the Signet, and one of the Principal Clerks of Session, became a member of this Society in 1794. He was created a baronet 24th July 1821. On his death in 1835 his son, who was born in 1803, succeeded to the title and estates. He passed as advocate at the Scottish Bar in 1824, and became a member of this Society in 1827.

BARRON GRAHAME, of Morphie, in the parish of St Cyrus, in Kincardineshire, who was born at Aberdeen in the year 1792, was the representative of the old family of Graham of Morphie. An account of the family will be found in the "Baronage of Angus and Mearns," by D. Macgregor Peter, p. 121 (Edin. 1856, 8vo). He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of A.M. His father was the third son of William Grahame of Morphie, and his mother was the only child of John Ewing, the author of the popular song, "The Boatie Rows." An account of John Ewing, who became Provost of Aberdeen, is given in the notes or illustrations of Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum," vol. iv. p. 441. "Owing to some difference of opinion in home circles (we are informed) about his future profession, Mr Grahame took the matter into his own hands by going to London and studying art at the Royal Academy. In London he lived with Robertson, the well-known miniature painter, whose weekly private concerts gave him that love of music he always retained. It is not known in what year he went to India, but his health having given way there, he returned to Scotland at the age of 25. After this he lived a desultory life, amusing and employing himself with agriculture and archæological studies, for art he never again practised." Yet his love and knowledge of art continued unabated to the last. Upon various occasions he acted as a member of Council of the Society.

Right Hon. ROBERT ADAM CHRISTOPHER NISBET-HAMILTON of Dirleton.—Robert Dundas was the eldest son of Philip Dundas, Esq., the elder brother of the first Viscount Melville, and grandson of the Lord President Dundas. After studying at the University of St Andrews, he was called to the Bar in the year 1826, but he changed his course of life, and devoted

himself to politics. In the same year he was returned to Parliament as the member for the burgh of Ipswich. Five years later he appeared as a candidate for the representation of Edinburgh, in opposition to Mr Jeffrey, and was successful, being the last Conservative candidate that has been returned for that city. In 1837 he again found a seat in Parliament, this time for North Lincolnshire, which county he continued to represent for twenty years. At that time he assumed the name of Christopher in lieu of Dundas, in compliance with the will of George Manners, Esq., of Bloxham Hall. In like manner, on his marriage with Lady Mary Bruce, sister of the Earl of Elgin, he succeeded to the maternal estates of Dirleton and Belhaven, when he took the additional names of Nisbet-Hamilton. As the proprietor of extensive estates he was acknowledged to be a kind and generous landlord, and devoted much of his time to improvements on agriculture, and also in improving the condition of the peasantry.

ROBERT FRASER HEBDEN, of Eday, N.B., and Ely Grange, Sussex, died at Villa Cidro, Sardinia, 17th May, aged sixty-five years. About the year 1850 he purchased the estate of Eday, and at once commenced to introduce an improved system of agriculture, which has been steadily progressing ever since, so that the natural resources of the island have been largely developed. Eday contains a fine specimen of a large "standing-stone," as well as numerous circular mounds of varied dimensions, some of which were opened by him. Indeed, he made considerable antiquarian researches over the island from time to time at his own expense; but although the property abounds in ancient tumuli, nothing of interest was discovered beyond a few flint flakes, some human skulls, and a sculptured stone, which he presented to the Museum. Some of Mr Hebden's explorations were made in conjunction with Mr Farrer of Ingleborough, who visited Orkney for a number of seasons in pursuit of this his favourite study; while, again, others were made in presence of the late Mr Petrie. Had Mr Hebden continued to reside on the Island, he would doubtless have carried on and extended those Archaeological investigations in which he took such a deep and intelligent interest. For the last ten years of his life he resided in Sardinia, and occasionally visited Eday in the shooting season; but from the time he ceased to

make the island his permanent residence nothing was done by him in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

GEORGE LOGAN, Clerk of Teinds, was a native of Berwickshire, born in 1799. He became a member of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet in 1822. In 1842 he was appointed Clerk of Teinds, and occupied this important position during the rest of his life : It was reckoned that " of this abstruse subject (Teinds) he knew probably more than any other person."

ALEXANDER SINCLAIR, born in June 1794, was the second son of the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart. Through his father's influence, he in early life obtained an appointment in the East India Company's Service, and in 1810 we find his name in the Civil Service List at Fort St George, Madras. In 1825 he is styled sub-collector and assistant-magistrate of Cuddapah. On more than one occasion he is marked as " at home," and finally retired from the service in 1844 with a handsome pension. On his return from the East he settled in Edinburgh during the greater part of his life, and became a member of this and other Societies. He chiefly, however, devoted himself to genealogical and historical pursuits, of which, it may be said, the only one he submitted to the public was his volume entitled " Dissertation upon Heirs Male," Edinburgh, 1857, 8vo. In addition to this he was in the habit of issuing among a few of his friends small tracts on collateral subjects, a selection of which, if collected, would form an interesting series.

Mr Sinclair bequeathed his extensive Genealogical collections to his nephew, the Earl of Glasgow, to be kept as heirlooms of the family. With a suitable regard to this bequest, his Lordship has printed some copies of a " Catalogue of Heraldic, Genealogical, and Antiquarian Books and Manuscripts " which belonged to the late Alexander Sinclair, Esq., Edinburgh, 1877, 4to, pp. 23. These are now deposited in his Lordship's seat at Crawford Priory, Cupar-Fife. A copy of the Catalogue has been presented to the Society.

Finding a volume in this collection of Mr Sinclair's tracts collected by himself, entitled " Miscellanea," and having obtained the use of it, I thought it worth while to transcribe the preface and the list of contents,

with his manuscript corrections. As the preface gives a general notice of these tracts, printed at different times, but no dates are affixed, it may here be inserted as explanatory of the chief objects of his long-continued inquiries.

Preface to a Volume of "Miscellanea, collected by Alexander Sinclair, 133 George Street, Edinburgh." 1876.

"I have been repeatedly urged by friends to gather my miscellaneous fugitive pieces, and make up a volume to follow my Collection of Scotch Stories. I have accordingly arranged my Jacobite Stories, and various instances of second sight, dreams, and apparitions. Papers on the Succession of the House of Baliol, and who now represent them; on the Earldom of March, and the Dunbars, and the heir to that ancient and illustrious family; on the Earldom of Mar, and its inheritance by the present Earl; Remarks on the Daughters of King James I. of Scotland; Miscellaneous Notices of Scotch Families; on the renowned Lords Percy, the ancestors of the Duke of Northumberland; on the effect of the destination of Peerages to heirs-male, with remarks and cases in refutation of Mr Riddell's strained objections to its comprehensive meaning; on the House of Roslin; on the history of the Macdonalds of the Isles; on the fatal Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was undertaken in opposition to former convictions, and long advocacy, as the only step to attaining power; on the war in France, with the prophecies regarding it, and comparisons of all the curious National Characteristics of Europe—and many smaller articles, of which an index is given."

THOMAS THOMSON, was the son of John Thomson, Esq., manager of the Royal Bank, Edinburgh. He was born at Aberdeen 7th June 1807. He was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1834, and carried on his professional business for many years under the firm of Rolland & Thomson. He joined the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847, and devoted much of his time to historical and antiquarian research, the first proof of which appeared in the elaborate and valuable account of the parish of Corstorphine, dated October 1839, and printed in the New Statistical Account, 1845, vol. i. p. 205–246. This account he contemplated to republish separately in a revised

and enlarged form. In the Society's "Proceedings" will be found various communications, and in particular the following in January, 1857, vol. ii. pp. 354 and 384 :—

"List of the Protocol Books, with some Notice of the other Records of the Borough of Canongate and Regality and Barony of Brochton, Edinburgh, with Extracts." Also,

"A Description of the Oldest Council Books and other Records of the Town of Haddington, with Copious Extracts."

"Notices of the Kers of Samuelston, &c., in illustration of the previous Deeds" (vol. iii. p. 64).

"List of the Protocol Books of the City of Edinburgh, with Extracts" (vol. v. p. 141).

The state of Mr Thomson's health for some years past rendered him unable for any continued application or research. He died at Colinton, 6th July last.

JAMES WINGATE, Linnhouse, Hamilton, well known and esteemed in Glasgow, was a marine insurance broker of the successful firm of Messrs Wingate, Birrell, & Co. He died suddenly, and was sincerely regretted by his many friends in that city, 21st May 1877, at the comparatively early age of fifty. As a member of this Society, he was chiefly known among Numismatists as a zealous and liberal collector of Scottish Coins. His collection was reckoned one of the finest existing, and he published a limited number of copies of a handsome volume, in quarto, of "Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland, drawn from Specimens existing in the Author's Cabinet," Glasgow, printed for the Author, 1868, 4to, pp. 146, with forty-four plates and two supplementary. Mr Wingate, however, sold by auction his magnificent collection at London, according to a carefully prepared Catalogue, in November 1875, forming three days' sale, many of the coins producing almost unexampled prices. The sum total amounted to £3263, 14s.

The Secretary then read to the Meeting the Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, approved by the Council, and ordered to be transmitted to the Lords of H.M. Treasury, as follows :—

ANNUAL REPORT of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Honourable the Board of Trustees for Manufactures for Scotland, for the year ending 30th September 1877.

During the past year the Museum has been open as formerly, except during the month of November, when it was closed as usual for cleaning and rearrangement.

The following table shows the number of visitors for each month during the year, distinguishing between day visitors and visitors on the Saturday evenings :—

Months.	Day Visitors.	Sat. Evenings.	Total.
October	4,346	772	5,118
December	6,192	1,030	7,222
January	16,182	877	17,059
February	4,502	764	5,266
March	5,334	903	6,237
April	4,398	551	4,949
May	7,934	783	8,717
June	9,422	995	10,417
July	22,166	1,161	23,327
August	18,862	1,141	20,003
September	10,005	1,316	11,321
Total	109,343	10,293	119,636
Previous Year,	110,300	10,210	120,510
Decrease, .	957	...	874
Increase, .	...	83	...

During the year 319 articles of antiquity have been presented to the Museum, and the Donations to the Library amounted to 146 volumes of books or pamphlets.

The Society has also obtained for the Museum the ancient historical relic known as THE QUIGRICH OR CROZIER OF ST FILLAN, partly by purchase, and partly by the donation of Mr Alexander Dewar of Plympton, in Canada, the last of the hereditary keepers of the relic, in whose possession it has been hereditarily from an unknown period, anterior to the reign of King Robert the Bruce.

ARTHUR MITCHELL, *Sec.*

MONDAY, 10th December 1877.

DAVID MILNE HOME, Esq., LL.D., in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

THOMAS COATS, Esq., of Ferguslie, Paisley.

Rev. JAMES COOPER, M.A., Minister of St Stephens, Broughty Ferry.

JAMES M. GOW, Esq., Union Bank, George Street.

Rev. ALEXANDER BALLOCH GROSART, LL.D., Blackburn, Lancashire.

Rev. DAVID K. GUTHRIE, Minister of the Free Church, Liberton.

ROBERT CRAIG MACLAGAN, M.D., 5 Coates Crescent.

JOHN PRINGLE, M.D., Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, 27 Rutland Square.

WILLIAM THOMSON, Esq., of Craig Binning.

Rev. JOHN WOODWARD, M.A., Incumbent of St Mary's, Montrose.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

- (1.) By the TRUSTEES of the late JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., Principal Curator of the National Gallery, and Joint Curator of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

A Bequest made by the late Mr Drummond to the Society from his Collection, to be deposited in the Museum, consisting of the following articles :—

Iron Mask, being a knight's helmet of the 16th century, converted into a closed mask, perhaps as an instrument of punishment or torture. (Described and figured by Mr Drummond in the "Proceedings," vol. viii. p. 428.)

Highland Target, covered with leather, ornamented in tooled work, and bearing in the centre the heraldic cognisance of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles. (Described and figured by Mr Drummond in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 188, and "Archæologia Scotica," vol. v. p. 213.)

Highland Powder-Horn, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, engraved on one side with figures engaged in the chase, and on the other with interlaced work, and bearing a monogram, read by Mr Drummond as "Sir George Mackenzie." (Described in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 503.)

Flat Powder-Horn, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, engraved with scrolls and interlaced work, and bearing the date 1685. The mouth of the horn, which is broken, is mounted with an inlaying of lead.

Flat Powder-Horn, 6 inches in length, the top carved in representation of the mouth of an animal, and the flat sides engraved with floriated ornaments and cross hatching. One side bears the representation of a stag, and on the other is the date 1708.

Flat Powder-Horn, 6 inches in length, 3 inches across the top, and wanting the cover, engraved on one side with the figure of Bellona seated, and on the other with a group of figures representing an unarmed man kneeling before a leader on horseback surrounded by spearmen, camels or giraffes in the distance. On the bottom, which is of wood, is carved the date 1673, W.R.P.

Flat Powder-Horn, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, ornamented with floral scrolls in high relief on a diapered ground.

Small flask-like Powder-Horn, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, plain, with slight ornamental mouldings round the bottom, middle, and top.

Powder-Horn, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with mountings of brass.

Powder-Horn, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with mountings of iron.

Small Priming-Horn, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with mountings of brass.

Small triangular portion of stag's horn hollowed, pierced with small holes on the opposite sides, and having one of its flat faces carved with a representation of the Judgment of Paris.

Powder-Horn, 6 inches in length, stained red, and finely carved in low relief, with representations, in separate panels, of Adam and Eve under the tree from which the serpent offers the apple. Round this panel is inscribed ADAM · HAVEN · EVAM · LOVEN, and below it on a band running round the middle of the horn HALVOR OLSSON EGEN HAND DEN 2 APRILIS ANO 1729. In ten compartments, disposed so as to fill up the remaining portion of the surface of the horn, are the figures of some of Charlemagne's champions and other heroes of Mediæval Romance, viz. :—Olger, Roland, Otuel, Burman, Langol, Karel, Vidrik and Tidrik, all

mounted on horseback. These, with Daniel as Bel and the Dragon, and Samson tearing the jaws of the lion, which occupy two of the compartments, make up the total number of eleven subjects represented round the horn. The bottom is of wood, elegantly carved with a hexafoil device.

Powder-Horn, 10 inches in length, and similarly carved with figure subjects in somewhat higher relief. The central subject is Adam and Eve, and the Serpent in the tree, and round the circumference of the horn in separate compartments, the champions of Christendom, with Samson and Delilah, David and the Lion, and Daniel and the Drake. The bottom of the horn, which is of wood, is not carved.

Powder-Horn, 8 inches in length, with the figures of twelve champions on horseback in high relief, separated by inscribed bands bearing the names of the warriors, as Samson, Roland, Oliver, &c., and by longitudinal bands bearing the following inscriptions:—

DISSE KIEMPER HAVER ALLE VAERET STERKE OG UDSTAT NAAR DE
KAMP... HIER OC VOET LIV OG... HEDNINGENE FOR DEN KRISTELLIGE TRO.
EFTER MIN FORNUFT OG RINGEFORSTANER GIORT AF MIN EGEN HAND
TRON OLSEN OG ER GIORT TIL QVARTERMEISTER SIN . . . ANO 1773.

Powder-Horn, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, covered with a twisted ribbon pattern, and inscribed round the mouth NILS TORMOSON.

Powder-Horn, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, very rudely carved in relief, with Adam and Eve and the Serpent as a centre-piece, and figures of men with swords and axes, engaged in conflict with beasts.

Sealskin Sporrán or Belt-Purse, 6 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with tassel of leather thongs, and square brass mounting or clasp, opening on a hinge at the angles, and ornamented with a row of concentric circles, with central dots.

Sealskin Sporrán or Belt-Purse, 6 by 8 inches, with tassel of leather thongs, and semi-circular mounting or clasp of brass, opening on a hinge at the angles, and ornamented with studs and pierced open work.

Small Sporrán or Belt-Purse of dogskin, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches, with tassel of leather, and semi-circular mounting or clasp of silver opening at the angles, and with an engraved knob in the centre and two plain knobs at the hinges.

Highland Dirk, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with handle of dark wood, beautifully carved with interlaced work, and with circular brass mounting on the top. The blade is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide where it joins the handle, the back being $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in thickness, and orna-



Highland Dirk, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

mented with a brass border, dovetailed and riveted on to the blade 3 inches in length, and engraved with a scroll pattern. Below this the blade is pierced from side to side with three circular perforations $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter and 1 inch apart, and from the centre of these are three similar perforations at right angles to them, opening in the centre of the back. On one side the blade is inscribed, A SOFT ANSUEUR TOURNETH AWAY WRATH. On the other side is the distich—

THEY KING AND COUNTRIES CAUSE DEFEND
THOUGH ON THE SPOT YOUR LIFE SHOULD END.

Ivory Handle of a Hunting Knife, finely carved, found in draining near the margin of Loch Leven, in Kinross-shire. The handle terminates in a pommel-like knob, carved on one side into the representation of a lion's head, with open jaws, the chin resting on the paws of the animal, and underneath them an oblong shield bearing three lions *courant*. The back of the knob shows a human face helmeted, with three grotesque faces underneath. In the handle is inserted an engraved blade, bearing on one side a crucifix and a shield with three mullets, and on the other St Andrew on his cross and a shield "tierce in bend," and below it, on the same side, a cross fitchee with crosslets.

Pair of old Bagpipes, with mountings of lead and horn.

Touting Horn, 27 inches in length, made of the horn of an ox, brass-mounted.

Old Scottish musical instrument, called "The Stock-and-Horn," a species of flageolet, 22 inches in length, the pipe of ebony, mounted with

bone or ivory, and the lower part of horn. This instrument, which is well known to readers of the "*Gentle Shepherd*," was not uncommon in



The Stock-and-Horn (22 inches in length).

the southern districts of Scotland in the last century, but is now rarely to be met with. A similar instrument, called the *pibcorn*, is still in use in Wales.

There were also exhibited :—

A Collection of Drawings by the late Mr James Drummond, R.S.A., purchased at the sale of his Collection.

This purchase was effected by the aid of subscriptions received from the following gentlemen, Fellows of the Society, and others, by whom it was felt that an opportunity of acquiring a collection so distinctively national in its character should not be allowed to pass without an effort being made to secure its preservation as part of the National Collection illustrative of the Antiquities of Scotland, with which Mr Drummond had been so long and so intimately connected :—

Francis Abbott, Esq.
Robert Anderson, Esq.
R. B. Armstrong, Esq.
Alexander Ballantine, Esq.
John Bonnar, Esq.
Thomas Bonnar, Esq.
T. Dawson Brodie, Esq.
William Brodie, Esq., R.S.A.
John Taylor Brown, Esq.
George Burnett, Esq.
Edward Burns, Esq.
Robert Carfrae, Esq.
James Cassie, Esq., R.S.A.
David Chalmers, Esq.
G. P. Chalmers, Esq., R.S.A.

Thomas Chapman, jun.
Robert Clark, Esq.
James Cowan, Esq., M.P.
Robert Cox, Esq.
James T. Gibson Craig, Esq.
Alexander Curle, Esq.
David Dickson, Esq.
Thomas, Dickson, Esq., General
Register House.
David Douglas, Esq.
William Fettes Douglas, Esq.,
R.S.A.
Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.
Professor John Duns, D.D.
John Ritchie Findlay, Esq.

William Ferguson, Esq.	Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D.
William Forbes, Esq.	Andrew Muirhead, Esq.
Patrick Allan Fraser, Esq.	Sir J. Noel Paton, Kt., LL.D.
Alexander Gibson, Esq.	R. W. Cochrane Patrick, Esq.
Mrs Henderson.	Rev. Robert Rainy, D.D.
Robert Herdman, Esq., R.S.A.	William Reid, Esq.
David Milne Home, Esq.	John F. Rodger, Esq.
Robert Horn, Esq., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.	Charles Scott, Esq.
John Hutchison, Esq., R.S.A.	George Sim, Esq.
Robert Hutchison, Esq.	Charles Sidey, Esq.
Thomas B. Johnston, Esq.	John Alexander Smith, M.D.
Andrew Kerr, Esq.	Robert M. Smith, Esq.
David Laing, Esq.	J. Irvine Smith, Esq.
David Macgibbon, Esq.	Thomas Stevenson, Esq., C.E.
Thomas M'Kie, Esq.	Lockhart Thomson, Esq.
William M'Taggart, Esq., R.S.A.	Henry George Watson, Esq.
James D. Marwick, Esq.	George Waterston, jun.
Peter Miller, Esq.	John White, Esq.

The collection includes :—

I. Portfolio of drawings of sculptured slabs, crosses, and monumental effigies in the island of Iona, viz :—

1. Pencil-drawing of the trilithon at Cladh an Diseart, as it was when the lintel stone was on the two uprights.

2. Water-colour sketch of the same, with the Cathedral in the background.

3. Sheet with four small drawings, viz :—

(a.) A fragment of a sculptured slab, showing on one side a griffin, with tail passing into a floral scroll; in the centre, a dagger or short sword, with reversed guard; and on the other side, a floral scroll—the whole surrounded by a double moulding.

(b.) Stone coffin open in the ground at the Cathedral.

(c.) Stone coffin open, marked with cross on one end.

(d.) Coped stone coffin lid and flat slab.

4. Sheet with three drawings, viz :—

(a.) Slab measuring 4 feet 6 inches in length, and 2 feet 5 inches in breadth, having a cross of early character, formed of two parallel bands,

interlaced into an expanded semi-circular ending at the four ends of the arms of the cross, which occupy the centres of each of the four sides of the stone; while they are also interlaced into a square pattern at their intersection in the centre of the stone.

(b.) A small fragment of the shaft of a cross, with interlaced work of late date.

(c.) Side view of the same fragment, showing a galley low in the sides, and with high prow and stern. In the prow is a human figure standing, and in front a griffin, with its paws outstretched towards him. Four or five other figures appear indistinctly.

5. Sheet with five drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Two small incised crosses in the cave at Loch Caolisport.

(b.) Small headstone of undressed stone, with rudely-incised cross of early character.

(c.) Similar headstone, with cross having expanded triangular endings.

(d.) Two sides of a similar headstone; one having a double cross, the other a plain equal-armed cross—both with straight and rectangular outlines.

(e.) Similar headstone, with a Latin cross in relief, of straight rectangular outlines.

6. Sheet containing three drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Small undressed headstone, with Latin cross—the arms connected by a circle;—St Oran's.

(b.) Boulder stone, 20 inches in length, by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, naturally rounded and water-worn, having on its flattest surface a cross, the arms of which are connected by a circle;—Cladh an Diseart. This stone is figured and described by Mr Drummond as "St Columba's Pillow-Stone" in the "Proceedings," vol. x. p. 615.

(c.) Headstone of squarish form on the upper part, undressed below, 30 inches in length, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, having a cross formed of two parallel lines, which diverge into scrolls at the top and at the ends of the arms.

7. Unmounted drawing of a stone, similar to that noticed above as St Columba's Pillow-Stone, pear-shaped, and having a plain cross with crutch-like endings. There is a pencil note to the drawing, in Mr Drummond's hand, as follows :—"Found when taking down an outhouse

behind the manse—the site of Kilchaimnich, Iona. Now at the Cathedral, July 1876. Measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 13 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.”

8. Unmounted drawing of a slab, with two figures in armour side by side, each under a Gothic canopy; below them a galley with sail set, and round the border an inscription:—

HIC JACET JOHANNES MACCEAIN DOMINUS DE ARDNAMURCHAN ET MARIOTA
MACCEAIN SOROR EJUS SPONSA MACCOLINI MACDUFFIE DOMINI DE DUN-
EINN IN COLONSAY HANC LAPIDEM EMIT SUO FRATRI.

9. Sheet with six drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Oblong roughly-shaped stone, 16 inches long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, with a cross having its arms in the middle of the shaft, the arms short, and the spaces at the intersections hollowed in a semi-circular form.

(b.) Small standard cross of very rude workmanship, 22 inches high, 9 inches broad.

(c.) Small standard cross, broken, very rude, 20 inches high, 10 inches broad.

(d.) Headstone with incised cross of the Latin form, 3 feet 6 inches long and 18 inches broad.

(e.) An irregular oblong slab, 5 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, with incised cross nearly the length of the stone, the arms connected by a circle.

These five stones are at the Nunnery.

(f.) Standing cross slab, 4 feet high by 14 inches in breadth, having a cross in slight relief nearly of the length of the stone, and with its arms connected by a circle.

10. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with incised cross, rudely made, and with its arms connected by a circle.

(b.) Slab with similar cross, having an enlarged bulbous termination at the foot. Along the side of the cross is the inscription, in Irish characters—

OR AN ARMJIN EOTJIN

11. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Standing cross-slab, broken at sides, having a cross in relief nearly the length of the stone, and with the arms connected by a circle.

(b.) Standing cross-slab of the same description, but with a cross the interior of which is filled with interlaced work.

Both these are at the Nunnery.

12. Sheet with four drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Squarish slab with incised cross formed by double incised parallel lines, the arms connected by a circle, and the foot having a semicircular expansion.

(b.) Similar slab with similar cross, but of smaller size, and the circle formed of four lines instead of two.

(c.) Standing slab of small size, having in the upper part a square panel with an incised cross, with the arms connected by a circle; and on one side of the foot of the cross a heart, on the other a chalice;—St Oran's.

(d.) Unshaped slab with plain incised cross of the Latin form.

13. Drawing of the floor of one of the small cells at the Cathedral, showing four slabs with incised crosses (one of which has a Gaelic inscription), forming part of the pavement.

14. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Oblong slab, with rounded ends, and a line down the middle separating it into two compartments. In one of these compartments are two crosses placed with their heads towards the opposite ends of the stone. In the other are two crosses similarly placed, one of which is partially broken away.

(b.) Obverse and reverse of an oblong headstone, with a cross on each, having the arms connected by a circle.

15. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 9 inches long, narrower at bottom than at top, with a long floriated cross the full length of the stone, and the spaces on each side of the shaft filled up with floral scroll work. At the bottom are two pairs of shears, point to point.

(b.) Slab of similar character, 6 feet 2 inches in length, entirely covered with floral scrolls and twisted work; at the bottom a single pair of shears.

16. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet 2 inches long, upper part a floral device, lower part filled up with six circular intertwisted devices of scrolls proceeding from the tails of three nondescript animals.

(b.) Slab, 6 feet long, with cross formed of a straight stem with trifoliate branches at regular intervals, which fill up the spaces on either side of the stem. At the Nunnery.

17. Sheet with four drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, with sunk panel down the centre, filled in with a winding stem and tricuspid foliations.

(b.) Head of slab, with cross-head of interlaced branches.

(c.) Foot of slab, with shears.

(d.) Foot of slab, with shears and blank panel and commencement of floriated work. At the Nunnery.

18. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 3 inches in length, with three crosses occupying a panel at the foot, a bird and beast occupying a panel at the head, and the middle part filled in with floriated tracery.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 2 inches in length, with cross composed of a single stem, bifurcating to form an interlaced expansion of semicircular outline at top and bottom, and an interlaced octagonal centre piece, the two transverse arms terminating in leaf-like expansions. An animal form and a floral scroll are placed on each of the panels above the transverse arms, the long panels on either side of the stem are blank. At the Nunnery.

19. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 3 inches in length, having a plain border round a sunk panel nearly the whole width of the stone, and filled up with two inter-twisting stems and foliage, forming a series of five circular devices.

(b.) Slab, 6 feet 3 inches in length, having a cross formed of inter-lacing stems, which are prolonged in floriated tracery down the whole of the slab. At the Nunnery.

20. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet 9 inches in length, with nail-head borders, a galley at top, floriated tracery proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals extending throughout the remainder of the slab, and in the centre, in a small niche in the tracery, a man in armour with spear and sword.

(b.) Slab, 6 feet 3 inches in length, with similar floriated tracery, but the design is separated into two parts in the centre by the figure of a galley. St Oran's churchyard.

21. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with triple mouldings along the edges, and the upper part filled with intertwisting stems proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals, the interspaces filled with foliage for about three-fourths of the length of the slab. On a small panel at one side near the upper part of the slab is a chalice and oblong figure, probably of a book. Above is a transverse panel with remains of inscription, and above that the remaining space is filled with foliage.

(b.) Slab with double moulding round the edges, and sunk panel on the flat upper surface, extending the whole length of the slab, and filled with foliage proceeding from two undulating stems. Both these slabs are at St Oran's churchyard.

22. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with single moulding round the edges and having in a square panel at the top a representation of an altar on which is a chalice and a standard cross, the arms of which are connected by a circle. A priest stands before the altar in the attitude of benediction, and behind him an attendant. The remainder of the slab is occupied by a sword with pommel of nine lobes and reversed guard, the spaces on either side of the blade being filled up with foliage, and those on either side the hilt with animals.

(b.) Slab with double moulding round the edges, the flat surface occupied by a floriated cross, the stem of the cross expanding into a semicircular base. The space on the one side is occupied by a sword with five-lobed pommel and guard slightly curved towards the point, and that on the other with foliated tracery. St Oran's churchyard.

23. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with double moulding and nail-head ornament, panels of interlaced work at top and bottom. The middle part is occupied by a sword with pommel of seven lobes and reversed guard, and the spaces on either side filled in with floriated tracery.

(b.) Slab with double moulding and double row of nail-head ornament, panel of interlaced work at top, the rest of the slab occupied with floriated tracery proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals. St Oran's churchyard.

24. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with bevelled edge and rope moulding, having a panel filled with foliage proceeding from a single stem winding from side to side round its broad vine-like leaves, the stems of which springing alternately from either side and curving in the opposite direction from the curve of the main stem form a series of circles each enclosing a leaf.

(b.) Slab with double moulding, alternating with a double row of quatrefoils or tooth ornaments, and in the centre a sunk panel extending nearly the whole length of the stone, and filled with intertwisted foliated tracery.

25. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 4 inches in length, in the centre a floriated cross occupying the whole length of the stone, and having a semicircular expansion at the foot, on one side of the cross-shaft a sword with pommel of nine lobes and reversed guard, on the other two winding stems with intertwisted foliage.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 6 inches in length, having in the centre a cross longitudinally divided, and the two parts interlaced at their intersection with those of the arms and of the circle which connects the arms. On one side of the shaft is a sword of the same character as that on the slab previously described. The other side is filled with foliage, and in the upper corner is a triquetra.

26. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with plain single moulding, half the interior surface filled with a pattern of two stems undulating but not intertwisting, and the other half occupied by a sword with conical pommel and guard curved towards the point.

(b.) Slab with double rope moulding, having a plain moulding between. In the centre is a sunk panel extending nearly the whole length of the stone. The upper half of this panel is filled with foliage of trefoils arranged in circles between the undulations of a winding stem that proceeds from the tail of a nondescript animal at the top. The lower half of the panel is filled with a geometric pattern. The hilt of a sword with straight square-ended guard, trilobed pommel and curved cross-piece, appears at the top of the panel as if the blade were behind the foliage. St Oran's churchyard.

27. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with double moulding alternating with rows of nail-head and tooth ornaments, and having a narrow panel filled with a pattern composed of a winding stem, enclosing in each undulation an equal-armed cross and four broken annulets, so disposed in the angles that a *fleur-de-lis*-like figure is formed by each quarter of the cross.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 11 inches long, surrounded by two rows of rope moulding, and having a sunk panel in the centre extending nearly the whole length of the stone. At the top are two lion-like animals, muzzle to muzzle, and the remainder of the panel is filled with foliage proceeding alternately from two undulating stems. In St Oran's churchyard.

28. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet long, with plain roll moulding. On a panel at the top is the inscription in old English letters :—*HIC · JACET · CORPUS . . . FILII · DOMINI · ANGUSII · MAC · DOMNILI · DE · ILA*. Underneath is a galley with a banner fixed in the prow, and below it a panel with a design formed by four intertwisted stems with their foliage, proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals. St Oran's chapel.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 10 inches in length, with nail-head border, having at the top a square panel with cross formed of interlaced work, below it a galley, below the galley a long panel of interlaced work proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals; at the bottom a stag at bay, one hound lying under the stag, another leaping at its throat, two more coming up from behind. St Oran's churchyard.

29. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet in length, with plain triple roll moulding, at the top a panel of interlaced work, below it a man in armour, mounted, with spear; below the horseman is a panel, half the width of the stone, quite defaced, the other half is occupied by a figure in a niche, dressed in a long robe and holding a pendant looped object in the right hand. The lower part of the stone has a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, the spaces at either side being filled with floral scrolls proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals.

(b.) Slab, 6 feet in length, and of nearly equal width throughout, surrounded by plain roll mouldings. In a square panel at the top is the figure of a man on horseback, behind him the body of a beast, at a distance a man with a harp as if he were stepping over the side of a boat.

The lower part of the slab is covered with intertwined stems and their foliage proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals. St Oran's churchyard.

30. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet in length, with plain roll moulding, the upper part occupied with a square panel of foliage proceeding from a circle in the centre, below it a sword with pear-shaped pommel and reversed guard, terminating in oblong bulbous knobs, the sword being in its sheath with sword-belt attached. The spaces at either side are filled up with floral scrolls proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals. St Oran's chapel.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 10 inches in length, with bevelled edge, ornamented with a chevron pattern. The centre of the slab is occupied by a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, the spaces on either side being filled with an arrangement of intertwined stems of foliage proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals. St Oran's churchyard.

31. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 8 inches in length, with rope moulding round the edge. The centre of the stone is occupied by a sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard. Alongside of the blade is an object which may be a pilgrim's staff. Above the guard on the one side is a small Latin cross of interlaced work, and on the other a quatrefoil-like figure, formed of two ovals intersecting at right angles and interlaced. Below the guard the panel on one side of the stone is filled with a series of foliated tracery, the angles filled up with triquetras and trefoils, and the lower part occupied by an animal biting its tail. The corresponding panel on the opposite side is filled by foliage proceeding from an undulating stem, and the upper part is occupied by a quatrefoil of two interlaced ovals. At the bottom of the stone is the figure of an oblong rectangular object, bordered at the ends only by a line of chevrons, and ornamented by two sets of transverse bands, with shorter ones between.

(b.) Slab, 6 feet 2 inches in length, with bevelled edge, but no moulding, having a Latin cross, the arms of which are connected by a circle, and above it an additional cross-bar, with *suppedaneum* below. The cross is formed of two parallel bands, each consisting of three rods. These bands are interlaced at the intersections of the arms with the stem of the

cross. On one side is the figure of a galley, on the other a sword with seven-lobed pommel and short recurved guard. St Oran's churchyard.

32. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet 4 inches in length, and of nearly equal width from top to bottom, with rope moulding round the edges, and rosettes in the four corners and in the middle of the length. It is divided into four square panels, filled with designs representing foliage springing symmetrically with four or eight stems from a common centre. Round the whole is a border, with the following inscription in Old English letters :—*HIC : JACENT : QUATUOR : PRIORES : DE : Y : EX : VNA : NATIONE : V : JOHANNES : HUGONIUS : PATRICIUS : IN : DECRETIS : OLIM : BACALARIUS : ET : ALTER : HUGONIUS : QUI : OBIIIT : ANNO : DOMINI : MILLESIMO : QUINGENTESIMO.*

(b.) Slab, with bevelled edges and rich mouldings; enclosing a narrow panel of nearly the whole length of the stone, worked into a series of ovals by a ribbon pattern proceeding from a dragon's or serpent's head.

33. Sheet with two drawings :—

(a.) Slab, 5 feet 6 inches long, with dog tooth moulding. The slab is divided into two panels by a moulding up the centre. One of the panels seems never to have been carved. The other shows the handle of a sword, with seven-lobed pommel, the blade being concealed behind the foliage which fills up the panel.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 1 inch in length, with simple roll moulding round the edge. The slab is divided down the centre, and only one of the divisions carved. It bears a human figure in a niche at the top, and below it are the faint outlines of a defaced pattern of floral scrolls issuing from the tails of two animals.

34. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, 6 feet in length, with roll mouldings round the edges. The top is occupied by an interlaced equal-armed cross within a circle, round which is a floral design also forming a cross, while the lower part of the stone is filled with a pattern of foliage proceeding from intertwisting stems. A figure appears in the central compartment of the design at the bottom of the stone.

(b.) Slab, 5 feet 4 inches long, with moulding and row of nail-head ornament round the edge. The centre is occupied by a Latin cross, with floriated head and semicircular expansion at the bottom. The panel on

one side of the shaft is filled with floral scrolls, the one on the other being occupied by a design of foliage proceeding from two intertwined stems which spring from the tails of two nondescript animals. St Oran's churchyard.

35. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Broken slab, with figures of four females, each in a separate niche. At the bottom of the slab there is a tricuspid niche with figures, placed the reverse way to the other four.

(b.) Broken slab, with two female figures in gothic niches, and with the remains of an inscription.

36. Sheet with two drawings :—

(a.) Slab, with figure of a bishop under a canopy, his right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, his left holding a crosier.

(b.) Similar slab, with figure of a bishop, no canopy. In a panel below are two figures embracing.

37. Sheet with two drawings :—

(a.) Slab, with figure of an ecclesiastic in a gothic canopy, surmounted by a *fleur-de-lis*. On one side is a chalice, and above it a griffin. On the other side is an inscription, only part of which is legible:—*HIC : JACET : FRATER : CRISTI : : MAC : GILLRESCOLL : QUONDAM : PRIOR : DE : Y : CVIUS : ANIME : PROPICIETUR : DEUS.*

(b.) Slab, with square panel at top, filled with a cross formed of foliage proceeding symmetrically from a central octagonal figure. Below, a two-handed sword, with slightly reversed guard, terminating in open-work. On each side of the blade are two griffins, from whose tails proceed two patterns of undulating stems with thin foliage.

38. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Portion of the shaft of a sculptured cross, ornamented with a scroll pattern of foliage, proceeding from the tail of a griffin standing with uplifted paw at the bottom of the shaft.

(b.) The opposite face of the same shaft, ornamented with similar scroll work, and bearing the inscription:—*HEC : EST : CRUX : LACCLANNI : MEIC : FINGONE : ET : EIUS : FILII : JOHANNIS : ABBATIS : DE : HY : FACTA : ANNO : DOMINO : MCCCC^oLXXX^oIX^o.* In the lower panel is a galley, with banner in the prow.

39. Effigy of a man in armour, with pointed bassinet without vizor,

pointed shield bearing a castle and winged dragon, greaves, and pointed sollerets. A sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, is placed under the belt obliquely across the body. He holds a spear in the right hand. The feet rest upon a crouching dog.

40. Side view of the same effigy. Both are titled "Maclean of Duart."

41. Effigy of a man in similar armour, the shield bearing a galley, and below it a lion-like animal. The sword is shorter than in the last instance, but similarly placed, and the reversed guard terminates in knobs. Titled "Maclean of Ross."

42. Effigy of a man in armour, with large bassinet and neck-guard of mail attached, the shield bearing a galley and two animals, the sword large, and worn in the same manner as the last, pointed sollerets, and the feet resting on an animal nearly defaced. The right hand grasps a spear. The spaces above the shoulders and at each side of the feet are filled with animals. Titled "Macquarrie of Ulva."

43. Effigy of a man in armour similar to that described above. He has no spear, but the left hand grasps the scabbard, and the right the hilt of a long sword, with straight guard. An angel appears over the right shoulder of the effigy. It is titled "Maclean of Coll."

44. Effigy of a man in similar armour, girt with a very long sword with seven-lobed pommel, and slightly reversed, nearly straight, guard. The left hand grasps the scabbard, the right holds back the tag of the sword-belt as if in the act of unloosing it. Titled "Maclean of Lochbuy."

45. Rudely sculptured effigy, much defaced. The hands are joined low in front. Over the right shoulder appears the hilt of a sword, with straight, square guard. Over the left shoulder is apparently the head of an axe.

46. Slab, with figure of a nun, the head reclining on a pillow, supported by angels. Over it the figures of a mirror and comb. At the feet the inscription, SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO ME. Along one side ... FILIE QUONDAM PRIORISSE DE IONA QUE OBIT ANO M^dXLⁱⁱⁱ ET [ANIM]AM ALTISSIMO COMENDAM ...

47. Sheet with three drawings of the mutilated effigy of an ecclesiastic, with mitre, bearing the inscription, ... ANNES MAC FINGONE ABBAS DE Y QUI OBIT ANNO DNI MILLESIMO QUIN. ...

II. Portfolio of drawings of sculptured stones and crosses, chiefly in the West Highlands, containing :—

1. Sheet with two drawings, viz :—

(a.) A cross with square shaft, 8 feet 2 inches high, bearing on the cross-bar the letters I H S ; below them, on the shaft, M A ; and below these, A A . A long sword, with round pommel and straight guard, recurved at the ends. Ettleton, Roxburghshire.

(b.) Fragment of a slab, with the head of a floriated cross ; underneath it a sword with short recurved guard.

2. Sheet with two drawings, viz :—

(a.) Coffin-slab, with bevelled edges, indented ; on the top a circular cross-head, of four circles enclosed in a larger circle ; below it a sword with round pommel and straight, slightly recurved, guard.

(b.) Coffin-slab, with Calvary cross of open floriated work, a pointed shield on the cross shaft, and a sword of similar character to the last. Dunbar.

3. Sheet with two drawings, viz :—

(a.) Plain rectangular slab, with an incised Calvary cross with floriated ends. Seton, East Lothian.

(b.) Broken slab, with remains of incised Latin cross. On one side of the shaft is a bassinet of high conical form ; on the other a sword with round pommel and almost straight guard, slightly recurved at the ends. Innerwyck churchyard.

4. Sheet with two drawings, viz :—

(a.) Part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, broken at both ends. At the upper part of the fragment is a panel of interlaced work ; below it a rudely executed crucifixion, with two angels above the arms of the crucifix, and the figures of the spear and sponge-bearers below.

(b.) The reverse side of the same fragment. It bears the inscription—
HEC EST : CRUX : CALENI : MC : HEACHYRNA : ET : KATIRINE : UXORIS : EIUS.
At the end of the inscription is a pair of shears. Details of the ornamentation of the edges of the cross are given. Kilkerran, Kintyre, Argyllshire.

5. Sheet with two drawings, viz :—

(a.) Slab nearly of equal width from top to bottom, and with roll mouldings round the edges. At the top a man in armour on horseback ;

below him a pattern of foliage, of four intertwined stems proceeding from the tails of four nondescript animals. In the centre a sword with oblong rounded pommel and reversed guard.

(b.) Slab of same character, tapering slightly to the bottom. In the centre of the upper part a sword with five-lobed pommel and reversed guard—the sword-belt disposed in two lines parallel to the scabbard; below it a pair of shears. The rest of the surface filled with a diaper pattern of foliage proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals. St Mungo's Isle, Glencoe.

6. Rectangular slab, with rudely-incised figure of an ecclesiastic holding a chalice on the breast. Balquhiddy churchyard.

7. Sheet with five drawings, viz:—

(a.) Slab, narrow and irregularly shaped, with rude figure of a sword with trilobed pommel and reversed guard, rudely incised.

(b.) Similar slab, with sword having a round pommel and reversed guard, with knobs. Alongside of the sword is the rude figure of a man. At his right hand is the figure of a Maltese cross; below his feet a pair of pincers. Underneath these a stag hunt, very rudely incised. The other end of the slab is occupied with rude interlacings.

(c.) Slab of similar character, bearing in relief a Latin cross and a pair of shears.

(d.) Slab, with incised sword having a long conical pommel and reversed guard.

(e.) Slab with incised cross potent on the upper part; the lower part blank. In Balquhiddy churchyard.

8. Sheet with two drawings, viz:—

(a.) Slab, with long sword with round pommel and straight guard, terminating in knobs. At the top the date 16 . . and the letters D C on one side of the sword-hilt; the other side broken.

(b.) Slab, tapering to the bottom with a simple roll moulding round the edge. At the top the date 1642, and the letters F N W. Below this a comb and pair of shears, and an undulating stem incised, sending off alternate branches with trefoils.

9. Sheet with four drawings, viz:—

(a.) Fragment of the upper part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, with crucifixion, the figure broken; below it interlaced work.

(*b.*) Reverse of (*a.*), showing the lower part of a shield with open hand, and underneath the shield a pattern of foliage and intertwined stems. Saddell, in Kintyre.

(*c.*) Drawing of details of one side of a Gothic canopy, with chalice and floral scrolls. Kilkevan, Argyllshire.

(*d.*) Slab, with double roll moulding round the edge ; at the top a defaced panel, and alongside of it a pair of shears. Below this a galley ; underneath the galley a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard ; a mermaid on one side of the hilt, and on the other two nondescript animals, from whose tails proceed a pattern of intertwined stems. Saddell, Argyllshire.

10. Sheet with four drawings, viz. :—

(*a* and *b.*) Slightly enlarged drawings of (*a.*) and (*b.*) on sheet 8.

(*c.*) Lower part of the shaft of a sculptured cross. At the bottom a man in armour on horseback. Above him a lion-like animal, with its fore-paw in the mouth of a winged dragon perched on its back. The tails of the two animals are prolonged into intertwisting stems, from which a pattern of foliage covers the rest of the surface.

(*d.*) Reverse of the same fragment, bearing a galley and part of a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard. On either side of the hilt a bird. On one side of the blade a dog at speed, and the letters . . . D R I—apparently the conclusion of an inscription. Saddell, in Kintyre.

11. Slab, with effigy, in high relief, of a man in armour, with bassinet and neck-guard of mail ; tunic, and gauntlets with separate fingers ; ornamented elbow-pieces, and pointed sollerets. In the right hand he holds a spear, and in the left grasps the sword, which has a seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard. Titled "The Bluidy Macdonald." Saddell, Kintyre.

12. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Slab, with roll moulding round the edge ; a galley at top. Underneath it a sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard ; on one side of the sword a long plain panel, as if intended for an inscription ; the other side filled up with a pattern formed of two intertwined stems and foliage ; at the bottom a lion and griffin, and a dog in chase of a stag. Kilchenzie, Argyllshire.

(*b.*) Rectangular slab, of equal width throughout, with remains of a

pattern of foliage, and a two-handed sword with straight guard terminating in knobs. Kiels, Argyllshire.

13. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, with roll mouldings round the edge. At the top of the slab, in the centre, a pair of shears. Down the right side a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard. Between the blade of the sword and the edge of the stone, a panel bearing the inscription—*HIC JACET KATERINA FILIE NIEL . . .* The left side is occupied by a pattern of foliage proceeding from the tails of two dolphin-like animals. At the bottom, two animals fighting, and two birds, each perched upon a fish.

(b.) Slab, pointed at the top, and ornamented with similar pattern of foliage, proceeding from the tails of two dolphins occupying one side; the sword placed close to the left side of the slab, with a blank panel, of the length of the blade, between it and the edge of the stone; at the bottom a galley. Kilchenzie, Argyllshire.

14. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Lower part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, with a galley, and foliage proceeding from the tails of two dragonsque animals.

(b.) Upper part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, with female figure under a canopy, and inscription—*HEC EST CRUX CRISTINI MAC . . .* Kilkerran, Kintyre, Argyllshire.

15. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Lower part of the shaft of a sculptured cross. At the bottom a galley. Over that a man in armour on horseback. Above him two figures embracing under a canopy.

(b.) Reverse of (a), bearing a pattern of foliage of two intertwined stems, proceeding from the tails of a lion-like animal and winged dragon, almost exactly similar to that of the cross-shaft at Saddell, on sheet No. 10, fig. (c). At Kilkerran, Kintyre, Argyllshire.

16. Sheet with three drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Table-tomb at Kilmichael, Argyllshire.

(b.) Enlarged drawing of the covering slab of (a), having a two-handed sword in the centre, with round pommel and slightly reversed guard, the ends of which have open rosette-like ornaments. The whole surface is covered with the foliage from two stems proceeding from the mouths of two nondescript animals. On one side of the hilt of the sword is a

defaced inscription. On the other—HIC JACET DUNCANUS . . . OY
M^CALLEN.

(c.) Front of (a), in a similar style of ornamentation, but arranged in three panels.

17. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, with sword in centre stretching nearly the whole length of the slab, having a round pommel and reversed guard. Foliated patterns of undulating and intertwined stems on both sides of the sword.

(b.) Slab, divided into three panels. In the upper, a galley with figures of men in it; in the second, a man in armour, with a spear in his right hand, treading on a serpent; in the third, a pattern of foliage, proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals. Kilmichael, Argyllshire.

18. Sheet with three drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, pointed at the upper end. A man in armour on horseback, and a pattern of interlaced work proceeding from the tails of two animals. Kilmichael, Argyllshire.

(b.) Fragment of a slab, having a short-handled axe, or possibly a shoemaker's knife, and a sandal incised on its surface. Kilmichael, Argyllshire.

(c.) Part of a slab, with a circle of interlaced work. Kiels, Argyllshire.

19. Sheet with three drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Table-tomb at Kilmichael, similar to that on sheet 15, and in the same style of ornamentation.

(b.) The cover of (a). It bears a sword in the centre, having a round pommel and slightly reversed guard, terminating in open rosette-like ornaments, and over it the inscription—HIC JACIT ANETA; the rest illegible.

(c.) The front of (a).

20. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with Latin cross, having four circles in the angles of intersection and the arms connected by a circle.

(b.) Slab with floriated cross. On one side of the cross-shaft, a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard; on the other a pattern of foliage from an undulating stem, intertwined in the upper part, and proceeding from the tail of a goat-like animal, with its fore-foot raised to its mouth. Kilmory, Argyllshire.

21. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, with scrolls of foliage on either side of a sword which occupies the centre of the stone and stands for the shaft of a cross, of which the floriated head occupies the upper panel.

(b.) Slab, with a galley in the upper part, a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard on one side of the stone below ; a pattern of foliage, proceeding from the tails of two animals, filling the wider space on one side of the sword—the narrower space on the other side occupied by two otter-like animals, with a fish between them, and below them a pair of shears. At the bottom of the stone two panels—one blank, the other filled with interlaced work. Kilmory, Argyllshire.

22. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, with the head of a floriated cross at top, and foliage proceeding from the tails of nondescript animals at bottom. Between these, a square figure with three bars across it, a comb and mirror, and a pair of shears, a bird and an animal.

(b.) Slab, pointed at the upper end, with a galley, and a figure in armour with a spear in the right hand, as if a representation of a recumbent effigy ; below it a Maltese cross on a floriated device. Kilmory, Argyllshire.

23. Effigy of man in armour, with large bassinet and neck-guard of mail, tunic, and gauntlets with separate fingers, holding a spear in his right hand, and having a small heater-shaped shield on the left arm. He is girt with a long sword having a seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard—the belt is attached in such a way as to cause the sword to pass obliquely across the body, the pommel being immediately below the right shoulder, and the blade passing off at the left thigh. On one side an otter-like animal and a fish, and some interlaced work. Kilmory, Argyllshire.

24. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, with bevelled ends, and mouldings round the edges. The upper half is occupied by the figure, under a canopy, of a man in armour, girt with a long sword with a straight, square guard of large size. Underneath is the usual pattern of foliage of intertwined stems, proceeding from the tails of two animals.

(b.) Slab, with roll mouldings round the edge. At the top a galley ;

underneath a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, placed towards the right side of the slab; a narrow panel of interlaced work between it and the moulding; and a wide panel of foliage of intertwisted stems, proceeding from the tails of two animals. At the bottom a square panel of interlaced work, and two dogs in chase—the rest broken. Kilmorey, Argyllshire.

25. Sheet with five drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Lower part of a sculptured slab, with the figure of a man in armour on horseback, and some interlaced work.

(b.) Reverse of the same stone, having a round bowl-shaped cavity in the end—the rest occupied by interlaced work.

(c.) Part of an effigy, giving details of fastenings of sword-belt.

(d.) Head-stone or standing slab, with Latin cross in relief, having the arms connected by a circle, and four bosses in the angular spaces.

(e.) Figure of a man, with hunting-horn slung on his shoulder, and holding up an axe with both hands. Kilmorey, Argyllshire.

26. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with moulding and border of *fleurs-de-lis* at regular intervals. In the centre a long sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, terminating in knobs. The sword-belt is attached to the scabbard, and a small round shield is placed over the centre. Two grotesque animals occupy the spaces on either side of the hilt.

(b.) Slab with single moulding round the edge, and a long sword with seven-lobed pommel in the centre, surrounded by a pattern of leafless stems, with tendrils. At the top is a panel with an inscription, preceded by a Maltese cross—*HIC : JACET : CORMAC*; the rest illegible. Part of the slab is wanting in the centre. Kiels, Argyllshire.

27. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with roll mouldings round the edge; a sword on the left side, with a seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, surmounted by a pair of shears; the narrow space between the sword-blade and the side of the slab being filled up by an otter-like animal, a fish, a bird, and a couple of dogs at speed. The other side is occupied with foliage of intertwisted stems, proceeding from the tails of two animals, and the bottom is filled up with a group of animals.

(b.) Slab with pointed end and triple moulding round the edge, the

top part occupied with a square panel of foliage, forming a cross-head ; the shaft being represented by a sword with seven-lobed pommel and curved guard. An illegible inscription on a panel near the bottom of the slab, and the rest filled up with foliage. Kiels, Argyllshire.

28. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with bevelled edges and remains of illegible inscription round it. At the top a square panel of interlaced work forms the head of a cross, of which a sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, forms the shaft. On one side is an animal, with a pattern of wavy foliage proceeding from its tail. On the other side, a harp, a book (?) with a bird perched on it, a comb, a pair of shears, and a mirror.

(b.) Slab of similar character, with blank panels on one side of the sword—the other filled in with scrolls. Kiels, Argyllshire.

29. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, having on the one side a sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, scarcely projecting beyond the blade ; at the top of the stone a man on horseback ; below, a diamond pattern, with included equal-armed crosses, three circles with included crosses, and a Latin cross of interlaced work, placed reversely with the sword.

(b.) Slab with double roll moulding round the edges. In the upper part a panel of interlaced work ; below it a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard, terminating in knobs. On one side of the sword a long panel of interlaced work ; on the other, of foliage, proceeding from the tongue of a monstrous animal. Kiels, Argyllshire.

30. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Perspective view of slab covering coffin, close to the wall of the church at Kiels.

(b.) Drawing of the same slab ; square panel of interlaced work at top ; sword, with round pommel and straight guard in centre ; a griffin, two nondescript animals, and a stag pursued by hounds, filling up the spaces left on either side of the sword, in a panel parallel to which is the inscription—*HIC JACET TOLKELL MCOLMI* . . . At the bottom of the slab a galley in full sail, a man in armour in the stern, and a bare-headed figure at the prow. Kiels, Argyllshire.

31. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with square panel of foliage at top, and sword with seven-

lobed pommel and reversed guard in centre, the side spaces filled with foliage.

(b.) Slab with oblong panel of interlaced work at top, below it two pairs of nondescript animals, placed face to face, with their feet opposing, and their tails intertwined, and prolonged into a diaper pattern of foliage occupying the greater part of the stone. At the bottom a blank panel and two lines of an illegible inscription. Killean, Argyllshire.

32. Slab with effigy of a man in armour, with large bassinet, neck-guard of mail, tunic, and gauntlets with separate fingers. The right hand grasps a spear, and on the left arm is a heater-shaped shield with a galley. He is girt with a sword having a pommel of nine lobes, and a reversed guard with knobs. The spaces around the figure are filled in with foliage and grotesque animal figures. The drawing is marked "Macdonald of Largie." Killean, Argyllshire.

33. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with five cusps or indentations at the wide end, bearing in the centre a sword with pommel of nine lobes and reversed guard, terminating in knobs. At the bottom, a stag chased by two hounds. On the left side, over the guard of the sword, a pair of shears. On one side of the blade three panels, with remains of a defaced inscription. On the other side, a diaper pattern of foliage proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals.

(b.) Slab with tricuspidate head bearing a similar sword, with seven-lobed pommel. The form and arrangement of the ornamentation of the rest of the slab is exactly similar to that previously described, except that in place of the shears there is a small panel of interlaced work. Killean, Argyllshire.

34. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab pointed at both ends, the upper part occupied with a panel of foliage formed of seven interlaced circles, below it a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard with knobs. Scrolls, on one side proceeding from the tail of a nondescript animal, fill up the vacancies on either side of the sword.

(b.) Slab with simple roll moulding and incised figure of sword, with round pommel and straight guard in centre, occupying the whole length of the stone. Killean, Argyllshire.

35. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with double roll moulding round the edge, a sword with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard in the centre, the side spaces filled with interlaced work on one side, and a diapered pattern of foliage proceeding from the tail of an animal on the other. At the bottom a square panel of interlaced work, and the figures of two animals.

(b.) Slab with sword of similar form, having over the guard on the right side a pair of shears, on the left a small panel, apparently defaced. One side of the slab is filled with a diapered pattern of foliage, proceeding from the tails of two animals. Below is a stag chased by three hounds, beside them a goose and a frog, and a large nondescript animal. Killeen, Argyllshire.

36. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab pointed at the upper part, sword in centre, similar to the last. On one side a diapered pattern of foliage proceeding from the tail of an animal; on the other, an animal, a panel of interlaced work, a stag followed by a hound, and a panel with defaced inscription; below the sword a cross of interlaced work, and a square panel of the same.

(b.) Slab of similar form bearing the same form of sword, and the same ornaments somewhat differently treated. Kilkevin, Argyllshire.

37. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with diapered pattern of foliage under two nondescript animals; in the lower part a sword with round pommel trifid in the upper part, and slightly reversed guard.

(b.) Slab having in the upper part a panel of interlaced work: below it a sword with rounded pommel and reversed guard, and two nondescript animals. Strachur, Argyllshire.

38. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with diapered pattern of foliage, and in the lower part a sword with diamond-shaped pommel and curved guard.

(b.) Slab with plain surface, on the centre of which is a sword with rounded pommel and straight guard, slightly carved in relief. Strathlachlan.

39. Sheet with four drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Long narrow slab with tenon cut on the top of it. On one side a rude half-length of a human figure, underneath it a double concentric circle and below these a small equal-armed cross. Killavon, Lochfyne.

(b.) Standard cross with plain octagonal shaft and floriated octagonal head.

(c.) Socket-stone of a similar cross.

(d.) Shaft of a similar cross. Strathlachlan, Argyllshire.

40. Fragment of a slab bearing the effigy of an ecclesiastic in high relief; the head wanting. Eilean Mor, Argyllshire

41. Sheet with four drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Lower part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, with scrolls of foliage springing from the tail of an animal.

(b and c.) Obverse and reverse of the circular part of the head of a cross, the arms broken off, the obverse containing a crucifixion, the reverse a pattern of foliage.

(d.) View of the island of Eilean Mor.

42. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with sword in the centre, having a five-lobed pommel and recurved guard. Two animals are biting each other's tails over the hilt of the sword, and the spaces on either side are filled in with rude interlacings.

(b.) Slab with six cusps at the wide end, having a sword in the centre, with five-lobed pommel and reversed guard. The spaces on either side and at the bottom filled in with interlaced work. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

43. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with man in armour in relief. He wears a large bassinet and neck-guard of mail, tunic with divided skirt, and gauntlets with separate fingers; the right hand holds a spear, the left grasps the hilt of a sword with seven-lobed pommel and recurved guard. At the bottom of the slab is a Maltese cross formed by a circle interlaced in a quatrefoil, with a triquetra in each of the broad ends of the arms of the cross.

(b.) Slab with pointed top and double moulding round the edge. In the upper part a man in armour under a canopy, in the lower part a stag or hind chased by two hounds. The rest of the slab is filled with foliage from intertwined stems proceeding from the feet and tails of animals. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

44. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(a.) Slab with bevelled edges; the upper part having a sword with oval pommel and straight guard—the blade reaching nearly the whole

length of the stone, and the point resting on the head of a cross with a circle connecting its arms, the shaft of which extends to the foot of the stone. The whole surface is plain, and the sword and cross simply incised.

(*b.*) Slab of rectangular shape, with a border formed by a simple incised line at some distance from the edge. On the right side a sword similar to that described above; on the left, and towards the bottom of the stone, a pair of shears. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

45. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Slab with bevelled edges and plain border; the surface filled with a diapered pattern, consisting of different designs of foliaceous ornaments enclosed in circular or oval spaces. At the left side a sword with five-lobed pommel and reversed guard.

(*b.*) Slab, slightly tapering, with double moulding, and having a row of foliaceous ornaments on one side, and a blank panel on the other. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

46. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Fragment of a sculptured cross, the lower part covered with interlaced work, much defaced; a nondescript animal, part of a cross, and two rude human figures.

(*b.*) Part of the shaft of a sculptured cross, with crucifixion; the arms gone; indication at one side of a circle connecting the arms. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

47. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Slab with double moulding and nail-head border round the edges; at the top a man in armour, with spear and heater-shaped shield, under a canopy, the apex of which terminates in two dragon's heads facing each other; the lower part of the stone filled with tracery of intertwined stems and foliage, terminating at both ends in animal forms.

(*b.*) Similar slab, similarly decorated, except that the man in armour has no shield. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

48. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Slab with border of trefoils; a long sword, with five-lobed pommel and reversed guard, in the centre; two nondescript animals, face to face, on either side of the hilt—their tails prolonged into scrolls of foliage reaching nearly to the bottom of the slab; below the point of the sword

a raised panel, blank ; underneath it a pair of shears, and a smaller panel, also blank.

(*b.*) Slab similarly decorated, but with double moulding and nail-head border, the sword placed lower down, and its point reaching to the bottom of the slab. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

49. Sheet with five drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Small standard cross, broken—the centre occupied with a shield-like disc of concentric circles, with a boss in the centre, and underneath it a plain cross ; the angles filled up with segmental lines, having their convexity towards the intersections of the central cross.

(*b.*) Fragment of a slab with pointed top, bearing two nondescript animals.

(*c.*) Portion of a table-tomb, with Gothic canopy.

(*d.*) Small rectangular slab with ornament of scrolls proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals.

(*e.*) Stone coffin with plain cover, and sides ornamented with scrolls of foliage. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

50. Sheet with two drawings, viz. :—

(*a.*) Slab with double moulding and nail-head border ; the upper half occupied with diaper work of foliage, proceeding from the tails of two nondescript animals ; the lower half bearing a sword, with reversed guard, in the centre, and interlaced work on both sides of it.

(*b.*) Slab with double moulding and nail-head border round the edge ; at the top a blank panel ; below it a man in armour under a canopy ; the rest of the slab filled with a diaper pattern of foliage. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

III. Portfolio of water-colour drawings of arms, &c., containing :—

• Nine sheets of drawings of swords and sword-hilts, chiefly Scottish ; 62 figures.

Five sheets of drawings of war axes, halberds, Lochaber axes, &c. ; 34 figures.

Three sheets of drawings of Highland dirks, mostly with handles carved with interlaced work ; 41 figures.

One sheet of drawings of flint-lock muskets, with carved and inlaid stocks ; 6 figures.

Three sheets of drawings of pistols, and details of their ornamentation ; 22 figures.

Seven sheets of drawings of powder-horns, with details of their ornamentation ; 44 figures.

Seven sheets of drawings of Highland targets and other shields, with details of their ornamentation ; 51 figures.

Four sheets of drawings of leathern belt-purses or sporrans, with metal clasps, and details of their ornamentation ; 25 figures.

Six sheets of drawings of Highland circular brooches of brass or silver, with engraved ornaments of interlaced work, figures of animals, foliage, &c. ; 21 figures.

Sheet with drawings and details of the ornamentation of the Ballochmyle brooch.

Sheet of drawings of small heart-shaped brooches ; 11 figures.

Sheet of drawings of wooden *maedhers*, or drinking-cups ; 8 figures.

Five sheets of drawings of harps ; 5 figures.

Sheet with drawing of ancient bagpipes, the property of Messrs Glen, musical instrument makers, with details of the interlaced ornamentation on the drones and chanter ; 12 figures.

Sheet with drawing of the great bagpipe.

Two sheets of drawings of agricultural implements, &c. ; 8 figures.

IV. Portfolio of drawings of market crosses and monoliths ; 22 sheets—some in pencil, and others in water-colour.

V. Large folio volume of drawings of old castles in different parts of Scotland, containing about 180 drawings.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES ON A BURIAL MOUND AT TORPHICHEN, AND AN URN FOUND NEAR THE "CROMLECH" AT KIPPS, LINLITHGOWSHIRE. BY PROFESSOR DUNS, D.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

A good many years ago, when talking with Sir James Simpson about surface deposits, chiefly gravels and sandhills, in a part of Linlithgowshire with which we both were intimately acquainted, I chanced to say, "One would like to have a section or two made in the conical sandhills near Westfield Mill." "I never," remarked Sir James, "passed that way when a boy without wondering if there were anything inside of these." Not long after he had a section made through one of the low outliers, on Ballmuir farm, in the course of which the remains of a small circular tower were exposed. The building consisted of large unworked stones, laid rudely down in rows, and having the interspaces, formed by their irregularities, filled in with smaller stones. I visited the spot the day after the discovery was made. Much interested in this "find," Sir James arranged to have a drawing made of the building. But as some time elapsed before arrangements were completed, and as no instructions had been given to the tenant on whose farm it stood as to its preservation, he sold the stones for a few shillings to a man who was in search of material readily at hand to build a cottage. The stones were speedily removed. Once or twice afterwards, Sir James merrily asked me to "tell the story of our Pelasgic tower." I refer to this now because the low sandhill in which occurred the cists, which form the subject of this notice, lies much in the same relation on the north to the large sandhills, as that in which the stones were found does on the south-east. The immediate neighbourhood generally is one of much archæological interest. Wallace's cave is about a quarter of a mile distant; the ruins of the foundations of Ogilface Castle, the seat of the family of De Bosco, Barons of Ogilface, lie about a mile to the south-west; one of the refuge stones, which indicated the western boundary of the Torphichen *refugium*, is within stone-throw of the burial mound; and the Torphichen Preceptory ruins are not more than a mile to the east.

Several years ago, in the course of carting away sand for building purposes from this mound, an empty stone coffin was laid bare. Later, I caused a section to be made through part of the mound, which had not recently been disturbed, and which, indeed, was covered with a pretty thick turf. At a depth of little more than two feet from the surface several cists were exposed. In some instances the stones had fallen in, and no traces of human bones were seen. Of five uncovered, four lay east and west, the head to the east; one lay north and south, the head, or broad end, being to the south. From this last the skull on the table was obtained. This cist was nearly a foot deeper in the sand, and had evidently been made with more care than the others. This was shown in the mode of placing the small slabs of freestone which formed the sides and ends. They had been carefully selected and put in position, so as to present a somewhat regular edge to the covering slabs. Each end of the cist consisted of one slab, broader than the sides against which it was placed. The sides were formed by three slabs each, the middle slab on both sides being the largest. A few thin, irregular slabs were laid in the bottom. The other cists had no stones in the bottom. Even the best made of those examined was so clumsily put together as to leave free access to the sand. The following are the measurements of this one: Length, nearly 4 feet; depth, 14 inches; breadth at middle 16 inches, at head 14 inches, and at foot 8 inches. This was the largest of the set exposed.

Besides the skull mentioned, this cist contained a fragment of the lower jaw and the upper part of the left femur. The cranium was soft when found, and required careful handling, but as it was filled with sand, the shape was preserved by leaving the sand in its place till the bone was well dried before a fire. I am indebted to Dr M'Bain, R.N., who has given a good deal of attention to prehistoric and other crania, for some notes of his examination of that now before us.

The base of the cranium and the greater part of the orbital plates are wanting. The complete ossification of the sutures, and the strongly-marked muscular impressions under the external occipital protuberance, show that it belonged to an individual far advanced in life. The cranium is somewhat flattened above, bulging outwards, especially at the right parietal tuberosity. It is compressed at the outer edge of the upper transverse arch of the occipital bone, and the occipital protuberance is

remarkably prominent. Its internal capacity is very small, being about 67 cubic inches. Parietal diameter, which corresponds to the space between the centre of the parietal protuberances, 5 inches and three-tenths. Frontal diameter, measured from the commencement of the coronal suture at the anterior inferior parietal angle to the same point on the opposite side, 4 inches and two-tenths. Vertical diameter, from the centre of a line drawn between the external auditory meatus to the vertex, 4 inches and five-tenths. Intermastoid line, 4 inches and one-tenth. The same from the upper root of the zygomatic process, 5 inches and two-tenths. Occipito-frontal arch, from the glabella to the posterior edge of the foramen magnum, 14 inches. The same to the occipital protuberance, 12 inches. Horizontal periphery, 20 inches. The proportion of length to breadth is 100 to 75; of length to height, 100 to 64. The forehead is narrow, the frontal sinuses large, the frontal eminences scarcely marked, and all measurements short. In the fragment of the lower jaw only one tooth remains—the second true molar, and there is no appearance of a wisdom tooth ever having been developed. This tooth is much worn on the crown. The upper part of the left femur is 11 inches long, broken at the junction of the middle and lower third. The thinness of the shaft of the femur, the slight obliquity of its neck, the disappearance of the line of junction of the epiphyses with the shaft, seem also to indicate that it was that of a person far advanced in life, and probably a female, which is still further confirmed by the slight development of the mastoid processes of the skull and the slender proportions of the fragments of the lower jaw. The length of the femur corresponds to the stature of a person about five feet high.

The mode of burial illustrated by these cists can be traced over the whole of this part of Linlithgowshire. Dr Hetherington refers to another mound, in his "Statistical Account of the Parish of Torphichen." In Penney's "History of Linlithgowshire," 1831, the following sentence occurs: "Near Bathgate there are also memorial remains of the Druid worship" (p. 27). The author of the "Statistical Account of the Parish of Bathgate," the Rev. Samuel Martin, says: "I give this statement as I find it, but do not know to what it refers." Then noticing the few traces of Bathgate Castle still extant, he says: "Coffins formed of flat stones have been torn up in the neighbouring grounds."

Circumstances led me to take some pains to get light on Penney's remark, and in the course of enquiry I learned that some of the old people were wont to talk of a "Druid's burying-place" as being near Kirkroads, close on Bathgate. Further, it was ascertained that the remains of a stone coffin had once been found in the farm-yard of Kirkroads. No doubt Penney referred to the standing stones at Stonerig in the neighbourhood, but the facts as to Kirkroads ultimately led to a section being made through the farm-yard, in prospect of a visit from an excursion party (July 3, 1852) of Members of this Society, which was about to visit the district.

I have sometimes regretted that no record of that excursion found a place in our "Proceedings," because it might have directed attention to certain objects of interest likely soon to pass out of view. The party was about twenty in number, led by Dr Daniel Wilson. Among those present were the late Sir George Harvey, the late Dr Robert Chambers, the late Sir Henry James, the late Mr W. A. Parker, the late Mr J. M. Mitchell, Professor Liston, and Mr Charles Cowan. I am indebted to Mr Cowan for an extract from his diary with reference to this pleasant excursion party.¹ Dr Simpson was to have been present, but was prevented by

"Saturday, July 3, 1852.—At Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway at 9.15, and off by train to Bathgate with a lot of antiquarians,—Dr D. Wilson, Prof. Liston, R. Chambers, J. W. Mackenzie, George Harvey, W. A. Parker, J. M. Mitchell, Captain James, and others—in number about twenty. We were met by Mr Duns of Torphichen, who took us first to a farm called Kirkroads, where we saw two stone coffins not far from the surface, in which some human bones had been found. Then pleasant walk to Torphichen; visited the Manse—beautiful situation, and very nicely fitted up with specimens of fossils, &c. Visited the ancient preceptory of Knights of St John of Jerusalem, close to the Parish Church; very beautiful ancient arches, but kept in bad order. Mr Duns had lately erected a fountain in the village, out of £20, the proceeds of a course of lectures he had given on Geology, which we all thought highly of. Walked to the top of a hill (wooded) to look at traces of an ancient fort, but Harvey and I could see nothing defined or remarkable, so we enjoyed the landscape. Down on other side of hill, and soon came to some lime quarries, on surface of which traces of glacial action, according to Chambers, &c. Walk through fields and undulating grounds. Saw a monolith in a wall; ancient cross on it—serves to mark boundary of property. The Kipps Cromlech, very large stones near Sir R. Sibbald's house. To Linlithgow at 4.30. After going through the old Palace, we all dined pleasantly at "Star and Garter," R. Chambers in the chair."

professional duties. In his absence, I was asked to become the guide for the day. Our first halting-place was Kirkroads, in front of the cottage in which the late Professor Fleming was born. Two well-formed stone cists, half-length, had been exposed, and traces of several others had been found in the course of digging. In both there was a good deal of dark-brown dust, some fragments of the long bones of the human body, and several molar teeth whose crowns were very much worn. The report of this "find" spread over the district. Shortly after, an intelligent man, Mr

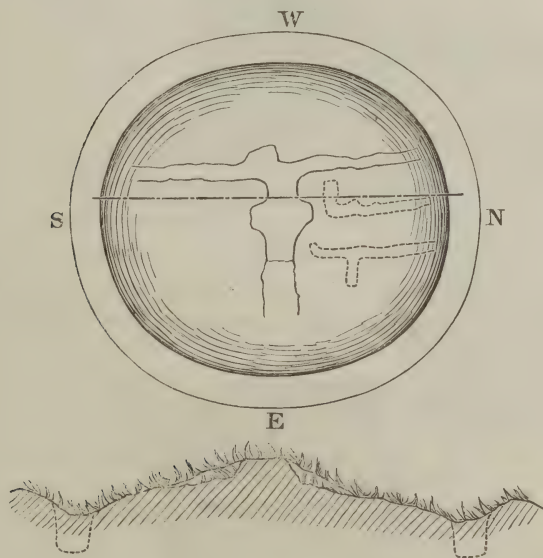


Fig. 1.

Philps, portioner, Gornmyre, near Torphichen, brought to me the remains of a pair of spurs, which he assured me he had taken out of a half-length stone coffin, in 1847, dug up in his ground. The coffin, he said, contained a good deal of "black dust, in which parts of the iron of the spurs were found." He was somewhat vexed by an expression of scepticism on my part, and offered to get the testimony of two witnesses in support of

his statement. I confess that the unlikelihood of their occurring in such a position does not seem to me as strong now as it did at the time.

The party next visited a so-called British fort on the top of Cairnpaple (fig. 1), the highest of the Bathgate hills (1000 feet), and their termination to



Fig. 2.

the north. Then the socket of a large wayside stone cross, on the high road at the east side of the hill, was inspected; and afterwards a stone



Fig. 3.

with a double cross (figs. 2, 3), relief on the one side and intaglio on the other, was examined. Since then I have been able to trace this as a boundary stone, marking the southern limit of lands once belonging to the

monks of St Sepulchre. The party turned again to the west—inspected the remains of the preceptory of the Knights of St John at Torphichen; noticed traces of a Roman camp on Torphichen hills; examined one of the refuge stones to the east of the Refugium; and halted for some time at the Kipps “Cromlech,” situated to the south of the old keep associated with the name of Sir Robert Sibbald, to whose family it belonged, and where he first formed the *Hortus Medicus*, which ultimately led to the realisation of the Edinburgh Physic Gardens, and, in the long run, to the Botanical Gardens.

We are now in the locality where the urn (fig. 4) was discovered, which forms the second part of this Paper, whose title would better have been “found in the neighbourhood of the Cromlech,” because it was far enough away from it to spare us the necessity of dealing with controverted questions touching the use of such erections. The urn is 12×8 inches. It tapers gradually towards the bottom, which is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. It seems to have been made in three parts—the lowest being 6 inches high, the middle $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the top $3\frac{1}{2}$. The several parts are indicated by bulging horizontal lines, very rudely formed. The ornamentation is confined to the upper part. This consists (1) of thumb-nail-like marking round the inner edge; (2) of a horizontal, very narrow twisted line at the top of the outer edge; and (3) a number of oblong spaces formed by string-like markings crossing each other obliquely at regular distances. The whole seems to have been covered with a thin coating of lighter-coloured clay than that of which the urn was made. The type is extremely rude. It is not represented in the Museum.

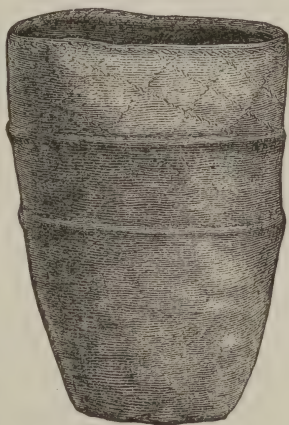


Fig. 4.

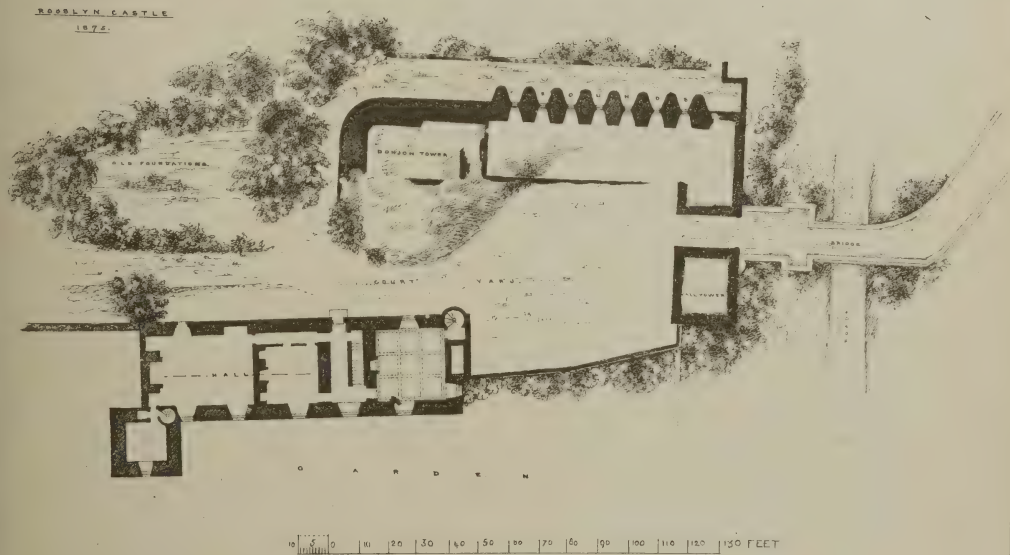
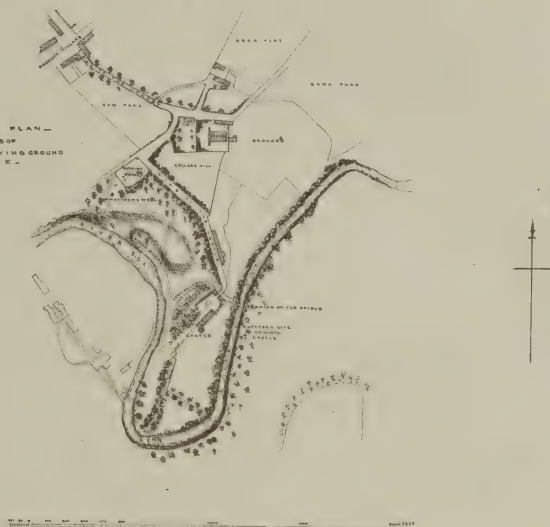
II.

ROSSLYN CASTLE, ITS BUILDINGS PAST AND PRESENT. By
ANDREW KERR, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. (PLATES XXI.-XXIV.)

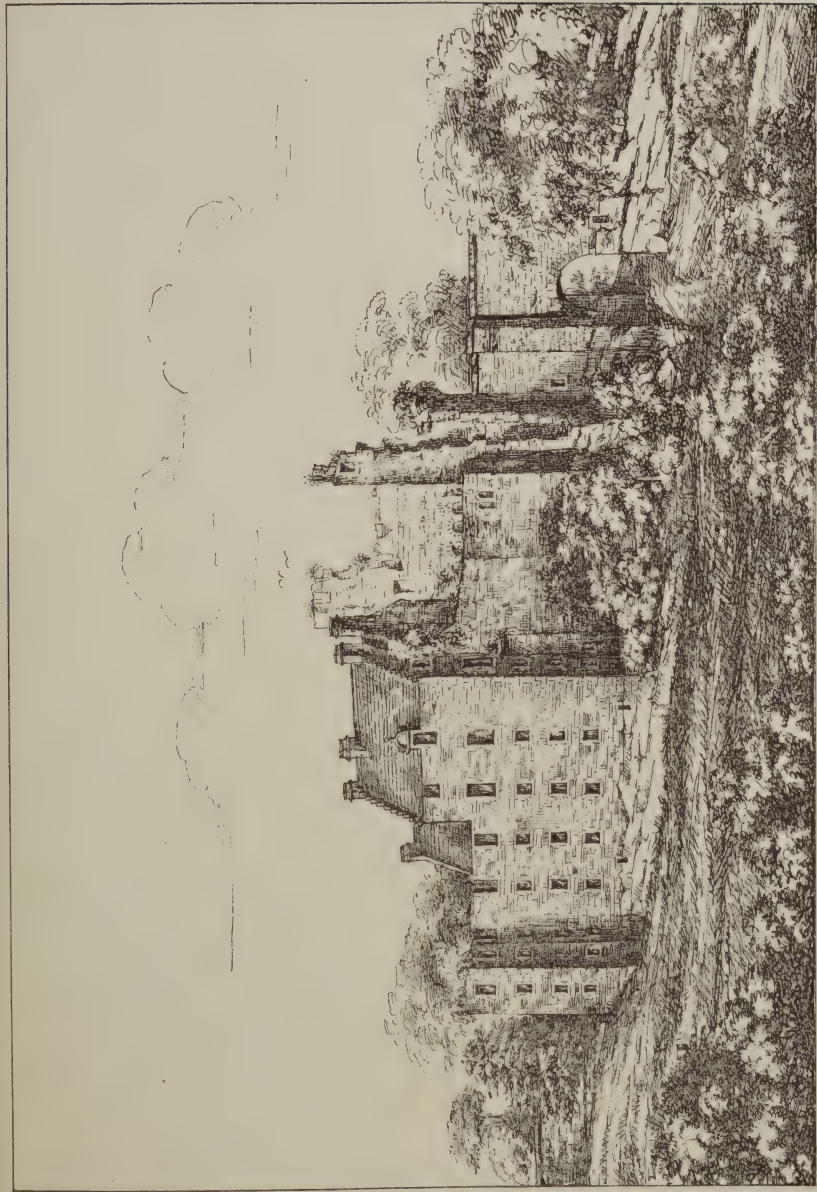
It appears from various notices and traditions that a castle must have existed at Rosslyn as early as the twelfth century, although there is no description of its form or extent, nor any remains of the building which can be traced with certainty.¹ Wherever it was situated, it appears to have been occupied until about the year 1302 by the St Clairs, a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of Saint Clair who came into Scotland in the reign of David I., who granted to Sir William St Clair, the first of the name, the barony of Rosslyn, afterwards held by his successors, who were intimately associated with the kings of Scotland in many important national events, and became connected by marriage with the leading nobility of the kingdom. Sir William St Clair, son of the Sir William already noticed, was succeeded by his son Sir Henry, who was succeeded by his son, also named Sir Henry St Clair. His son and successor, Sir William, took the side of Bruce in the contest for the crown; and in 1307 and 1308 letters were addressed by Edward I. of England to him and other friends in Scotland, calling upon them to assist in suppressing "the Rebels." It is therefore not probable that Sir William was engaged at the battle of Rosslyn,² although an English gentleman may have resided

¹ The site is still pointed out, upon the south bank of the Esk, opposite to the ruins of the present Castle. A doubt has, however, been expressed regarding this site, and some of the old people about Rosslyn state that they have heard that the old castle stood near the Collegiate Church.

² Father Hay, in his "Genealogy of the Saint Claires of Rosslyn," states that "he (Sir William) built a portion of the present Castle, upon the suggestion of an English prisoner, carried with him from the battle of Rosslyn, which was fought in the year 1302. He is described as a man of no small estimation in England, whom Sir William Saint Claire entertained so well, that whilst he remained with him all things that might any way turn to the best advantage he gave him counsel in, as well amongst the rest, because he saw the Castle of Rosslyn not to be strong enough, he advised him to build it on the rock, where it now standeth: which counsel he embraced and builded the Wall Tower, with other buildings, and there he dwelt."

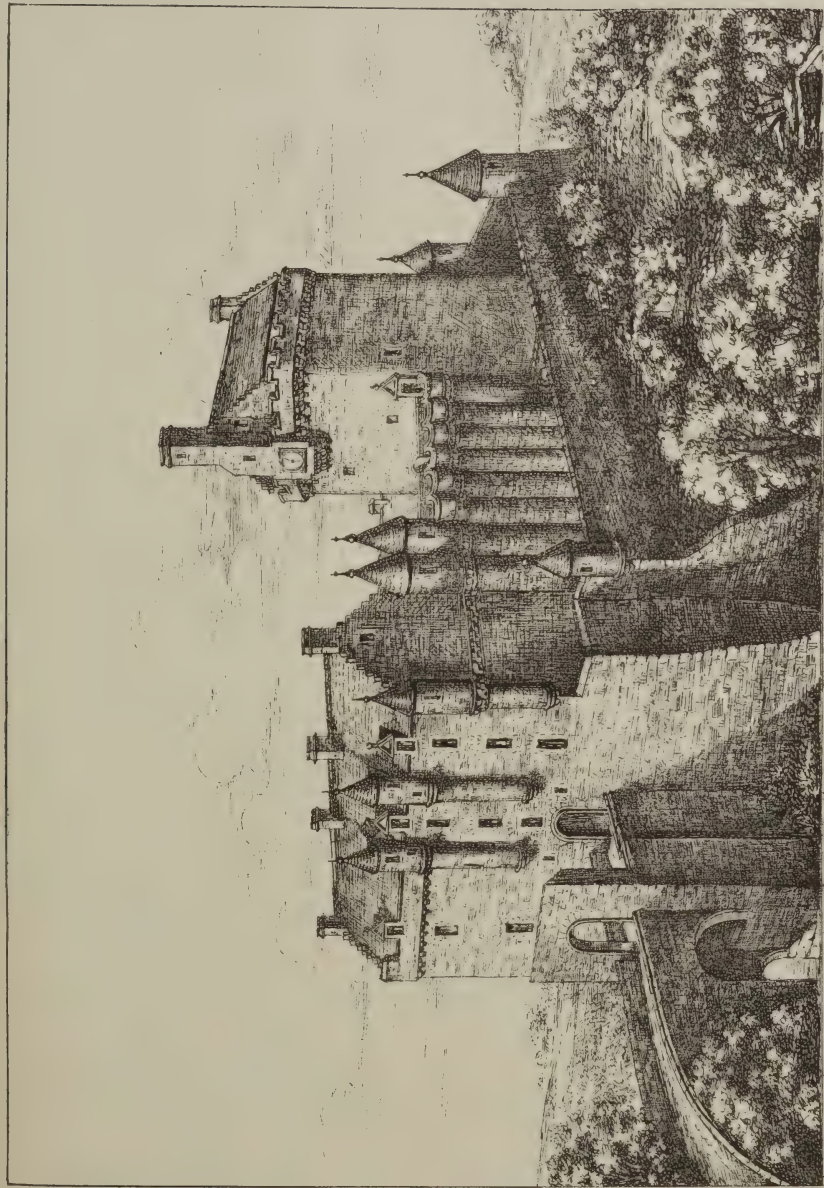


ROSSLYN CASTLE,
General Sketch Plan & Ground Plan



ROSSLYN CASTLE.

View of Remains existing in 1877 from the North-east.



ROSSLYN CASTLE.

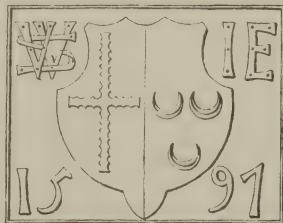
View of the castle in a complete state from the North-west.



1.



2.



3.

with him and advised the building of the castle on its present site. Considering the mode of warfare practised at that period, the new site was much superior to either of the two ascribed to the older building, being upon a narrow high ridge of rock surrounded on three sides by low, flat ground, bounded by the river Esk, and on the fourth protected by a trench and drawbridge. (See Ground Plans, Plate XXI.)

It is probable that at this time a lake extended along the north-west side of the castle, as the lynn must formerly have been a more distinct feature than it now is, seeing that the name of the locality is derived from it,—Rosslyn being composed of two Gaelic words, *ross* signifying a promontory, and *lynn* a waterfall. If the ridge of rock extended across the Esk at the height indicated on each side, the lynn would be deep and the water above would be confined to such an extent as to cover the low ground for a considerable distance. The rocky barrier being worn down in the course of years, the level of the water above would become gradually lower and form a marsh, such as is afterwards noticed as the “Stanks of Rosslyn.”¹

The corner tower on the south-east side of the entrance, now known as the lantern or lamp tower, along with some of the buildings behind it, is supposed to be the portion of the castle which was first erected. In its general appearance and limited accommodation the castle would thus be similar to the peel towers still remaining in several districts of the country. The lower masonry of this corner tower, with the adjoining south-east wall, is evidently the oldest in the existing castle, and has the appearance of having been erected in the early part of the fourteenth century. The surface of the court-yard immediately behind is formed over deep vaults, the entrance to which is now covered up.

On the face of the rock, towards the garden, there are indications of the supports of a stair, but these appear to have been connected rather with a terrace than with the old building. The position in which the wall or lamp tower was placed suggests the probability of the idea being entertained from the first of erecting a more extensive building, such as was then common in France, and such as Rosslyn by additions at different periods ultimately became. (See Plates XXII. and XXIII.)

¹ Upon this flat ground a spot is still pointed out bearing the name of the “Goose Mound” upon which the birds used to rest.

Sir William St Clair, who founded the castle, though at first favouring Baliol, afterwards became the attached friend of King Robert the Bruce, and was engaged at the battle of Bannockburn. He accompanied Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig when they set out for Palestine with the heart of the Bruce, but was slain in 1330, while fighting against the Moors in Spain, along with the King of Leon and Castile. He was succeeded by his son, also named Sir William, who is said to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Malise Earl of Strathearn, Caithness, and Orkney. Their son Sir Henry thus obtained the title of Earl of Orkney, which was held under the kings of Norway by jarls, or earls, who, though subject to Norway, were practically almost independent princes. His son Henry, who had the guardianship of James I. during his minority, succeeded him as Earl of Orkney, and married a daughter of Sir William Douglas of Nithsdale. "He builded the great dungeon (or keep) of Rosslyn and other walls thereabout, together with parks for red and fallow deer." This dungeon (or keep) of Rosslyn is the south-west corner tower, sometimes called the clock tower, and also the bell tower.¹

Its walls are nine feet thick, and the ground floor was covered by a semi-circular arch of solid masonry, a portion of which still remains. "The other walls thereabout" may have been the strong walls situated at the top and bottom of the slope, extending along the entire north-west side of the castle, portions of which can still be traced.

Sir Henry St Clair was succeeded about 1417 by his son Sir William, the last Earl of Orkney, who lived in the reigns of James I., II., and III. of Scotland. He married Margaret or Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and afterwards Duke of Touraine in France. She died about 1452, leaving one son, named William, and four daughters. Sir William's second wife was Lady Marjorie Sutherland, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath, by whom he had four sons—Oliver of Rosslyn, William Earl of Caithness, and two others. He is described as having been given to building of castles, palaces, and churches. He was married to his first wife in St Matthew's Church at

¹ A tradition is preserved by the Rosslyn villagers that it was by means of a bell-rope suspended in this tower that Sir William Sinclair's chaplain escaped when the castle was accidentally burned about 1452.

Rosslyn, and during his life made large additions to the castle. The Collegiate Church of Rosslyn, now known as Rosslyn Chapel, was founded by him in 1450, "when age was creeping upon him." His death took place about 1484.

It will be observed that St Matthew's Church, situated in the burying ground (the site of which is noted on the Ordnance Survey maps), being then the only church in Rosslyn, must therefore have been the one in which the earl's first marriage was solemnised. Its foundations are occasionally exposed by the grave-digger, and several ancient slabs with incised crosses and swords have been found, one of which, inscribed "William de Saincler," is preserved above the entrance to the chapel grounds, another in the adjoining garden, and a third was dug up about two years ago, but it is now much defaced and used as a gravestone. (See Plate XXIV.)

The foundations of the old church are not far below the surface, but there is no record of the area having been carefully examined. The position of the east gable is marked by some building at the root of an old elm tree, and that of the west wall by two rubble buttresses which had subsequently been erected against it. The plain surfaces formed in building against the old wall indicate that the south-west corner had leaned outward.

It is probable that the building, being in an unsatisfactory condition, was partially taken down about the time that the collegiate church was completed.¹ Outside the west wall of the burying ground is "St Matthew's Well," fed by a copious spring which affords the chief water supply to the inhabitants of Rosslyn.

The additions made to the castle at this time are thus described by Father Hay:—"He (William St Clair) builded the church walls of Rosslyn, having rounds with fair chambers and galleries thereon: he builded also the fore-work that looks to the north-east; he builded also the bridge under the castle, and sundrie office houses. In the south-east side thereof, over against the chapel wall, he made plain the rock on which the castle is builded for the more strength thereof." This portion of the building extends from the keep, or south-west tower, northward, turning along the north-east front to the original wall tower, which was built about 1304, and is readily

¹ Some old dressed stones have been found built in the openings at the west end but portions of the old gables remained until about 1831.

recognised from the elevations being built in polished stone. The area of these buildings is also found to be supported to a considerable extent upon vaults, the top of one having been opened by some workmen when cutting a track for a waterpipe a few years ago. Nearly the whole of the north-west outside wall, with its "rounds" still remains, but that towards the court-yard has been destroyed, and the foundations taken up. In doing so it was found that the foundation course throughout was laid upon a bed of prepared clay, three inches thick.

The notices regarding the church walls, such as: "The church walls having rounds with fair chambers and galleries thereon;" and again, "In the north-east side of the castle, over against the chapel wall, he made plain the rock," show that there was a chapel within the castle. The rounds are still attached to the north west wall, and the surface of the rock on the south-east side, towards the garden, is carefully hewn to a uniform face. The windows which are between the rounds are small and near the ground, with recesses at the side for receiving strong projecting shutters. As there was a high screen wall on the outside a short distance from them, they could not have been intended entirely for the purpose of lighting the lower apartments, which may occasionally have been used for keeping cattle, when they could not readily be got from without; and in that case the windows, or openings, would be used for admitting air and communicating with the area inside the screen wall, for feeding purposes.

The apartments above have evidently been lighted from the court-yard. Some of these were accidentally burned about 1452 by a bed having caught fire, "the flames of which passed to the ceiling of the great chamber in which the princess was, whereat she, with all who were with her in the dungeon, were compelled to fly." The damage must have been immediately repaired, as Sir William appears to have resided there while engaged in erecting the collegiate church, which was not completed at the time of his death, about 1484. The site of the "sundrie office houses" erected by him cannot now be ascertained, although they must have been of considerable extent to provide the accommodation necessary for his numerous attendants.¹

¹ Foundations of buildings appear in the orchard, to the east of the Collegiate Church, but they are not sufficiently exposed to enable an opinion to be formed of their extent, or the purpose for which they had been erected.

The additions made to the castle at this time exhibit many French features, such as the galleries already described, with the projecting chambers and turrets, forming a communication round the top, and occasionally connecting the flat roofs with the towers or higher parts of the buildings. This is accounted for by the fact that Sir William St Clair and his lady resided for some time in France, under circumstances which led to their being intimately associated with the court and nobility of that country. They thus had ample opportunity for observation, and doubtless acquired a taste which originated much that was afterwards done at Rosslyn, both as regards their domestic arrangements and the buildings erected during their lifetime. A considerable extent of the external north-west wall had no cross divisions connecting it with the one towards the court; and the "rounds" of solid masonry, which are confined to this portion, were therefore necessary to secure its stability. It also appears, from the remains of the corbelled tower at the top, to have been built much higher than the roof adjoining, perhaps to prevent the court-yard being overlooked, or to protect it from the effects of the northern blasts.

The bridge below the castle formed a continuation of the low road across the Esk to its south bank. The middle of the arch was destroyed about 1700; but the abutments, with about eight feet of the masonry at each end, remained projecting over the river until about nine years ago, when that on the south side fell; the other, however, still remains. About 1445 an order was issued by Parliament that no subject be allowed to build castles or strongholds unless that in time of war they belonged to the king.

In 1455 James II. gave to Sir William St Clair the earldom of Caithness, in exchange for that of Nithsdale, and afterwards conferred upon him, in consideration of the elegant buildings that he had erected, the dignity of "Grand Master Mason of Scotland." This title remained in the family until 1736, when it was given over to the Scottish Masonic craft, who instituted "The Grand Lodge of Scotland" as a representative body, with power to elect the Grand Master annually.

The family possessions and honours became separated about 1450. In that year William St Clair, son of Lady Margaret or Elizabeth Douglas, received from his father the lands of Newburgh in Aberdeenshire. In 1470 his father also resigned the earldom of Orkney to James III., and

was afterwards styled Earl of Caithness. This title he gave up in 1476 to his son, Sir William St Clair, by his second marriage with Marjorie Sutherland. His other son by the same marriage, Sir Oliver St Clair, received the lands of Rosslyn and other large estates. This settlement being disputed by William St Clair of Newburgh, Sir Oliver relinquished to him the lands of Cowsland, Mid-Lothian, with the barony of Dysart, and castle of Ravenscraig in Fife, also the lands of Dubbo, Carberry, and Wilston adjacent thereto. These had been bestowed upon their father when he resigned the earldom of Orkney. On the other hand, William St Clair of Newburgh and his son Henry renounced all title to the barony of Rosslyn, by instrument dated 9th February 1482. This son Henry became Lord St Clair in 1489, which title descended through several generations, until his family was represented by an only daughter, the Hon. Catherine Sinclair, who married John St Clair, younger of Hermandston, Haddingtonshire, on the 14th April 1659. Their son Henry succeeded to the title as eighth Lord St Clair; but was created anew to the same title, with the former precedency, by Charles II. in 1677. The St Clairs of Hermandston came into Scotland in the twelfth century. The families of Lord St Clair of Newburgh and St Clair of Hermandston being thus united, the title was continued to their descendants. The Hon. James St Clair acquired the lands of Rosslyn by purchase about 1736 from William Sinclair, who died in 1778, aged 78 years, being the last of the direct male line of Rosslyn by the marriage of Marjorie Sutherland.

Sir Oliver St Clair of Rosslyn, eldest son by the second marriage, succeeded his father Sir William (founder of the collegiate church) in the Rosslyn possessions, and terminated the building operations without completing the design of the church. He was married twice, his first wife being Elizabeth Borthwick, and his second Isabella Livingstone. His eldest son George married Agnes Crichton, but leaving no issue, the estate fell to his brother Sir William, who married Alison Hume, and was succeeded by his son, also named Sir William, who espoused Lindesay, daughter of the laird of Egle.¹

¹ "He was made Lord Justice General of Scotland by Queen Mary in 1559. On an occasion of his returning from Edinburgh to Rosslyn, he delivered an Egyptian from the gibbet on the Burgh-muir, on account of which these grateful creatures assembled long afterwards at Rosslyn, yearly, in the months of May and June, an

In 1544 the castle of Rosslyn was burned by the English forces of Henry VIII., under the command of the Earl of Hertford, the building being almost totally destroyed. The effect of this burning may still be seen upon the surface of the stones of the lower part of the north-west wall, which are much calcined.

Edward St Clair, son of the last named Sir William, having no issue, interdicted himself in 1580, and infest his brother-german Sir William in the estate, who "married Jean Edminston, daughter to the laird of Edminston in the Mers. He built the vaults and great turnpike of Rosslyn, and upon the last his name and arms, along with the arms of his wife, are to be seen. He builded one of the arches of the drawbridge, a fine house by the mill, and the tower of the dungeon where the clock was kept. The initial letters of his name were graven on a stone above the dial, with the date 1596, which designs the year wherein that work was finished." The vaults and turnpike thus referred to by Father Hay exist upon the south-east side, and consist of three floors below the level of the court-yard, or principal floor, lighted from the south-east side. A portion of the first floor down is still occupied by the keeper; the large kitchen is in the second floor down; and the remainder of the apartments, along with those on the lower floor, appear to have been used as store cellars. In the side of the passage of the second floor, there are square recesses opposite to the doors and windows of the apartments, which appear to have been made for placing lamps in at night. There are similar recesses in the lower chapel and entrance to the collegiate church, evidently for the same purpose.

The "great turnpike" is a well constructed "scale and plat" stone stair, fully four feet wide, situated about the middle of the building, and extending from the lowest vaults to the bedrooms above the principal floor, the latter being level with the court-yard. This stair also communicates throughout with the several apartments on the respective floors. Openings for a lift three feet square have also been formed in the front landings of this stair, erving the apartments on the three lower floors and the great hall on the

acted several plays. Two towers were allowed them for residence, one named "Robin Hood" and the other "Little John," both of which are supposed to have been situated at the bottom of the steep bank on the north west side of the Castle.—Father Hay's "Genealogy of the St Clairs."

principal floor. A portion of the latter has been converted into a kitchen, and the remainder, now roofless, occupies the space over the vaults southward from the staircase.

The hall has originally been about 50 feet long, by 23 feet wide, with an ante-room at the south corner, from which a circular stone stair descends to the floor below. It has been lofty and well lighted by large windows in the south-east side and towards the court-yard ; also by two at the south-west end, placed at each side of what appears to have been a dais or state seat, projecting into the apartment. The fire-place is in the side, and is of a Gothic character, having upon a shield, in the centre of the moulded shelf, the arms of Sir William Sinclair and his lady Jean Edminston impaled, with their initials in the upper corners, and the date, 1597 (see Plate XXIV.) This is probably the coat of arms referred to by Father Hay as being in the great turnpike. In the jamb of the window, opposite to the fire-place, there is a small recess, having a neat Gothic moulding and ornaments, connected with a waterspout outside, which possibly may have served the same purpose as a washing place for glasses, &c., in a modern butler's pantry. The portion over the vaults eastward from the great staircase was erected in 1622. The elevation towards the court-yard is of dressed stone, but the others are built in plain rubble work.

Although the entrance to the castle is described as a drawbridge, it does not appear to have been used as such after 1597. The first arch was erected about 1440, and "the rock made plain." The second, which is in the south-east side, is evidently the one erected by the husband of Lady Jean Edminston.

The fine house near the mill, with the mill itself, have long since disappeared, but the water course, neatly cut in the rock, may still be seen at the linn upon the Esk, a little south from the castle. The clock tower upon the donjon or keep at the south-west corner of the court was also built and completed in 1596, a year prior to the date in the large hall ; but the stone described as recording the date and initials upon the tower cannot be found. It may yet, however, be discovered, if the large pile of stones which now cover the greater part of the site should at any time be removed.

Sir William Sinclair of Pentland succeeded his father Sir William of Rosslyn, and about 1610 married Anna Spotswood, daughter of

the Archbishop of St Andrews. He continued the building of the south-east side of the court eastward from the great staircase, consisting of the dining room in the principal floor, and the bedrooms above, which are still occasionally occupied. His initials, and the date 1622, are cut upon the lintel of the door leading to the great staircase. The ceiling of the dining-room is of plaster, and remains entire. It is divided into nine panels, the whole being richly decorated with hunting and hawking scenes, serpents charming birds, and a considerable variety of floral ornament. The central panel is filled with the arms of Rosslyn proper, viz., the shield with engrailed cross, dexter supporter a mermaid with a comb in one hand and a bunch of sea-wrack in the other, the sinister a griffon, the crest a dove, and the motto, *Credo*, nearly obliterated; but the date 1622 is quite distinct. There are two dormer windows with moulded heads, the one towards the court containing the Rosslyn shield, and the letters W. S. (William Sinclair). The other at the back is covered with neatly cut curved lines of a fanciful design.

At no period of its history does the castle appear to have been in a more complete state than at this time, the portions formerly destroyed having been rebuilt, and those recently in progress finished. A stone lintel, apparently of a large richly moulded window, much defaced, may be seen used as a cope stone to the parapet of the bridge at the entrance. An inscription has been cut along one of the mouldings, and in the centre there are the remains of a shield having a portion of the arms of Rosslyn and Spottiswood impaled, with the date 1622. The partial reconstruction and erection of these buildings required a very large expenditure, which pressed heavily upon the family, and involved them in considerable trouble.

Sir William Sinclair died in 1650, and was interred in the chapel on the 3d September of that year. The eldest son, also Sir William, having died in France, his second son John succeeded, and held the castle in the same year by a commission from Charles II. against General Monck, who with a party of 600 men battered down almost the entire north-west side, took the castle by force, plundered it of everything valuable, and sent the proprietor a prisoner to Tynemouth Castle. The site of Monck's battery is still pointed out upon an artificial square mound to the north of the orchard. It commanded the entire length of the castle, and thus readily accomplished the destruction above described, leaving a part of the

south side comparatively little injured ; yet so great was the destruction of the building that no attempt was afterwards made towards its complete restoration. It may be worthy of notice that one of the workmen employed in removing building materials from the castle a few years ago remarked that they had all been previously turned over, as not a vestige of any article of furnishing had been discovered. Mr John Sinclair returned from Tynemouth, and died at Rosslyn in 1690.

James Sinclair, the proprietor's younger brother, redeemed or rather purchased the estate from his brother's creditors, and married Mrs Jean Spotswood, widow of Mr George Hay, who was the father of Richard Augustine Hay, author of the work entitled "The Genealogie of the St Clairs of Rosslyn." "He built a wall about the garden towards the linn and the forepart of the castle on the left hand entering the drawbridge, upon which his arms, conjointly with those of his wife, were engraven upon a stone. He also builded the legions (parapets) of the bridge on the water of the Esk, under the castle, with a gate to stop passengers, and brought water in leaden pipes to the inner court of the castle of Rosslyn and to the lower vaults." The latter work was carried out by a person named Bruce, who was also employed to bring water to the several fountains of Edinburgh.

This was the last attempt to restore any portion of the castle buildings. On the 11th December 1688 it was attacked, plundered, and defaced by a mob, said to consist of parties from Edinburgh, but chiefly of the inhabitants and tenants of the district, and it has remained much in the same state in which they left it. On the same night about ten o'clock they defaced some portions of the chapel, but not to any considerable extent.

Mr James Sinclair had two sons, James and Alexander. James died young ; and Alexander, the second son, born 30th November 1672, succeeded to the estate. He was married to a daughter of Lady Semple, was served heir to his father in the lands of Rosslyn on 5th April 1699, and died in 1706. William Sinclair, their son, commonly known as the last Rosslyn, was served heir to his father on the 4th of August 1727. He married Cordelia, daughter of Sir George Wishart of Clifton Hall, and died 24th January 1778, aged seventy-eight. He resigned the office of Hereditary Grand Master Mason of Scotland to the Scottish Freemasons

in 1736, and about the same period sold the estate of Rosslyn to the Hon. James St Clair, second son of Lord Sinclair of Hermandston. By the marriage already mentioned, namely, that of the Hon. Catherine Sinclair in April 1659, he represented the line of William St Clair of Newburgh, eldest son of William third earl of Orkney and Elizabeth or Margaret Douglas. He was a general in the army, and from his brother being attainted in 1715, he succeeded as ninth Lord Sinclair, but did not assume the title, which continued in the Hermandston family after his decease. He took much interest in the Rosslyn estate, causing considerable repairs to be executed upon the chapel, and died in 1762 without issue. Colonel James Paterson, his nephew, succeeded him, and assumed the name of St Clair. He was the son of the general's eldest sister, the Hon. Grissel St Clair, and John Paterson, Esq. of Preston Hall. Colonel Paterson died unmarried in 1789. The St Clair property then devolved on Sir James Erskine, Baronet, second Earl of Rosslyn, and grandson of the Hon. Catherine St Clair, the general's second eldest sister, who married Sir John Erskine of Alva, Baronet.

The title of Earl of Rosslyn was conferred in 1801 upon Alexander Wedderburn, Lord High Chancellor of England, who did not possess the Rosslyn estate, but contributed largely to the preservation of the chapel.

Sir James Erskine, Bart., succeeded his uncle as second Earl of Rosslyn in 1806. He was the son of Sir Henry Erskine of Alva and Janet Wedderburn, sister of Alexander first Earl of Rosslyn. He married Henrietta Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Edward Bouverie.

James Alexander St Clair Erskine, third Earl of Rosslyn, succeeded his father in 1837, married Francis, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Wemys. Francis Robert St Clair Erskine, fourth and present Earl of Rosslyn, who succeeded his father in 1866, married Blanche Adeliza, second daughter of Henry Fitz Roy, Esq., of Salecy Lawn in Northamptonshire, and widow of the Hon. Charles Henry Maynard.

Much care has been bestowed during a long series of years, both by the late and present Earl of Rosslyn, in preserving the ancient buildings, and also in having extensive works carried out under the direction of Mr Bryce, architect, Edinburgh, in reinstating the dilapidations of the chapel and other interesting architectural remains.

On carefully examining the ruins of the castle, no loopholes or other

defensive openings are to be found in the north-west and north-east sides, while in those of the south-east side, small round eyelets are placed below almost every window. Although the purposes of the castle were kept in view from the first, arrangements for domestic comfort have not been overlooked. As society became settled, the restorations and additions assumed less of the appearance of a castle and more of a domestic residence.

A considerable extent of decorative features have existed upon the elevations towards the court-yard. The doorway forming the entrance to the chapel grounds is said to have been removed from it,—the style of which, with that of several carved stones still to be seen at the castle, is of a Renaissance character, inclining to Gothic.

As already noticed, the tower at the north-east corner was first erected early in the fourteenth century, the donjon tower about 60 years later, the connecting buildings on the north-west side onward to the north-east corner about 1446, the south-east side to the level of the court-yard and the great hall in 1597, and the south-eastern part in 1622. Large portions of the castle have evidently been rebuilt from time to time upon the old foundations, after having been partially destroyed by the repeated assaults which it has sustained.

The existence of vaults below the court-yard was previously noticed, but they evidently extend farther westward, as in the first floor down, in the south-east side, there is a built-up entrance to them from the great staircase.¹

The history of the St Clair family has been introduced into this paper more extensively than was originally intended, but as it was so much interwoven with that of the castle it could not be avoided, especially in distinguishing the periods in which the different portions of the building were erected.

[Since this paper was printed it has been pointed out by the editor of the first volume of the Exchequer Rolls, just published (Pref. p. lxxvii.), that Sir William St Clair, who was slain in 1330, is incorrectly designed of Roslin, inasmuch as his father survived him.]

¹ Slezer, in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, published in 1693, says, "A great treasure, we are told, amounting to some millions, lies buried in one of the vaults. It is under the guardianship of a lady of the ancient house of St Clair, who, not very faithful to her trust, has been long in a dormant state. Awakened, however, by the sound of a trumpet, which must be heard in one of the lower apartments, she is to make her appearance, and to point out the spot where the treasure lies."

III.

NOTICE OF SEVERAL SCULPTURED STONES AT MEIGLE, PERTSHIRE, STILL UNDESCRIBED. By WILLIAM GALLOWAY, Esq., ARCHITECT, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT. (PLATES XXV.—XXVII.)

The sculptured stones which form the subject of this notice were first brought to light on the destruction of the old church of Meigle by fire, March 28, 1869, and too late, therefore, to be included by Dr Stuart in either of the volumes of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland." They seem to have been used without scruple, at various periods, as ordinary building material, and, with exception of the first, are all in a more or less fragmentary state.

This disregard paid to the relics of a remote past, has been only too prevalent in every age. Even the new church of Meigle, erected on the site of that so recently destroyed, is not innocent of the charge. I am credibly informed that, during its progress, a mason having unwittingly broken up a cross-sculptured stone, built the fragments into the wall rather than let the misadventure become known. Other relics may have perished in a like manner; and, doubtless, had a thorough exploration of the site been made prior to the erection of the new edifice, many things of permanent value to the archaeologist would have been revealed. The recovery even of the large and interesting stone No. 1 was entirely accidental, nor can the slight acquisitions from the demolished structure be considered a fair equivalent for what was probably lost. Into the walls of the church, as a place of supposed security, were built several of the stones illustrated by Dr Stuart in the first volume of the work referred to.¹ These are now irrevocably gone, so that, always

¹ The following is an exact list of the stones represented, but of which, apparently, no remains now exist. They are all stated by Dr Stuart to have been "built into the walls of the church."

Plate lxxvi. No. 6.

Plate xciii. No. 8, figs. 1, 2; Nos. 9, 10, and 12.

Plate cxxvii. Nos. 13 and 14.

Plate cxxxii. No. 18.—Of this stone, happily, there exists a cast in the Museum.

Eight stones in all—two of them important, the rest of smaller size, but still exceedingly interesting—appear thus to have been lost.

excepting the sculptured stone to be first noticed, such fragments as have come to light are a very poor compensation for what the mischances of time and untoward accident have swept away.

I will now proceed to describe the stones *seriatim*, as they are illustrated in the accompanying plates.

No. 1 (figs. *a, b, c*, Plate XXV., and figs. *d, e, f*, Plate XXVI.).—This has evidently been a recumbent gravestone, the Pictish equivalent of an earlier date, of the sculptured slabs so extensively prevalent in other parts of the country, and especially in the West Highlands. So far as I am aware, this idea has not been hitherto entertained with regard to any of the Meigle stones; but there can be, I think, little doubt of its applicability, not only to the stone in question, but also to that at present in the Manse garden, illustrated by Dr Stuart in the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland” (vol. i. pl. lxxvii., No. 1, figs. 1, 2, and 3), and also to the two stones placed one above the other on a basement of modern masonry, in the churchyard¹ (*ibid.* pl. lxxii., No. 1, figs. 1 and 2; and pl. lxxvi., No. 2, figs. 1 and 2). The stone in question is in a remarkably complete state of preservation, and, beyond some chipping on the edges, and the more worn character of the upper surface, it is almost as perfect as when it was laid down to cover the last resting-place, it may be, of some great noble of Fortren. The material is the free-stone common in the district, of a very hard, close-grained, and enduring quality, and the entire mass must weigh over 7 cwt. Elaborately carved and tooled as the stone is, the sculptor has evidently been very much guided by the original form of the block. It measures about 5 feet in length by 19 inches in breadth, at the top and bottom, slightly expanding in the middle to about 20 inches. Including the carved work in relief, it is about 12 inches thick in the upper part, diminishing toward the foot to about 4 inches. This variation results from a considerable bend on the lower part of the stone, and to which it is possible the carver may have accommodated himself in its

¹ To the uninitiated eye this erection is very deceptive. It stands on a slight elevation, which might easily be mistaken for some ancient tumulus. I believe, however, that it is merely composed of the soil dislodged in excavating the Drumkilbo vault.

Nº 1.

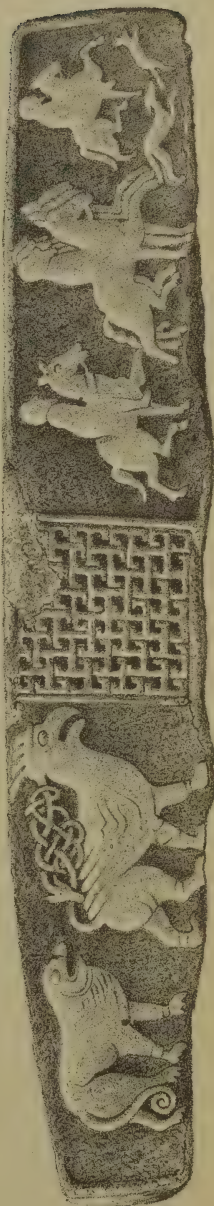
b.



a.



c.



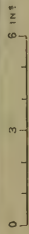
12 IN. 6 0 1 FOOT.

W. Galloway, ad Nat. lith.

SCULPTURED STONE AT MEIGLE

Nº 1.

d.

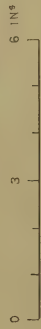


Nº 3.

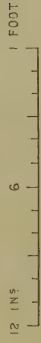
a.



e.



b.



original working. The principal face is boldly carved, with all the leading parts of the design in high relief.

The leading feature in the upper part is three interlaced serpents occupying a circle about 14 inches in average diameter, and rising $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the rest of the surface. The heads of the three animals are laid across each other in the centre of the circle, and each has its neighbour's tail firmly secured in its mouth.

Below this is a beaded square, divided saltire-wise, each of the triangular spaces so formed being filled in with three hemispherical balls, connected together with attachments both between themselves and the marginal beads. If any of the usual spiral ornamentation ever existed on these balls, it is now quite defaced. Traces of it, however, may be seen on the symmetrically-disposed balls decorating one side of the large ridged stone in the churchyard.¹ This mode of decoration forms a prominent characteristic of many of the earlier crosses and carved stones, not only on the east coast of Scotland, but also in Ireland and the West Highlands.

The principal feature on the under part of the stone is two curious nondescript animals placed *vis-a-vis*, and with no further connection save what results from the crossing of their paws. They are evidently a combination of the fish and some large-eared quadruped like the hare, the latter providing to each the head, ears, and two fore legs. All the rest is fish, with the dorsal, pectoral, and ventral fins complete, and a very long tail, with a terminal bifurcation—the salmon apparently being the type which the carver had in view.

The three pieces of sculpture described are all enclosed within an elaborate border of interlaced knot-work, changing in the centre of the stone from a scroll to a triangulated pattern. This border is zoomorphic, in so far as both at top and bottom it has animal terminations. Those at the bottom represent the winding neck, rounded head, and straight elongated bill of some stork-like bird. At the top, the terminal heads are evidently those of dogs, with ears laid back, huge fangs, and distended jaws. Between these gaping mouths there extends a socket about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and the same in depth, contracting towards

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. plate lxxvi. No. 2.

the bottom. This socket may possibly have been intended for the insertion of an upright stone cross, there being otherwise an entire absence of distinctively Christian emblems on the stone itself. This peculiar arrangement has evidently been of very frequent occurrence in the monuments at Meikle. The stone in the Manse garden, already referred to as being in all probability a recumbent grave-stone, has a socket of precisely the same character, and in the same position.¹ The uppermost of the two stones, also referred to as being in the churchyard, has the same feature— $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth at the middle, and 2 and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth at the ends respectively. It would be interesting to know whether the undermost of these two stones is also socketed. It is a much deeper stone—ranging from 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the head, to 20 inches at the foot,—and, being ridged and coped, may be regarded as forming a connecting link between the sow-backed monument in the Temple Hall collection and the three recumbent stones mentioned. Unfortunately, the superimposition of the one stone upon the other prevents this interesting point from being ascertained. The only other instance in which, so far as I am aware, this peculiar arrangement occurs, is the stone at St Vigeans, figured in the “Proceedings,” vol. ix. Plate XXXI., in connection with which a small tenoned cross-graven slab is represented, which may have been inserted in the orifice.

The sculptures on the two sides and top-end are very curious. Those on the sides are carved in low relief, those on the end are only incised, and are comparatively sharp, fresh, and well preserved—contrasting favourably with the more delicate ornamentation on the upper surface, which is considerably worn, as if the stone had been trodden upon for a lengthened period. On the two sides the arrangement is to a certain extent symmetrical, the centre in each being distinguished by a quadrangular device.

¹ Without being recognised as such, this socket is partially indicated in the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland” (vol. i. plate lxxvii. No. 2). It appears simply as a line terminating the peculiar ornament on the upper surface of the stone, and from which two bevelled lines run off on either side. The representation is too formal, and gives an erroneous idea of the actual appearance. The truth is, the upper part of the stone or head—if we view it as a recumbent gravestone—has been so far fractured as to carry away one side of the socket; but still I think there can be no doubt that this was the object of the incision.

That on the right side is formed by four nude interlaced human figures, in their mode of arrangement strongly suggestive of the Indian Swastika. Whether such intention was present to the mind of the carver or not, the combination is certainly very curious, and, so far as I am aware, on Scottish stones, unique.¹ In the compartment next the head of the stone, two animals are represented devouring a human body. The destruction is evidently considerably advanced, a remanent leg only being in dispute between the two ferocious brutes, while the dissevered head lies apart. In the corresponding compartment on the other side, a bear, very well and characteristically carved, is represented as quitting a horse which it has just slaughtered.

On the left side of the stone the centre square is composed of a fret or grill-like ornament,² the major compartment towards the head being filled in with a very well carved representation either of a travelling or a hunting scene. Five men, all clothed and bearded, mounted on horseback³—three riding abreast, with one ahead and another in the rear—are advancing at a good pace, the action of the horses being extremely spirited. By their side courses a hound, which has started a fox. It might at first sight be supposed that this chase was the main object of the cavalcade; but it seems rather to be an episode or by-play got up by the hound itself, while the riders have some more serious purpose in view. In the corresponding compartment, towards the foot of the stone, there are two figures—one evidently intended for a lion, the other a composite creature, winged, and with the head of a bird, surmounted by a comb, while the barbed tail forms a curious piece of interlaced knot-work over its back.

¹ On one side of the stone coffin at Govan there is a similar arrangement of four animals,—stags apparently,—which seems a pretty near approximation to this device; but they are not interlocked in any way (see the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” vol. i. plate cxxxv. fig. 2).

² A device based on exactly the same principle—with this difference, that the little terminal parts which enter so largely into the composition of the ornament are spiral, instead of being rectangular—occurs in the centre of the cross in the Temple Hall collection (see the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” vol. ii. plate iii.).

³ There is a similar progress of three horsemen riding one after the other, and accompanied by a little dog, represented on one side of the large ridged stone in the churchyard already mentioned (see the “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” vol. i. plate lxxvi.).

At the top end of the stone another of these composite figures is represented. In this case, however, the head is human, with an exaggerated nose. From before it a nude human figure is preparing to beat a retreat, and, with uplifted hands, turns round in an attitude of surprise.

Where not injured, all the upper edges of this stone, both vertical and horizontal,—including also the basal edges at the sides in the upper half,—have a bead, varying from half an inch to an inch in breadth, wrought upon them. In the lower half the basal edges are quite rough and irregular; but the sculptured subjects being still intact, and in so far accommodating themselves to the irregular conformation, it is a question whether this absence of beading is due to subsequent accident or not. The under side of the stone is quite rough and undressed, and has apparently never received any tooling, but still exists in very much the same state as when first taken from the quarry. The upper third of the surface is tolerably flat, but the remainder is very rough, extensively scaled, and, as just stated, without any regular edging at the sides.

With exception of this under side, and also the upper surface, which, as we have seen, is considerably worn, all the other surfaces, viz., the two sides, with the top and bottom ends, where not carved, have been carefully and regularly tooled, and present a pitted or dabbled appearance, as if the dressing had been due to a pointed tool, and blows delivered vertically, as in the arched stone from Forteviot in the Museum, and others.

Before concluding my notice of this stone, I will only mention that its recovery forms of itself a curious item in the chapter of accidents. To the north of the old church there was an extension attached, about 15 feet square. The space beneath was occupied as a burial vault for the Nairnes of Drumkilbo, the entry being from the interior of the church by a short flight of stairs in front of the pulpit. In consequence of the passing of the Act of Parliament against intramural interments, and the decease of the last member of the Nairne family, this vault was understood to be finally closed, and but for the accidental destruction of the building, the stone in question would in all probability have never come to light. Even then it ran a strong chance of being buried under accumulated rubbish, and covered over by the flooring of the new church. I believe the merit of its first recognition is due to Mr Alexander Guild, merchant in Meigle. The stone formed the lintel of the

opening or doorway which, at the foot of the flight of steps mentioned, gave access to the Drunkilbo vault. Mr Guild first noticed over the doorway the fret or grill-like ornament carved in the centre of the left side of the stone, and, judging that it might be of some importance, got it rescued from its precarious position.

Another fact may be mentioned, as showing at how recent a date the utilisation of this ancient relic for its modern purpose must have taken place. The stone used to form a levelling bed for it at one of its extremities still exists in the churchyard. It is part of an ordinary tombstone of the last century, about 2 feet by 18 inches, having a shield, with various initials, and a sock and couler, carved upon it. It is inscribed on both sides, a few lines of verse being on the one side, on the other an inscription bearing the date 1722.¹ It is reasonable to suppose that a considerable period must have elapsed before this stone could have been so broken up and utilised,—time enough, at least, to admit of the family it refers to having become extinct or forgotten.

No. 2 (figs. *a* and *b*, Plate XXVII.).—This is evidently part of an upright stone, carved on both sides, and, although fractured at either end, and partially defaced on one edge, is otherwise quite perfect and complete. It measures 22 inches in length by 16 inches in breadth at the top, and 14 inches at the bottom, and is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness.

It has two peculiarities, both of them rather difficult to account for. One is that while it diminishes in breadth at the rate of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to the foot, this diminution, instead of being upwards as usual, is downwards, so that the narrowest part of the stone must really have been the foot. The other is that the sides or edges, instead of being as usual at right angles to the principal faces, are considerably bevelled, so that in

¹ “ Erected by John Henderson
& Elizabeth Small his spouse
in Newbigging of Newtyld in
Memory of his parents who
departed this life February
17 . . & 1722 and of His ”

* * *

“ Here parents and their daughter ly
And grandchildren seven
As their Bodies unite we hope
Their Souls unite in heaven
To raise aloud the praises high
Of their Almighty King
And Saviour who from sin to them
Did great Redemption bring
Memento Mori ”

section the stone is not a rectangle but a rhomb. So much is this the case that in using this stone for building purposes, the mason, finding this bevel on one side in his way, has actually hewn it off, so as to secure a square edge, and to this extent defaced the stone by cutting away so much of the border ornament. On one side it exhibits part of the shaft of a cross, about 7 inches in breadth, with a slight tendency to diminish upwards as usual, and therefore the reverse of the general diminution of the stone. This shaft is filled in with a very good example of the key pattern. It contracts at the top, evidently for connection with the other limbs, the stone having been broken just below the transverse arms. At this point the decoration changes from the key to an interlaced pattern. A boldly raised margin, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, is the only other feature on this side.

On the reverse, or what from the large amount of decoration it carries might be considered the principal face, the leading object is a man on horseback, armed with the round shield and sword occasionally to be met with on these early stones. The head is unfortunately gone. Immediately below this figure are the spectacle and crescent ornaments, and beneath these again the well carved figure of a hound going at full speed, as if accompanying the rider above.

On both sides of this face there is an ornamental border, diminishing from $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the top to $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the bottom, this diminution being therefore downwards, and in harmony with the general diminution of the stone. This border is formed by two beads on either side, which diminish like the border itself, and the space between them is filled in with a triangulated key pattern, which does *not* diminish. It is part of this border which has been hewn away on one side to adapt the stone to its later purpose.

There is only one reason I can suggest for the peculiar form of this stone, but it must be taken for what it is worth, and that is, it might possibly be one of the upright crosses affixed into the sockets of the recumbent gravestones already mentioned; but this still leaves the beveling of the edges unaccounted for.

No. 3 (figs. *a* and *b*, Plate XXVI.).—This is evidently the top part of a large, circular-headed, cross-graven stone. It is of dark-red sandstone, and

a.

Nº 2.

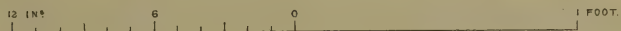
b.



c.

Nº 4.

d.



measures 20 inches in breadth by $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth and 3 inches thick. Both sides have been carved in very bold relief, but it is now very much worn and rounded, especially on the side bearing the symbols.

On one side, part of the head of a cross still remains, with square centre and natched arms, filled in with an irregular example of the key pattern. The circular head is finished with a bold bead, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. The side spaces or spandrels are sunk $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, and filled in with the figures of a man and a dog. The other side is quite flat, but bears in very low, rounded, and much worn relief the well known symbols, the sceptre and spectacle ornament, interlaced, and with indications of some further carving below them, but the stone is at this point unfortunately broken.

No. 4 (figs. *c* and *d*, Plate XXVII.).—This stone is an irregular fragment, 22 inches in extreme length by 19 inches in breadth and 3 inches thick. It is carved upon both sides, and about 8 inches of the original tooled and dressed edging on one side still remains. By measuring from this edge to the centre of the cross-shaft, the original breadth of the stone appears to have been about 21 inches. It has evidently been a very fine stone of early character.

On one side there is the shaft of a cross, elaborately decorated with a very fine example of the crescentic ornament, and in the side spaces various detached devices of interlaced knot-work are introduced. The lines here, both of the shaft of the cross and the original edging, are all quite parallel, and we must assume that they follow the direction lengthwise of the original stone, and if it were set upright all these lines would, of course, be vertical.

When we turn to the other side of the stone, however, a very curious discrepancy appears. The subject of the carving is a scene very similar to that represented on the stone at Dunfallandy, and partially also on the stones from Kingoldrum, now in the Museum.¹ On a chair of state is seated a personage, presumably of high rank, robed to the

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. pl. xlvii., xlix., lxxxix. See also the "Proceedings," vol. viii. p. 103.

feet. The head is unfortunately gone, but the figure is otherwise complete. In front of him, but of smaller dimensions, there has been another figure similarly robed and seated, the greater part being, however, broken away. Seated on the ground immediately behind the principal figure is an attendant. In so far this scene harmonises with those just mentioned. The peculiarity in this case is, that taking the 8 inches of original edging as a test of verticality¹—and this test we find to agree with the leading lines on the other side—all the lines of the sculpture on this side, and especially those of the main figure, run at an angle with it, and are, in fact, diagonals to it, so that if the stone had been set upright the seated figures must have appeared as being tilted backwards at a considerable angle. In the sculpture itself this discrepancy seems to be recognised in so far that the ground line crosses the stone at a much less angle than it would do if the other lines were at right angles to it, but even with the correction it is by no means horizontal. Even in relation to this line, the chair on which the central figure is seated is tilted up, as are also the feet of the attendant. This peculiarity is just as difficult to account for as the fact is certain.

¹ Even if this portion of the original edging did not exist, the discrepancy between the main lines of the sculpture on either side could, of course, be easily ascertained, only it would not be so certain which of them was likeliest to be in accordance with the general direction of the stone while still intact. In the drawing I have assumed that the edging and the lines parallel to it determine the verticality of the intact stone.

MONDAY, 14th *January* 1878.

DR JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Before proceeding to the ordinary business of the meeting, the Chairman referred to the loss the Society had sustained in the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Robert Horn, Esq., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, who, in various ways, took a lively interest in the prosperity of the Society, and of the collections under its charge.

A Ballot having been then taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows:—

JOHN H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

WILLIAM CRAIG, Esq., Burnfoot, Lochwinnoch.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON DUNBAR, Esq., 91 Victoria Street, London.

J. FORBES MITCHELL, Esq., of Thainstown.

JAMES GRANT, Esq., M.A., 8 London Street.

WILLIAM KERR, Esq., Solicitor, Dundee.

JOSIAH LIVINGSTON, Esq., 4 Minto Street.

DAVID MURRAY, Esq., M.A., 169 West George Street, Glasgow.

Professor JOHN NICHOL, LL.D., University of Glasgow.

JAMES A. SIDEX, M.D., 20 Heriot Row.

ALEX. BANNATYNE STEWART, Esq., Rawcliffe Lodge, Glasgow.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors, viz:—

(1.) By WILLIAM WALLACE, Esq., of Newton of Collessie.

Urn of "Drinking Cup" type, finely ornamented, found in the central Cist of a Cairn at Collessie.

Portions of the Unburnt Skeleton found in the Cist.

Bronze Dagger found in a layer of burnt human bones in gravel 4 feet underneath the Cairn.

Gold Mounting of the Hilt of the Bronze Dagger.

Portions of the Sheath of the Bronze Dagger, and of the Hairs of the Hide which covered it.

Portion of the Layer of Burnt Bones found in the gravel, containing parts of a Human Skeleton.

Urn of "Drinking Cup" type, found in fragments, at a depth of 6 feet in the gravel underneath the Cairn.

(See the subsequent Communication on the Excavation of the Collesie Cairn, by Mr Anderson.)

(2.) By SPENCER G. PERCEVAL, Esq.

Two Photographs of Flint Implements collected in the neighbourhood of Beer, Devon, by Mr Perceval. One Photograph contains fifty-six specimens, chiefly Flakes and Scrapers of small size; the other, twelve Implements or Fragments of Worked Flints of larger size. Mr Perceval states that these were collected during four months in 1876, chiefly in ploughed fields in the neighbourhood of Beer.

(3.) By THOMAS S. MUIR, Esq., Leith, Author of "Characteristics of Old Church Architecture in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland."

Series of Rubbings of Sepulchral Slabs, chiefly Scottish, comprising:—

1. Rubbing of the Front of a Table-Tomb at Kilmichael-Glassary, Argyllshire, divided into three compartments, with ornamentation of foliage.

2. Rubbing of the Slab forming the Top of the same Tomb, bearing a sword and foliage, and the inscription HIC JACIT DUNCANUS ...OY M'ALLEN.

3. Rubbing of a Slab at Kiel, in the south end of Kintyre, Argyllshire. The upper part contains a galley; beneath it is a sword, with seven-lobed pommel and reversed guard; on its right, near the bottom, a pair of shears; its left filled up with floriated work.

4. Rubbings of the broader Face and the two Edges of the Cross at Kilkieran, Kintyre.

5. Rubbing of a Slab from Hallan, South Uist, covered with floriated ornament, and having a sword in the centre with reversed guard. The sword in this case is represented in interlaced work.

6. Rubbing of a Slab from Kilcalmonell, having a sword with reversed guard in the centre, a floral scroll on its left, and on its right a panel inscribed in modern lettering, RONALD M'ALESTER OF DUNSKEIG.

7. Rubbing of a Slab with a Latin Cross, having a small, equal-armed cross in the centre. The stem of the large cross, which extends the whole length of the slab, is decorated with fret-work. Kilmartin, Argyllshire.

8. Rubbing of part of a Slab at Kilchrenan, Argyllshire, with the figure of a man in armour under a canopy.

9. Rubbing of a Slab from St Vigean, Forfarshire, bearing a Latin Cross, with semi-circular curves at the intersections, and covered with interlaced work and scrolls of divergent spirals.

10. Rubbing of a Slab at Kilbar, Barra, bearing a two-handed sword and ornamentation of foliage.

11. Rubbing of a Slab from Skipness, Argyllshire, bearing the figure of a man in armour, under a canopy, and ornamentation of intertwined stems and animal forms.

12. Rubbing of a Slab from the Nunnery at Iona, with two female figures, each under a canopy.

13. Rubbing of a Slab from the Nunnery at Iona, covered with floral scrolls.

14. Rubbing of a Slab at Killean, Argyllshire, with tri-cuspidate ending; in the centre a sword; on its right a border of intertwined stems and foliage; on its left remains of a defaced inscription.

15. Rubbing of a Slab of similar character from Killean, Argyllshire.

16. Rubbing of a Slab from Ratho, Mid-Lothian, bearing an equal-armed cross within a circle, and underneath it a sword with short straight guard, the round pommel being half hidden by the circle containing the cross. The slab is narrow, and a fret runs down each side.

17. Rubbing of a Slab from Rosslyn. A slender-stemmed Calvary Cross, with a circular head, in which is an octagon figure of trefoils, occupies the centre of the slab; on its left is a sword, with oval-pointed pommel and recurved guard; on its right WILLIAM DE SHINCLE.

18. Rubbing of a Slab from Culross. In the centre is a Calvary Cross, with a circular head, in which is an octagonal figure of stems and foliage geometrically arranged in overlapping ovals; on its left a sword, with oval-pointed pommel and recurved guard; on its right a blank panel and heater-shaped figure.

19. Rubbing of a Slab from Corstorphine Church. In the centre a Calvary Cross (with crosslets), bearing a circular head with four trefoils

or *fleurs-de-lis*; on its right a sword, with oval-pointed pommel and recurved guard.

20. Rubbing of a Slab from Corstorphine Church. In the centre a chalice, round the border HIC JACIT MAGISTER ROBERTUS HERIOT, BACHILARIUS IN DECRETIS QUONDAM RECTOR ECCLESIE DE GOGAR QUI OBIIT XX MA DIE JUNII ANNO DOMINI MCCCCXLIII.

21-30. Rubbings of Ten Slabs from Newcastle, Hexham, Bolam, Cambo, York.

31-45. Rubbings of Fifteen Brasses from Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, &c.

There were also exhibited:—

By JAMES E. ERSKINE, Esq., of Linlathen.

Urn of "Drinking Cup" type, and Bronze Dagger, from a Cist in Cairn Gregg, Linlathen, Forfarshire. (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Anderson.)

The following Communications were read:—

I.

NOTES ON THE CHARACTER AND CONTENTS OF A LARGE SEPULCHRAL CAIRN OF THE BRONZE AGE AT COLLESSIE, FIFE, EXCAVATED BY WILLIAM WALLACE, ESQ., OF NEWTON OF COLLESSIE, IN AUGUST 1876 AND 1877. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM.

My acquaintance with the Collessie cairn dates from the month of August 1876. I had heard of it more than a year previously from Mr Alexander Laing, of Newburgh, a Fellow of the Society, who described it to me, and stated that it was locally known by the name of the Gask Hill. From his description I judged that it was in all likelihood a sepulchral cairn, and I therefore suggested its excavation. Mr Laing then communicated with the Rev. Dr Williamson, the parish minister, and Mr Wallace, the proprietor of the ground on which the cairn is situated, who entered heartily into the proposal; and in August 1876, while I was temporarily resident in Carnoustie, they organised an excavation, at which I was invited to be present. I went, accompanied by Dr Dickson of Carnoustie, a Fellow of the Society, and meeting Mr Laing by appointment at Newburgh, we proceeded to Collessie.

I had previously given general directions as to the course to be pursued, and these had been carried out under the personal superintendence of Mr Wallace. Commencing at the south-east side of the cairn, the stones had been removed from a considerable segment of its base, so as to lay bare the soil on which they had been heaped. Nothing peculiar was observed in the structure of the cairn (so far as it was then removed), except that towards the inner part of the space thus uncovered there were three or four stones of large size placed against each other on the ground level. They were so much larger than the stones that lay around and over them as to suggest that their presence in a group on that spot was not the result of accident. The smaller stones having been cleared away, and the stones of the larger group rolled aside, the subsoil underneath the level of the cairn was excavated to a depth of about 4 feet. Almost underneath the spot on which the larger stones were placed, and at the depth of about 4 feet beneath the base of the cairn, a deposit of burnt bones appeared in the gravel, occupying a stratum of about an

inch thick, and covering a space of 3 or 4 square feet. The fragments of the bones were perfectly white, broken into very small pieces, and showing the peculiar cracked and contorted condition characteristic of the bones found in cinerary urns. I recognised among the fragments small

portions of a human skull and of the vertebræ. The atlas was entire, and seemed to be that of an adult. Among the bones lay the bronze dagger-blade (fig. 1), and close by it the gold fillet (fig. 2), which seems to have formed part of the decoration of the handle. At first there were apparent on the surface of the bronze blade a quantity of hair-like filaments, mingled with what seemed remains of woody fibre, but as it became dry these disappeared. In all probability they were the remains of the sheath, formed of thin slips of wood, and covered with hide.

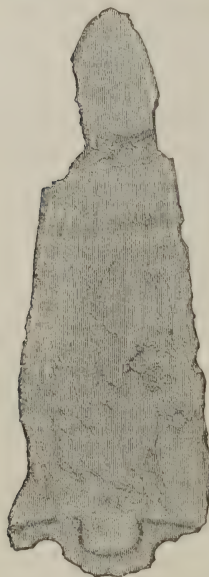


Fig. 1. Bronze Dagger-Blade.

The excavation in the gravel was so close to the unremoved portion of the cairn that it was necessary to remove as much more of the superincumbent mass of stones as would allow another trench to be opened some few feet nearer the centre. The rest of the day was occupied with this, and the layer of bone-ash having been again reached, was all taken up without anything further being discovered. As the harvest was then at hand, further operations were postponed till next summer.

In August last Mr Wallace commenced to remove the mass of the cairn, so as to lay bare as much as possible of the ground on which it stood, and at the same time to make a section through it from side to side. This proved a much more formidable operation than we had anticipated, and though three carts, and a large force of labourers were employed, it required eight days' work before the ground was cleared; and when fully

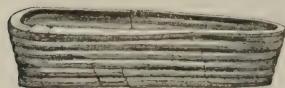
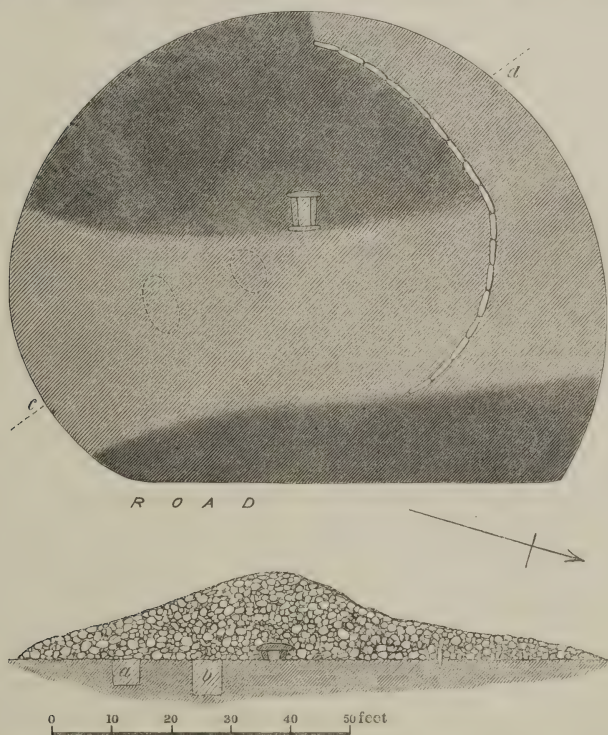


Fig. 2. Gold Fillet which had encircled its handle.

a thousand cart-loads of stones had been lifted and conveyed off the site,

we began to realise the magnitude of the task we had undertaken. During these eight days nothing turned up to encourage the explorers except a stray shoe-buckle, a copper coin, and one or two such odds and ends, which had made their way down into the cairn from the surface. The weather was broken and disagreeable, and appearances were altogether so



Figs. 3 and 4. Ground Plan and Section of Cairn at Collessie.

unfavourable that had it not been for Mr Wallace's steady perseverance and determination to be at the bottom of it, the work would have been given up as hopeless. When the removal of the stones was accomplished, Mr Wallace had uncovered a space of ground completely through the cairn of about 8 yards wide. (The space from which the stones were

removed is represented by the lighter shading on the accompanying ground plan of the cairn). We had thus a section through its centre (or a little beyond the centre) where the cairn was 14 feet high and about 120 feet in diameter. It was entirely composed of boulder stones, varying in size, but seldom beyond a size that a man could lift. The larger stones were mostly in the lower part, and there was no structural arrangement, except that a few feet within the base of the cairn there was a ring of sandstone slabs set on edge, close to each other, which went about one-third round the cairn, and probably had at one time encircled it. These slabs were about 3 or 4 feet high, and were bedded in the gravel, a bank of which was thrown up against the inner side of the circle, sloping up to the top of the stones.

The whole space within this circle, after the stones of the cairn had been removed, presented a most remarkable appearance. It seemed to have been made level, and was covered with a layer of fine clay, varying in thickness from one to three inches. The upper surface of this clay-bed was mottled with marks of fire, sometimes in spaces of several feet in diameter. In these burnt spaces the black ashes and charcoal of wood might be taken up in handfuls. The whole surface was more or less strewn with ashes and minute particles of charcoal. This appearance of burning was confined to the surface underneath the cairn. It did not extend up amongst the stones of the cairn, the interstices of which were filled with dark vegetable soil of the same character as the natural surface of the surrounding field. But in many places the gravel underneath the surface layer of clay was penetrated by these vestiges of fires. It seemed as if the greater part of the subsoil underneath the cairn had been disturbed, and mixed to varying depths with ashes and charcoal previous to the fires that had mottled the surface of the clay-bed, which was spread evenly over it, and that these appearances were due to fires kindled on the site previous to the erection of the cairn of stones.

We commenced at the boundary ring of slabs, and trenched over the space from which the stones had been removed, beginning with a depth of about 4 feet, so as to ascertain whether there was any deposit close to the ring of upright slabs, or underneath the bank of gravel heaped up against them. No result being obtained, we continued the trenching over the whole of the uncovered area, with similarly negative results, but

finding charcoal at various depths, and occasionally a small fragment of animal bone, unburnt, at or near the surface. During this time, some of the men who were not employed in the trenching were taking as much as possible off the inclined face of the section of the cairn in the centre, so as to make sure that we should find the central deposit.

At last the end of a cist became visible a little beyond the centre of the cairn, and placed on the natural surface of the ground. As there was now an almost perpendicular section of loose stones, about 14 feet high, on the top of the cist, there was but one method available. We dug under the end stone and slipped it out. The interior of the cist thus exposed was 4 feet 6 inches long, and 3 feet wide in the centre, being a few inches narrower towards the end we had opened. The side stones had been pressed outwards by the superincumbent weight, and there was about 15 inches of vacant space between the covering stone and the gravel in the bottom of the cist. Its appearance was that of perfectly clean washed angular gravel, nearly all of a size, with no admixture of sand or earth. This may have been due to the percolation of surface water for ages. But I think there can be no doubt that the gravel was placed in the cist over the body. There was no trace of bones on the surface, and no appearance of the urn, which, as we afterwards found, lay underneath. After carefully removing the loose upper layer, the sandy gravel was next scraped out by hand and minutely examined. Near the west side of the cist, and therefore placed either behind the shoulder or before the face of the corpse, the urn now exhibited (fig. 5) lay on its side. It was covered by the gravel, and the side that was uppermost had completely softened and disappeared. The upper edges of what remained were so crumbled that at first I had no hope of getting it out at all; but, by carefully clearing the gravel and sand from within and around it, I was at last able to pass my hands under it and lift it out. I have said that it lay either behind the shoulder or before the face of the corpse. This is matter of inference, from the fact that we found portions of the leg-bones near the further end of the cist. These were the only portions of the skeleton remaining.¹

¹ It often happens, where the cist is not sufficiently protected from atmospheric influences, that the remains disappear almost entirely. In one cist which I opened small cairn in Caithness there was nothing left of the whole skeleton but the enamel crowns of a few teeth, and the thin parts of the urn had also perished, only the thicker parts of the rim remaining in fragments.

When the whole of the loose gravel had been scraped out of the cist, the bottom appeared as if paved with rounded pebbles about the size of the clenched fist. This pavement of rounded water-worn pebbles has been frequently observed in the cists of this period. Underneath this pavement the gravel was loose and mixed with small fragments of charcoal to a depth of more than 2 feet. How much deeper the disturbed appearance of the gravel extended it was impossible to ascertain, because the sides of the cist (being undermined by excavating to that depth) threatened



Fig. 5. Urn found in central Cist of Cairn at Collessie (9 inches in height).



Fig. 6. Urn found 6 feet under the base of the Cairn (7 inches in height).

to collapse and bring down the whole of the superincumbent mass, and we were therefore obliged to be content with what we had ascertained at this time.

A trial excavation, in a line between the cist and the spot where the dagger had been found the previous year, was meanwhile proceeding, and had got to the depth of rather more than 4 feet below the base-level of the cairn; but it was now getting late, and there being no promising signs, those of us who had to go by rail were hospitably taken charge of

by Rev. Dr Williamson, while some of the workmen who were still sanguine of finding another deposit, proceeded to deepen the excavation. At the depth of 6 feet below the base of the cairn they found another drinking-cup urn in fragments (fig. 6) imbedded among the gravel, which was discoloured by ashes and charcoal. The fractures of the urn were old, and it appeared to have been broken on the spot where it was imbedded, as the pieces lay nearly together, and were not scattered to any distance.

Thus there were three different deposits discovered, viz., the central cist at the base of the cairn, on the original surface level; the deposit of burnt bones, with the bronze dagger, near the south-east side of the cairn, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the base-level of the cairn; and the broken drinking-cup, at a depth of 6 feet below the base level, and 20 feet below the level of the top of the cairn.

It is impossible to say whether there may not be more of these deposits in the ground that is still untouched. Judging from the unexpected discovery of the last urn at such a great depth, I am not at all certain that we went deep enough with the trenching, although the appearances were certainly not such as to induce us to go deeper. This is the first time in Scotland, however, that deposits have been discovered deep in the sub-soil underneath the base of a cairn; and our success, which was mainly due to Mr Wallace's indomitable perseverance, and the persistence of the workmen, will be an important lesson to future explorers.

As this is the first cairn of the Bronze Age that I have examined, and, so far as I know, the first of its kind in Scotland that has been systematically explored, my experience among the Stone Age cairns (which has been somewhat peculiar) was of no use on this occasion, and it was more a happy chance than anything else that led to the finding of the deposit with the dagger-blade on the first day's digging. That discovery, however, determined the method of the subsequent proceedings; because it showed that whatever might be in the cairn itself, there were also deposits underneath it, which could not be reached without removing the mass of the cairn off the surface of the ground. The discovery of the second urn at a depth of 6 feet showed that, while we had adopted the proper method, its complete results were only to be obtained by trenching the whole site to that depth—a task sufficiently formidable to deter the most enthusiastic amongst us.

The differences between the Collessie cairn and the Stone Age cairns, to which I had been accustomed in the North of Scotland, are sufficiently obvious and striking. These Stone Age cairns are chambered (see fig. 7), the chamber occupying the centre of the cairn, and having regularly-built walls and a roof, rudely arched by overlapping stones. A long passage leads from the chamber to the exterior of the cairn. This passage is lintelled over with large slabs. A bounding or retaining wall—sometimes single, at other times double—runs round the whole circumference of the cairn, giving it the character of a structure with external and internal elevations, and a ground plan defined by these constructions. Thus, although differing among themselves as to external form and internal arrangements, these Stone Age tombs are not mere cairns, in the sense of being heaps of loose stones thrown together at random, but structures possessing distinctive features of architectural construction. The internal space is disposed in the form of a chamber and passage. They have external and internal walls, doorways, lintels, and rudely-arched roofs. This Bronze Age cairn,



Fig. 7. Section of a Chambered Cairn at Camster, Caithness.
(75 feet in diameter.)

on the other hand, is structureless. It has nothing of the nature of a wall external or internal; and thus, for aught that it shows to the contrary, the people who reared it might have been destitute of the constructive ability to build a wall. In fact, instead of erecting a retaining wall around its exterior, they merely placed broad slabs on their edges in the gravel. And yet they were in their Bronze Age, while the people of Caithness, who constructed chambered cairns, were in their Stone Age. I do not infer from this, however, that these men of the Bronze Age in Fife were inferior in constructive capacity to the men of the Stone Age in the North of Scotland, But the facts have a very important bearing on the theory

of the relative ages of the two classes of cairns. They show that the rude structureless cairn, enclosing a simple cist of slabs, is not on that account necessarily older than the elaborately-constructed chambered cairns. They show us also that the less advanced structure may be characteristic of the more advanced civilisation ; and hence we are taught that we should have erred completely if we had attempted to measure the relative civilisation of these two peoples, by simply comparing the indications of constructive ability they have exhibited in the erection of their cairns.

The special features of the Collessie cairn are these—(1) its great size, 100 feet by 120 feet, and 14 feet high ; (2) the ring of upright slabs set round its base, which were probably at first the boundary of the cairn, though they are now at some distance within its margin ; (3) the layer of clay covering all the site of the cairn, on the level of the original surface of the ground ; (4) the appearance of fires all over this surface ; and (5) the deposits under the natural level, at different depths in the gravelly soil. No other cairn hitherto examined in Scotland has presented such a combination of peculiar features.

But our acquaintance with Bronze Age burials in this country is really so limited that I have thought it advisable to collect in one view the different forms that have been placed on record. They are as follows :—

1. *Burial after Cremation in a Natural Mound of Gravel, with or without a Cist to Protect the Urns.*—At Cambusbarron in Stirlingshire, in 1864, four urns, containing calcined bones, were discovered, placed a little apart from each other, about 18 inches under the surface, in a gravelly ridge.¹ These urns, which are of the common cinerary form, are now in the Museum. In one of them a perforated stone-hammer was found, and in another a small piece of thin bronze.²

A small cemetery was discovered in a gravel hillock at Torran-dubh,

¹ "Proceedings," vol. v. p. 214.

² A case apparently of this kind of burial occurred at Ardoe in Aberdeenshire, but the only notice of it on record is of the most tantalising kind, omitting all the points on which clear testimony is most desirable. The site was a sandy hillock. In it four cists were found—their sides and ends of rough slabs, and the bottoms paved with rounded pebbles. Two of these contained unburnt burials with urns. Some urns of larger size than those found in the cists were simply set in the sand near these cisted graves, and were presumably interments of the first-mentioned kind. These urns seem to have contained burnt bones, though that fact is not stated.

near Tain, in 1866.¹ The top of the hillock was occupied by a cist 4 feet 6 inches long, containing burnt bones and a broken bronze pin. Two urns were found at the base of the hillock, set in small cists not much bigger than the urns themselves. One of these was quite plain; the other ornamented with the characteristic patterns of the Bronze Age—a series of triangles filled with lines drawn parallel to one side.

2. *Burial in Cists covered by a Cairn.*—Dr Stuart has described² a cairn of the Bronze Age at Linlathen in Forfarshire, to which I shall afterwards refer in connection with the bronze dagger found in the cist. The cairn had been opened in 1834—twenty years before Dr Stuart saw it; and he was chiefly interested in the alleged occurrence in connection with the cist of a stone sculptured with the elephant figure—so called—of the sculptured stones, which was said to have been found between the covers of the cist, and had been replaced there when the cairn was closed up again.³

The cist was at the base of the cairn in the centre, on the natural surface of the ground, and was paved with rounded pebbles. It contained a drinking-cup urn (fig. 8) and a bronze dagger (fig. 9) of the same type as that found under the Collessie cairn. Both are now exhibited, by the courtesy of James E. Erskine, Esq. of Linlathen. I shall refer to this dagger further on.

3. *Burial in Cairns encircled by Standing Stones.*—At Cleigh, Loch Nell, Argyllshire, Dr Angus Smith describes a burial of the Bronze Age. It was a cairn with a central cist, and encircled by standing stones. The cist contained a bronze dagger of the same type as that found at Collessie.

One of these cinerary urns is in the Museum. It is 13 inches high by 9 inches in greatest diameter. There was also found a small half-globular bronze vessel, which was sent to the Museum of the University of Aberdeen. From the occurrence of this bronze vessel it may be inferred that this was really a cemetery of the Bronze Age, and it is clear that it was used for interments both with and without cremation. (“Proceedings,” vol. ix. p. 269.)

¹ “Proceedings,” vol. vi. p. 418.

² “Sculptured Stones of Scotland,” vol. ii.; and “Proceedings,” vol. vi. p. 100.

³ It is a curious illustration of the difficulty of obtaining full and precise information as to the most obvious facts, that Dr Stuart, in his account of this cairn, gives no hint of its size, and the nearest approach we obtain to an idea of its dimensions is from the notice in the New Statistical Account, where it is described as a large heap of stones.

The dimensions of the cairn and cist are not given ; neither is the height or number of the standing stones specified.

In his chapter on Sepulchral Memorials in the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," Dr Daniel Wilson refers to the opening in 1830 of a large encircled barrow at Old Liston, within a few miles of Edinburgh, and states that a bronze spear-head was found along with a heap of animal charcoal and small fragments of bones, but neither cist nor urn. The dimensions



Figs. 8 and 9. Urn (7 inches high) and Bronze Dagger ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long) found in a Cist in the centre of a Cairn at Linlathen.

of the barrow or cairn are not given, and the size and number of the standing stones by which it is encircled are not indicated. We are indebted to Dr John Alexander Smith, however, for the information that the base of the tumulus is about 31 yards in diameter, that three of the standing stones still retain their position, and that one about 8 feet high stands to the north-west of the mound, another about 7 feet high to the south-west, and the third to the east—size not specified. The so-called

spear-head, I presume, was one of those daggers with rivets which, at the time when Dr Wilson wrote, were almost universally classed as spear-heads. There is no authenticated instance of a bronze spear-head having been found with an interment in Scotland¹; while these daggers are invariably so found.

4. *Burial in Stone Circles without Cairns*.—The stone circle of Tuack, near Kintore, Aberdeenshire, was explored by C. E. Dalrymple, Esq.,



Fig. 10. Urn found in Stone Circle of Tuack, Kintore (12 inches in height).

F.S.A. Scot., in 1856.² The circle is 24 feet in diameter, and is entirely surrounded by a trench 12 feet wide. The standing stones are six in

¹ It is true that there are instances in which bronze spear-heads are said to have been found "in cairns"; but any heap of stones is termed a cairn, and in none of these instances is there any evidence that the so-called cairn was sepulchral, or that the spear-heads were connected with a burial.

² "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. p. 20.

number, set at about equal distances round the inner side of the trench. Within the circle there were found three large urns, inverted over burnt bones, in circular pits covered with flat stones about 18 inches under the surface. In two of these urns there were fragments of thin bronze among the bones. One of the urns was entire, and is now in the Museum.

In the large group of circles at Tormore, Arran, explored by Dr James Bryce, it was found that there was no perceptible difference between the mode of interment in the circles of tall pillar-stones and that in the circles formed of smaller granite blocks. In one of the circles of tall pillars a central cist was found, with a fine urn of the form known as the food-vessel type. In others of these circles flint flakes were found, with unburnt interments in the cists, and in one circle of small granite blocks a central cist was found, in which were the fragments of an urn, several flint flakes, and a bronze pin. The body in this case had been apparently unburnt.

In regard to the general question of the burial customs of the Bronze Age in Scotland, it is thus clear that cremation and unburnt burial were practised simultaneously, and we cannot affirm from the evidence before us that there was any special preference for the one form over the other. It will be observed that at Collessie we have burials burnt and unburnt; burial in a cist over which a great cairn had been heaped, and burial with no cist, burial with urns, and burial with no urn, at least none that was discovered. No Bronze Age barrow or cairn in Scotland is chambered. The interments, whether burnt or unburnt, are either in simple cists or in graves or pits excavated in the subsoil.

It only remains now to describe the objects found in the Collessie cairn. They are :—

1. *The Bronze Dagger-Blade*.—The dagger-blade of bronze (of which the figure is here repeated as fig. 11) was found in the deposit of burnt bones $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet underneath the original surface level. It is a thin, triangular blade, with smooth surface, 6 inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the butt, and tapering to the point. It has been fastened to the handle by three rivets. The mark of the handle appears on the butt of the blade, and when first discovered there were evident traces of the sheath in which it had been when deposited. These adherent fragments separated from the

blade when dry, but they have been carefully preserved by Mr Wallace, and are now exhibited. When I examined the blade with a pocket magnifying glass immediately after it was taken up, the appearance of woody structure was quite distinctly visible in patches among the adhesive

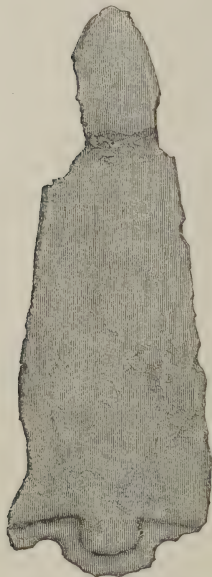


Fig. 11. Bronze Dagger-Blade found $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet under the base of the Cairn.

mass of wet ashes, bone-dust, and earth which covered its surface. Other patches on the surface of the dark layer on the blade were covered with a coating of short, straight filaments of such an excessively fragile nature that the slightest touch was sufficient to obliterate their form and render them invisible. Fortunately, there has been preserved so much of this filamentary coating of the sheath as suffices to demonstrate its character with certainty. When dry it separated from the blade in small, twisted, curling masses, which look like leather to the naked eye, and yield a strong odour when burnt. These masses are brittle, and difficult to deal with as mounted objects for microscopic examination, but after saturating one of them in warm turpentine, and subjecting it to strong pressure, I was able to mount it as a transparent object.

The microscope then resolved it into a compact mass of agglutinated hairs, having the same form and structure as the loose filaments which were also adherent to the blade. Under polarised light they exhibit the same appearance and structure as the dark hairs of a Shetland cow taken from one of the *riclins* or Shetland shoes of untanned hide in the Museum, with which I have compared them. But I leave the question of whether they are in reality the hairs of the British ox of the Bronze Age to be decided by more practised experts in the art of microscopic determination. In the meantime, from the examination I have made, I have little doubt that we have here the remains of the sheath of wood, covered with hide, having its hair outward, in which the dagger was when deposited.

Remains of sheaths have been similarly found with this type of dagger in England. Sir Richard Colt Hoare notices remains of the sheaths of wood "apparently of willow," in three instances, with the smaller form of bronze blade, in the barrows of Wiltshire. With six of larger size he found traces of similar sheaths, two of them lined with linen, "the web of which was still to be distinguished." Both Warne and Bateman also notice the occasional occurrence, in the barrows of Dorset and Derbyshire, of sheaths which were considered to be of leather.

The mark of the handle is also distinctly visible on the Collessie blade, showing the usual "lunation," as it has been called, in the centre. No remains of the handle sufficiently tangible for examination were, however, discovered, except the remarkable gold mounting which seems to have encircled it. This gold mounting (fig. 12) is in the shape of a thin fillet $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, made into an oblong mounting $1\frac{1}{4}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and ornamented by five parallel bands, neatly rounded in *repoussé* work. The only similar instance of the gold mounting of the handle of one of these bronze blades was in the case of a very small blade found in a barrow at Stourhead, in Wiltshire. It is described as elegantly mounted in a handle formed of two pieces of amber, secured by rivets, and bound with four strips of gold.¹

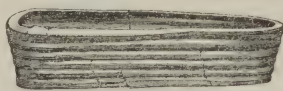


Fig. 12. Gold Mounting of the Handle of the Bronze Dagger found at Collessie.

These small blades were probably knives for personal use, worn perhaps by both men and women. In those cases in which other objects have been found in the same deposit with them, they have been frequently accompanied by ornaments considered to be those of women.²

¹ Another bronze blade of larger size, also found in Wiltshire, is described as having the handle entire. It is of wood, and a marvellous specimen of delicate workmanship, being studded all over with a multitude of gold pins so minute as almost to require a magnifying glass to see them distinctly, and arranged so as to form a beautiful zig-zag pattern.

² The woman's skeleton found at Borum Eshoi, in Denmark, with its suit of clothing still in perfect preservation, was accompanied by a bronze dagger, not, however, of this type, but of the common sword-blade form of that weapon. This Danish deposit, however, shows us that in these early ages the wearing of such weapons by women was not so unusual as we, with our modern notions, might have supposed.

Nine of these thin flat-bladed knife-daggers of bronze are known in Scotland, the Collessie specimen being the tenth. Of these four are in the Museum. Only two of them, however, are entire; and it is curious that for almost a whole century, viz., from 1782 to 1872, there was only one in the collection. The following is a detailed description of these Scottish specimens, and the circumstances of their occurrence, so far as they are known. Every one of those hitherto noticed, except the Glenluce specimen, has occurred in connection with an interment.

They are as follows:—

(1.) A finely patinated blade, now $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, but originally about an inch longer, and 2 inches wide at the butt end. It was found in a cist in Carloch Cairn, Chapelerne, in the parish of Crossmichael, Kirkeudbrightshire, and was presented to the Museum by Alexander Copland of Collieston, in 1782.

(2.) The fragments of a thin, flat blade of this description, found with two urns of the drinking-cup type, in clearing away a cairn on the farm of Callachally, Glenforsa, Island of Mull. One of the urns is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 6 inches wide at the mouth, ornamented with narrow parallel bands of chevrons and short intersecting lines. The broad bands between these are filled with a series of acutely-pointed triangular spaces, filled with parallel lines. The urn is much broken; and of the other urn which accompanied it only a small fragment remains. Along with the urns and knife-dagger there was found one of those rare polished stone objects, supposed to have been “bracers” for protecting the left wrist from the recoil of the bowstring. It is of greenstone, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and decreasing in thickness from about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in the middle to about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch at the ends. It is pierced by two holes, one near the middle of each end, and about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter.

(3.) A beautiful specimen of this form of knife-dagger (fig. 13), 5 inches long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad at the base, found in a cist in a cairn at Cleigh, Loch Nell, Argyllshire. The dimensions of the cist and the cairn are not given. The blade retains the mark of the handle, which seems to have been of wood, and its outline, where it covered the blade, is marked by a line of punctulations made by a punch. The three rivets by which it was secured to the handle still remain. The cist in which it was found had been previously opened, and the dagger which had been unnoticed by the

first explorers was found by Dr R. Angus Smith, F.S.A. Scot., and by him presented to the Museum in 1874.

(4.) A bronze dagger-blade (fig. 9), now somewhat mutilated, found in 1834 in a cist in the centre of a cairn locally known as Cairn Greg, at Linlathen, previously referred to. The blade, which is of the usual shape, with slight curvature of the sides, has been about 5 inches in length, and 2 inches wide at the butt end. It bears the mark of the handle, and has been fastened by three rivets, the length of which gives the same thickness of



Fig. 13. Bronze Knife-Dagger, Lochnell.



Fig. 14. Bronze Dagger-Blade found in a Cist at Drumlannrick.

handle as the width of the gold mounting found at Collessie, viz., half an inch. The cist in which it was found was 4 feet 10 inches long, 2 feet 9 inches wide, and 2 feet 10 inches in depth. It lay east and west on the natural surface of the ground, and was paved with small water-worn pebbles. When opened, the urn lay on its side, near the middle of the south side of the cist, and the dagger lay near the west end.

(5.) A fine blade of the same description (fig. 14), $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad at the base, which also shows the mark of the handle, and has two of its three rivets remaining. It was found in a cist at Drumlanrick, near Callander, Perthshire, and purchased for the Museum in 1874.

(6.) One was discovered in 1866 in a cist on the highest part of the Law of Maudslie, near Carluke, Lanarkshire.¹ The cist, which was 3 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep, contained an unburnt skeleton in a contracted position, the head to the south-west, and the dagger-blade lay on the left side of the skeleton. The blade was $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the butt end, and was pierced for three rivets. It differed from the usual form of these thin, flat, knife-like blades, in having a circular mid-rib running down the centre from hilt to point.

(7.) One is noticed as having been found in an urn in the parish of Tough, Aberdeenshire. It is described as a flat piece of bronze, which might have been a lance-head.²

(8.) Another is noticed as having occurred in a cist 6 feet long, 3 feet wide in the middle, and tapering thence to a width of 1 foot at each end, which was discovered in ploughing a field at Bishopmill, near Elgin. Portions of a skin, apparently that of an ox, on which the hair remained, were found in the cist.³ This blade, of which there is a cast in the Museum, differed from the ordinary type in having a wide, flat mid-rib, tapering from butt to point, and very slightly raised above the surface of the blade.

(9.) A small blade of this description, found among the sand hills near Glenluce, Wigtownshire, and presented to the Museum in 1876 by Rev. George Wilson, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot. It is 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the butt end, which still bears the mark of the handle. Fragments of urns were found in the sand; and in all probability this specimen, like all the others, had been deposited with an interment.

These thin, flat blades, a distinct variety from the larger triangular or

¹ "Proceedings," vol. vii. p. 440.

² "Proceedings," vol. iv. p. 384.

³ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 96.

leaf-shaped daggers with fluted blades, are rare in England as well as in Scotland. Dr Thurnam notices seven only from the numerous barrows described by him in the south of England. Eighteen are described by Mr Bateman from the barrows of Derbyshire, and Canon Greenwell has obtained several from North of England barrows. They occur oftener with unburnt than with burnt bodies. They are not mentioned as a specific class in Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Antiquities, in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin; and only one specimen is described which bears any resemblance to them.

Although the triangular and fluted variety of bronze dagger occurs in Denmark and Sweden, I do not remember having seen any of these thin, flat, tangless blades, without mid-rib, in any of the Scandinavian collections. None are figured from Denmark by Worsaae in his "*Nordiske Oldsager*," nor by Madsen in his "*Bronsalderen*;" and there is no notice of them in the "*Antiquites Suedoises*," or the "*Bronsalderen i Norra och Mellersta Sverige*," of Dr Oscar Montelius. Neither do they occur in the magnificent work by Chantre on the Bronze Age in France. It is true that thin, triangular daggers, not unlike them, occur occasionally in France, Switzerland, and Italy, but they are usually ornamented with flutings on the blade, and set in handles of bronze. It appears, therefore, that this thin, flat, smooth-bladed knife-dagger, fastened with rivets to its handle of wood or horn, is a variety peculiar to Great Britain, and it is the only form of bronze weapon habitually deposited with the dead. No instance of a bronze sword or of the large and thick and fluted bronze dagger, has yet been found with an interment in Scotland; while, on the other hand, this thin and elegant blade has never occurred except with interments; and when it has been accompanied by an urn, the form has always been that of the tall drinking cup. It is curious that although there were drinking-cups with the other two interments at Collessie, there was none with the interment in which the dagger was deposited. This, however, is in accordance with the experience of Messrs Bateman and Carrington, who record that all the knife-daggers found by them in the barrows of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, sixteen in number, were with bodies unaccompanied by any vessel of pottery. "The same," says Canon Greenwell, "has been the case with those found by Mr Ruddock on the Yorkshire moors, and by myself on the wolds and moors." It is also curious that the Col-

lessie dagger, though deposited among the burnt bones of the body which it accompanied, has not itself been subjected to the fire.

2. *The Urn found in the Cist.*—The urn found in the Collessie cist (the figure of which is here repeated as fig. 15) is of the ordinary type



Fig. 15. Urn found in the central Cist of the Cairn at Collessie (9 inches high).

known as "drinking-cups." The name is suggestive of familiar use, but it is unknown whether they were ever made or used for domestic purposes. The drinking-cup found in the Collessie cist is 9 inches high and 6 inches diameter across the mouth. It is beautifully made, without the aid of the wheel, but perfectly regular in outline, and has been well baked in an open fire. The paste is thin and smooth, and very free from admixture of grit. The ornamentation consists of bands of parallel lines alternating with bands of small saltires and of short oblique lines. All these have been produced by the impression of an implement with closely-set teeth, probably made of wood for this special purpose.

We have never yet found a Bronze Age dwelling in Scotland, and consequently we know only the sepulchral pottery of this period. These tall drinking-cups are the handsomest of all the varieties of sepulchral pottery. They are usually, though not exclusively, found with unburnt bodies. It is not often that they are accompanied by other objects; but when this is the case, the articles so accompanying them are usually of bronze, and are either small pins or awls, and knife-like blades or daggers. Flint flakes have been found with them in some instances, as at Lesmurdie in Banffshire, and Kingswell in Forfarshire. The most remarkable thing found in connection with this form of sepulchral vessel was the horn spoon or ladle found hanging over the rim of one of these urns in a cist at Broomend of Inverurie, Aberdeenshire (see fig. 16). The cist con-

tained the skeletons of a man and a child, covered with a matted fibrous substance which may have been partly rootlets of plants, but was apparently an ox-hide laid over the bodies. As in the Collessie case, the bottom of the cist was bedded with round water-worn pebbles.



Fig. 16. Urn and Ladle of horn found in a Cist at Broomend of Inverurie.

3. *The Urn found 6 feet deep in the Gravel under the Base-Level of the Cairn.*—This vessel (fig. 17) is of the same general form and character as the one found in the cist. It is smaller, however, and belongs to the high, straight-brimmed variety of drinking-cup. It measures 7 inches high, and 6 inches across the mouth. The ornamentation is composed of bands of parallel lines alternating with zig-zag lines, produced by an instrument similar to that used for the previous urn.

Like the thin bronze blade sometimes associated with it, this special form of tall drinking-cup is limited in its geographical range. It is essentially a British form, and it is very remarkable that, while it is abundant in Britain, it only occurs in sporadic instances on the Continent, and not a single specimen is known in Ireland. Only two are in the

Museum at Copenhagen. A form pretty closely approaching it occurs occasionally in Holland and North Germany, and another not very dissimilar in Brittany and the Channel Islands. I do not remember to have seen anything like it in the Museums of Stockholm and Christiania,



Fig. 17. Urn found 6 feet under the base of the Cairn at Collessie.

from which, and from the fact that there are only two specimens in Denmark, I conclude that it is unknown in Northern Scandinavia. It seems a fair inference, therefore, that in this bronze blade and these drinking-cups of the Collessie cairn we have local examples of the two most characteristic accompaniments of Bronze Age burial in Britain, both of them articles so peculiar in form, and so limited in range, as to be specially British, and both, therefore, representative of the native skill and culture of the time. This beautiful blade—beautiful alike in the simplicity of its design and the elegance of its form and finish—exhibits skill in its

manufacture and taste in its mounting. These vases, coarse in their texture as they may seem, evince a correctness of eye and a facility of manipulation in their makers which it takes a little thought to estimate at its true value. They made these things over a long period in every district of the country. Yet they are usually of elegant form, and I never saw two exactly alike. This almost seems to imply a general capacity in certain directions, which certainly does not exist among us at the present day to a similar extent. Let there be selected at random a hundred men, civilised and cultured; give each of them a lump of clay, raw and untempered, and let the problem be to produce the equal of this Collessie drinking-cup as a work of art, and how many in the hundred will succeed?

In conclusion, I have to say, in the absence of Mr Laing, to whom the initiatory steps of this undertaking were due, that the Society can scarcely

over-estimate the value of the service that Mr Wallace has rendered to the Archaeology of Scotland. The zeal and earnestness with which he entered on a work of such unusual magnitude, and the energy and perseverance with which he prosecuted it to a successful issue, can only be appreciated by those who watched its progress. But when I add that he has not only presented to the Museum all the results of the excavation, but relieved the Society of the whole expense of the work, the members now present will be able in some measure to appreciate the extent of his liberality, and the importance of the contribution he has thus voluntarily made to archaeological science.

[In proposing that the hearty thanks of the Society be given to Mr Wallace, Dr Mitchell announced that in consideration of the service he had rendered to science by the excavation of this peculiarly interesting cairn, and the presentation of the objects found to the National Museum, the Council of the Society had resolved to recommend to the present meeting that Mr Wallace should be made a Corresponding Member of the Society without the formality of a ballot. Mr Wallace was accordingly, on the recommendation of the Council, elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.]



Drinking Cup Urns from Lesmurdie, Banffshire.

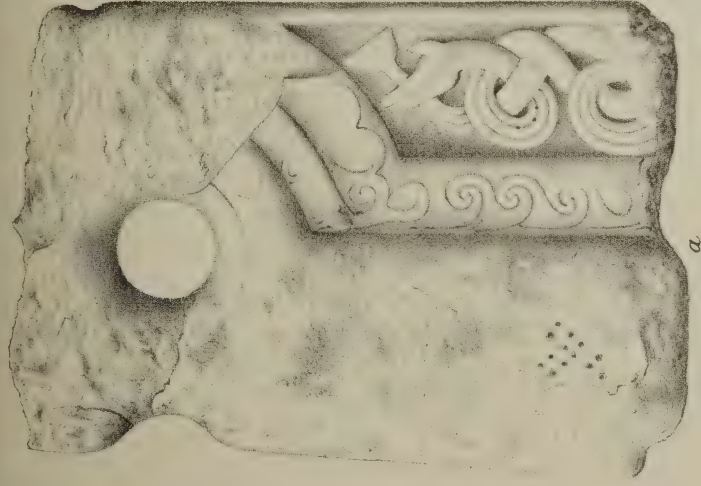
II.

NOTICE OF A FRAGMENT OF AN ANCIENT STONE CROSS FOUND AT CARPOW, IN THE PARISH OF ABERNETHY, PERTHSHIRE. BY ALEXANDER LAING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., NEWBURGH. (PLATE XXVIII.)

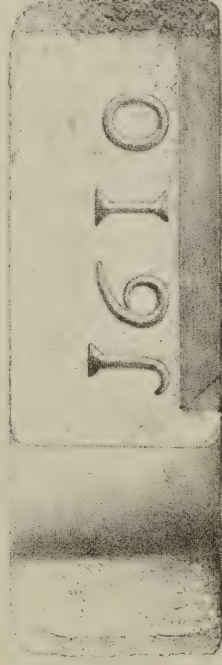
The fragment, of which a full-sized drawing by Mr William Galloway, Corresponding Member of the Society, is now exhibited, is undoubtedly part of the upper portion of a cross of great antiquity. It came for the first time under my observation in September last, in company with Professors Mackay of Edinburgh, Bryce of Oxford, and Robertson Smith of Aberdeen, who had come on a pilgrimage to visit Mugdrum Cross and other remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood. A moment's observation showed that it was part of the head of a very ancient cross. The interlaced carving is beautifully wrought, and the very natural attitude of the stag carved on it shows more artistic taste than is usually found on similar monuments.

In investigating the history of this fragment, I learned that it had formed for upwards of two hundred years the lintel of a well, that jutted into the wall of the garden of Carpow. I infer this from the circumstance of the outer edge of the lintel having the date 1610 carved upon it, and also that the cross itself was broken up at that time, and appropriated for the purpose mentioned. When the garden wall was taken down about thirty years ago, the old carving on the lintel was noticed, and the fragment fortunately preserved. It lay uncared for until August last, when it was removed for preservation to Mugdrum, and came under observation as previously mentioned.

It enhances the interest of this fragment to know that it was found at Carpow, which formed part of the lands dedicated by Nectan, King of the Picts, "to God and St Brigid, to the day of judgement." In all probability the cross was erected shortly after this dedication, the earliest grant of lands of which we have record in Scotland. The grant, or rather gift, is recorded in these terms :—"Nectan Morbet [recte Morbrec] filius Erip xxiv. [annis] regnavit. Tercio anno regni ejus Darlugdach, abbatissa Cilledara, de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam. Secundo



c



Scale 1½ inch to the foot.

anno adventus sui, immolavit Nectonius Abernethige Deo et Sancte Brigide, presente Darlugdach que cantavit Alleluia super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum Apurnethige Sancte Brigide, usque ad diem judicii, cum suis finibus, que posite sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt usque ad lapidem juxta Ceirfuill [Carpow] id est Lethfoss; et inde in altum usque at Athan."¹

We quote this in the hope that some local antiquary may yet discover the stone at Apurfeirt, and that the boundaries of the lands may be completely verified.

When Dr Stuart (whose comparatively early death is an irreparable loss to Scottish Archæology) was engaged with the second volume of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," he besought me to endeavour to find out the stones at Apurfeirt and Ceirfuill, which formed the landmarks of Nectan's gift. In the former I was unsuccessful; but there can be little doubt that the huge stone known as "The Cloven Stone," which marks the limits of the lands of Carpow on the south-east, is the *lapidem juxta Ceirfuill* mentioned in the record of the donation of the King of the Picts.

That this most interesting cross was broken up at the time it was appropriated for a lintel is corroborated by the evidence of Lady Dunbar of Mochrum, a daughter of the late James Paterson of Carpow. She remembers distinctly of seeing what she now believes to be the other half of the cross, with the letters J. O. (the initials of John Oliphant, the proprietor of Carpow in 1610) carved upon it, and she is under the impression that the missing half was taken for some building purpose to one of the steadings on the estate. This statement is corroborated by another relative. Though no trace of it has as yet been discovered, search is being made, and there is a hope that it will be found, and the ancient Cross of Ceirfuill restored. Meantime the recovered portion is laid beside Mugdrum Cross, where it can be seen.

Mr Galloway adds the following notes on the stone :—

In its present state the stone measures 2 feet 5 inches in length, by 19¾ inches in breadth, and 9 inches in thickness.

As the date indicates, it was re-hewn as the lintel for an opening to a

¹ "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," p. 6.

well in the year 1610. One extremity of the lintel is gone, but it is clear that it must have spanned an opening with chamfered rybats, checked for a door, with rybat-heads of about 7 inches.

A bold chamfer, 2 by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, mitred at the one end, to return down the side, with the date cut in large figures above it, marks the exterior face of the lintel. (See Plate XXVIII. fig. c.) In dressing this face, a considerable portion of the carved work must have been hewn away. About 20 inches of the original edge still remains on the opposite side, and by the measurement from this edge to the centre of the cross, it appears that in its complete state the stone was about 30 inches broad. This dimension exceeds the present standing cross at Mugdrum, which is only 2 feet 3 inches broad, and 13 inches in thickness.

In its original condition the stone has had a large cross occupying its full breadth, carved on both of its sides. Of these the most ornate (fig. b) has formed the soffit or under side of the lintel, but unfortunately it has been very much damaged in the conversion of the stone to its later purpose. A portion of the shaft, of the centre, and the right arm of the cross, still remain.

Like most of these early crosses, the form has been that usually called "Irish," hollowed at the axillæ, which are pierced right through the thickness of the stone, and have the arms connected by a glory. The edges of the stone have been carved with a face-bead, which runs into that marking the outline of the cross. The shaft has been over 9 inches broad at the top, and expanding at the rate of about an inch to the foot. It has been richly ornamented with a diagonal plait-work, unfortunately now very much worn. The centre of the cross, like those on the Bore Stone at Gask, is occupied by a square filled with plait-work. A device of the same kind appears also in the sole remaining arm. In the space immediately below it, and on the right side of the shaft, there is a very well carved stag, with large branching antlers and reverted head. In the compartment below it, there is the partially fractured figure of a dog, a bloodhound apparently. These animals are separated by a line of interlaced ornament, which is carried round so as to form a vertical border just inside the edge-bead.

Turning to the other or reverse side of the stone (fig. a), we find the ornament on the cross still more worn and obliterated; indeed it is

evident that before this relic of the olden time was transformed into a lintel, it must have gone through a good deal of rough usage. With some variation in matters of detail, the cross is very much of the same character as that already described. All the ornament on the more elevated surfaces is entirely gone, only a few pits or dots, symmetrically arranged on the lower part of the shaft, remain to show that it really was once decorated probably with an interlaced plait.

The treatment of this cross differs from that on the other side, in there having been a border about 2 inches in breadth, evidently of plait-work, carried round each quadrant of the glory externally, and, in addition to this, a broader raised border, 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, carried round the entire cross. This latter border has been decorated with an incised linear scroll ornament, of which a similar example appears in the richly ornamented cross at Cossins.¹ What remains of the side space between this border and the edge-bead is filled in with entwining serpents, partially damaged, but probably two in number.

Although there can be no doubt as to the original breadth of the stone, we have no means of determining its height. That it was one of the large cross-graven upright slabs, which so frequently occur in the eastern counties, is evident.

Perhaps the stone already referred to at Cossins presents a pretty near approach to what this Carpow cross would be originally. The latter is indeed from 3 to 4 inches broader, and may therefore have been larger, but the style of treatment of the two, and mode of decoration, are quite analogous. It has the same richly-interlaced plait-work on the limbs of the cross, the incised scroll ornament formerly mentioned, and the double-headed entwining knot of serpents. The Bore Stone at Gask may also be cited as supplying points of analogy, especially in the arrangement of the animals.

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Spalding Club), vol. i. pl. lxxxv.

III.

THE STORY OF THE FABRICATION OF THE "COFFIN-PLATE" SAID TO HAVE BEEN FOUND IN THE TOMB OF KING ROBERT BRUCE IN DUNFERMLINE ABBEY. BY T. B. JOHNSTON, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

Enquiring recently of my friend, Mr William Nelson, as to the health of an old acquaintance, Mr John Nimmo of Paris, he informed me that he not only was in good health, but that he was as active as ever.

Mr Nelson also informed me of what I had not previously known, that Mr Nimmo was a party to, or knew all about, the "coffin-plate" said to have been that of King Robert Bruce. Knowing that the genuineness of this plate had been called in question, I requested Mr Nelson to get from Mr Nimmo an account of the whole transaction, which that gentleman has kindly sent, and his letter is now before me.

Before reading an abstract of the communication I have received, it may be as well to refer briefly to the circumstances which led to the fabrication of the plate; this I will do as shortly as possible, as the whole details of its supposed discovery will be found in the Report made by Henry Jardine, Esq., His Majesty's Remembrancer in Exchequer, which was communicated to this Society on the 10th December 1821, and published in an abridged form in vol. ii. of the "*Archæologia Scotica*," published by this Society.

The Report states that the remains of the church in Dunfermline, used as a place of public worship, were in such a state of decay that it was resolved to rebuild the church, and Mr Burn, architect, Edinburgh, was employed to make a design for it. In making preparations for the building of the new church, the workmen, on the 17th February 1818, came upon a vault covered by two flat stones, which, on being removed, disclosed a body wrapped in lead, having an embroidered linen cloth over it.

As this was thought to be the remains of The Bruce, Mr Burn gave directions that further investigations should be delayed till the authorities were consulted; large stones in the meantime being placed over the vault.

Accordingly, nothing more was done till the new church was well advanced, when, on the 5th November 1819, the vault was again opened

in the presence of the Lord Chief Baron, Mr Baron Clerk Rattray, the magistrates of Dunfermline, Drs Gregory and Monro, and many others. On the removal of the skeleton wrapped in lead from the vault, a quantity of fragments of wood, apparently of oak, were found, and two or three iron nails. On the removal of the lead, the skeleton of a man about 6 feet high was found, the skull being very perfect. "But the most remarkable circumstance which we observed," says Mr Jardine, "was the state of the *sternum*, which was found to have been sawed asunder from top to bottom—the most satisfactory evidence that it was the body of King Robert Bruce, as it proved beyond doubt that it had taken place previous to interment, in order to get at the heart, which he had directed to be carried by Douglas to the Holy Land." After describing the details connected with the reinterment of the remains, Mr Jardine goes on to say that "no doubt can exist as to those being the remains of that illustrious prince, but a circumstance afterwards occurred which put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt. The workmen in the course of their operations, on the 10th November, found a plate of copper, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 4 in breadth, and about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in thickness, with holes at each corner for fixing it on the coffin, bearing the inscription—'*Robertus Scotorum Rex*,' the letters resembling those on the coins of the King. A cross is placed under the inscription, with a mullet or star in each angle, with the crown precisely of the form on those coins. It was found among the rubbish removed on the 5th, and most probably had been adhering to one of the stones of the vault, and had thus escaped our notice at the time."

This plate was ultimately deposited in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and an engraving has been made of it from a very accurate drawing by James Skene, Esq.

I have thought it necessary to read the above extracts from Mr Jardine's Report, that you may understand Mr Nimmo's letter, the essence of which I shall now proceed to read; the letter itself I shall hand over to Mr Anderson for preservation. Mr Nimmo writes from Paris, under date of August 9th, 1877:—

"The hoax or joke in question was (56 years since) intended to convince the simple-minded bodies of Dunfermline of the truth of an assertion often made, but reposing on no reliable foundation, that the mortal

remains of Robert the Bruce occupied a resting-place in the churchyard of their native town.

"Although but an unauthenticated report, was it not an honour of which the mass of inhabitants might fairly boast? and was it not excusable that they should lend a willing ear to whatever tended to establish the solidity of an assertion so flattering to their civic vanity? The old church had lasted its day—a new building was deemed necessary. The architect employed was assisted in his labours by a younger brother, who dearly loved a joke.

"This young church-builder had a friend as waggishly disposed as himself, by profession a portrait painter, named Thom, an acquaintance of my own, and, at the time alluded to, employed in Dunfermline.

"‘Could not we two,’ said the young architect one day to the painter, puff up the vanity of the natives of Dunfermline, by affording them something resembling proof positive that Robert the Bruce’s ashes lie in the churchyard mingled with the dust of their ancestors?’ ‘All very well,’ replied the painter, ‘so far as words go; but I don’t see how the thing can be done.’ In this the young architect instructed him, and he at once promised to carry out his share in the deception.”

The finding of the plate manufactured by the artist, and a description of it, we have already read in the report by Mr Jardine, but Mr Nimmo goes on to say that, a few days afterwards, Mr Thom called on him in a very sad state of mind, and informed him that the coffin-plate of Robert the Bruce had turned out a more serious affair than was intended, as it had set all the authorities in movement, and “heaven only knows where it may end.” Mr Thom further said that “The Provost (Wilson) of Dunfermline, a banker, begged me to wait on him; well pleased, I lost no time in walking to his house, counting to a certainty that an order for a portrait would reward my pains. An order for a portrait certainly awaited my arrival, but of a kind that shook my nerves to a degree from which they can hardly be said to have as yet wholly recovered. It was my horrid-looking bit of copper that, lying on a table near where I stood, and staring me in the face, I was requested to sit down and make a drawing of, for instant transmission to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, to the members of which the invaluable discovery had just been made known! Imagine if you can the fever this unexpected request

threw me into. A nervous tremor, succeeded by a cold sweat, passed over me from head to foot, that unfitted my hand from holding a pencil, or doing anything else properly. As it was impossible to calm my nervous irritation, it now only remained for me to propose that I should take the plate home with me, where I could make the drawing more at my ease. 'What!' exclaimed the first magistrate of Dunfermline, in a tone of amazement, 'you would take it home with you? why, man, let me inform you that there is more money in the bank at this moment than for some time past, and I would sooner lend you the entire sum than suffer that bit of dirty copper to pass from my possession for a single hour, until the Museum, or place in which it is to be kept, has been decided on by the highest authority in the realm.'"

The artist had considerable difficulty in restraining a fit of laughter at the expense of the worthy Provost; but seeing it could not be avoided, he sat down and made the required drawing.

Mr Nimmo adds—"I never saw him again. A circumstance occurred to myself at this juncture (December 1821) that rendered it necessary for me hastily to exchange Edinburgh for Paris, and when, thirty years afterwards, I returned for a few days to 'Auld Reekie,' I heard nothing of my friend Mr Thom, and by that time the Dunfermline burial-ground had settled down to its usual quiet. Let me add that the engraving (in the *Archæologia*) contains a serious blunder in the date, as the finding of the plate took place in 1821, not in 1819."

I will now add a few words as to the author of this communication, who forms a link between a past generation and the present :—

Mr Nimmo's father was a printer in Edinburgh. He occupied in 1825, on the authority of the late Dr Robert Chambers, the house at the Cowgate Head which had previously been the residence of Mr Brougham before he removed to 19 St Andrew Square, where his son, afterwards Lord Brougham, was born. The house at the Cowgate Head, according to the same authority, was, in 1745, the birthplace of Henry Mackenzie, the author of "The Man of Feeling." Mr John Nimmo followed the profession of his father, for, when a young man, we find him connected with the establishment of Mr Duncan Stevenson, the printer of the *Beacon*, which had made its appearance in the beginning of the year 1821.

The *Beacon* was started for the avowed purpose of supporting the Government; but it soon began to devote its columns to the defamation of private character, particularly of the leading whig noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland,—amongst others, Mr James Stuart of Dunearn, who, justly offended, demanded the name of the author of the articles. Mr Stevenson gave the name of Mr John Nimmo as the editor of the paper. Mr Stuart, however, refused to recognise him as the author; and, on the 15th of August 1821, Mr Stuart horse-whipped Mr Stevenson in the Parliament Square. Mr Stuart then wrote to the Lord Advocate, who, along with several professional gentlemen, had signed an obligation to a considerable amount to support the *Beacon*, holding him responsible for the calumnies alluded to. The Lord Advocate replied, that he and the other subscribers, although approving of the political principles of the *Beacon*, never contemplated that the paper was to be made the vehicle of attack upon private character. After a long correspondence, the result was that the supporters of the *Beacon* withdrew their bond from the bank, and the *Beacon* was extinguished on the 22d of September 1821.

From the embers of the *Beacon* arose the *Sentinel*, commenced in Glasgow on the 20th of February 1822, the editor and printer being Mr William Murray Borthwick. In this paper the abusive articles were continued against Mr Stuart. At length this gentleman obtained from Mr Borthwick the original letters, which were found to be in the handwriting of Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, the eldest son of the biographer of Johnson. Mr Stuart immediately sent his friend the Earl of Rosslyn to arrange a meeting, which took place on the 26th of March 1822, near Balmutto in Fife, when Sir Alexander was mortally wounded and died next day. Mr Stuart stood his trial on the 10th of June, and was honourably acquitted.

Mr Nimmo's connection with the *Beacon* was the cause of his leaving this country; and when I first met him in Paris, some thirty years since, he was then engaged on *Galignani's Messenger*, and his valuable services there have been rewarded by a retiring allowance, which I hope he will long enjoy.

Dr J. A. Smith begged to be allowed to remark that although Mr Johnston and perhaps some other Fellows of the Society had a distinct

recollection of the old communication, illustrated as it is with several plates, published in the "*Archæologia Scotica*," which details the discovery of a large tomb in an important part of the old church of Dunfermline, in the course of the alterations made in 1818—the church which it is believed included or perhaps adjoined the choir of the older church in which Robert the Bruce was interred—still they seemed to forget that it was by no means generally accepted by antiquaries that this was really proved to have been the tomb of King Robert the Bruce. It was also long ago known that the copper plate was the work of some clever and unscrupulous joker; and in the first published catalogue or "*Synopsis of the Museum*," in 1849, it is stated that "The genuineness of this relic has since been questioned."

Accordingly, when the Society received the bequest of the late Rev. Dr Chalmers of Dunfermline, of various antiquities, and among them some fragments of the sculptured marble ornaments of this shrine or tomb, supposed to have been that of Robert the Bruce, an opportunity was naturally taken, by myself indeed, as one of the editors of the "*Proceedings*," to add a note to the donation, giving the explanation which had been well known and believed long before, but which no proper opportunity had occurred of enabling the Society to refer to in its "*Proceedings*;" if indeed it had been considered necessary to do so. Of course it was obvious enough to any numismatist that the letters on the rude copper plate did not resemble those on the coins of Robert I., and that the plate itself was simply a clumsy etching with acid.

Mr Johnston has, however, in this communication, told us who the guilty parties really were, and as they have, I believe, now all passed away, it seems almost a pity that their memories should thus be recalled as taking part in a thoughtless and rather stupid attempt at a hoax, of which I have no doubt they were very soon after most thoroughly ashamed.

IV.

NOTICE OF TWO CHARTERS IN THE NORSE LANGUAGE, FOUND
AMONG THE PAPERS OF THE SHERIFF-COURT OF SHETLAND.
By GILBERT GOUDIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

In the year 1840, a small collection of early charters and other legal documents connected with Orkney and Shetland, most of them in the Norse language, was printed anonymously, but at the instance, I believe, of the late Sheriff Maconochie and Lord Neaves. Some of these, and several other Norwegian and Danish documents relating to the islands, are to be found included in the great northern collection, the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, issued by authority in Norway. By the kindness of Mr Thoms, the present sheriff of the county, I am now enabled to submit two further deeds, also in the original Norse, and both relating to heritable subjects in Shetland.

Formerly the records and miscellaneous papers belonging to the County Court of Shetland received little care or attention. The accommodation provided for them was in every respect unsatisfactory. The documents were left to their fate from age to age, loose or in bundles, in open shelves in the public office of the sheriff-clerk, and many papers must doubtless have perished. It is gratifying to know that this state of matters has now been entirely remedied. By the exertions of the present sheriff and the gentlemen of both groups of islands, handsome and commodious court-houses have been erected, with the assistance of Government, both in Kirkwall and in Lerwick, and ample provision has been made for the safety and proper preservation of all the existing county papers. Fortunately another portion of the early records had been removed to Edinburgh, and is preserved in the General Register House.

In the year 1873 Sheriff Thoms permitted me to examine the papers in the office of the sheriff-clerk of Zetland. The result of that examination, necessarily hurried and imperfect as it was, is embodied in a list now in the hands of the Sheriff, of about one hundred documents or bundles of documents and bound volumes, whose dates extend over a period of more than three hundred years. Many of these documents are of great interest

in their bearing on local history, and would well repay a detailed examination, both on historical and legal grounds.

It was in the course of this examination that the two Norse documents now submitted came under my eye. I reported the circumstance at the time to the Sheriff, upon whom, as the successor and representative of the Great Fowde of Shetland (the supreme officer of law and justice in the ancient native system), the legal charge of the county records devolves; and in returning from a recent official visit to the islands, he brought the deeds south with him temporarily, intending to submit them to the Society. He has been unable at present to do so, and has requested me instead to lay them before the present meeting, with such explanations regarding them as may occur to me.

Neither document bears a title, but the first, dated 1516–1545, may be termed a Confirmation of a Certificate of Excambion, in connection with a heritable succession in the ancient Udal¹ form; and the second, dated in 1536–1544, a similar Confirmation of a Deed of Sale, or Disposition, usually termed in the Norse a *Skjode* or *Kaup Bref*. Both documents are in a fair state of preservation, especially the former, in which almost every word is legible. In the latter there are several lacunæ, which it is not easy to supply, but the sense is nevertheless perfectly intelligible throughout. The seals were gone, but some of the tags by which they were suspended remained attached. The documents themselves were folded, crumpled, and partly torn when I found them, but they have now been laid on cloth, at the sight of Mr Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, and by this process much of their original appearance has been restored.

Both deeds are written on parchment in ordinary charter handwriting of the period in the Scandinavian North,—that of the Deed No. I. more nearly approaching the modern character,—and both are in the ordinary Norse language then vernacular in the islands, as in Scandinavia generally. The divergence, by the gradual process of disintegration, from the early type of the Old Northern tongue, as stereotyped in Iceland, is very observable in both, but perhaps somewhat more in the Deed No. I., written

¹ *Odal* is, etymologically, the more correct form, but I prefer here the term *Udal*, as stereotyped in the islands for ages, and recognised by Scottish jurists.

in Shetland, than in the second deed, which is executed at Bergen, in the mother country of Norway. This is not to be wondered at. The wonder rather is, that with the encroachment of Scottish influence and usages from the time of the Impignoration to Scotland in 1468, and even earlier, documents in such comparatively pure Norse should have continued to be framed in the islands down to so comparatively recent a period as the middle of the sixteenth century. Indeed, certain of the ancient grammatical forms are more distinctly exhibited in the composition of the native document than in the other framed in Norway. And contemporaneously with these deeds we have some others, expressed in good current Scotch, in Mr Maconochie's collection, significantly indicating the conflict then going on between the old and new systems and races—the beginning of the process of supercession of Udal by feudal tenure; the gradual transition of laws, language, and usages from the ancient native to modern forms.

Both deeds have been placed in the hands of Mr Jón A. Hjaltalin, a very competent scholar in the Old Northern tongue. The transcription and translation furnished by him I have carefully collated, and now venture to submit as follows:—

DEED No. I.

1. *Transcription.*

Vij efftherschiffne Sier andro Hiel Sogneprest och official offuer Hieltland y̅ tȳmandigt Syer Andro wissiarth sogne He[r?] Herr wdj sandzting Andres tollach ffögütt nordenn moffue Magnus tollach laugretthmandt ibid och willom brustedt ffögitt wdj Dalletingom Gierre witthrlüg ffor alle att wij haffue setth Horth och grandgüffuelügen offuerlest eyth obitth pappyers breff medt helle Indsigle wstungenn vbeskorenn, och wdj alle Modhe wfforffalskütth Lyend ordt ffræa ordt som her effthr fielger

Allom godom mannom thenam som thette breff Hendhr fforr atth Komma Helssom wij effthrschiffne Mendt Niels willomssonn lauggmandt wdj hieltlandt Tomes Rigadzonn Mag[n]us Jonsszonn Tomes Engusszonn Tndbȳgge y̅ samme landhe Kierlige medt gude Kunnoehgorend atth anno dñi M. D. och xvj Mandagenn nesthann fforr Gregorij war wij fforsam-

ledhe paa eydye y eystingom y ffornefnde lande Atth gierde eyth wenlügt och skellügt bytthe Mellom Niels tomnesszonn och Margrette sanders dott Alexander tomesszonn skolgetinn dotthr och arffua y sodanna Maathe ath fforrnemffne Niels tomeszonn kom ffor oss y fulle och lauglgs wmbodhe sielffzins paa Eyno Halfuo, Enn paa andre halfuo Torwaldt Hendrichsszonn y fullo wmbodhe ffornefndhe Margrette dott dotthr synna waar thaa thett ffullkommelige samtýek och medt ffullo jaaorddhe stadffest erffwin-gianna emellom atth ffornefde Niels tomesszonn skulle haffue y fforneffde Eyde xx mercker brendhe och x mercker y westhri brecko, enn forneffde Margret Sanderss dott lottnast y hennar parth igenn xij mercker y Heelle som hennarh fader Koýss siig ffor Hóffuidt bólle y fullo wiide sýno paa Retta syuanda dag med synna [] stett och waar ffornefnde Sander elsthe brodhr, Ther ffor eige handseg fforsthe wilkor och skall thaa taga andra jarder och leggja Indtill Hóffuidt bólle och giora thet jamgodt som Eyde aat marke talle och haffue the paa badhe sýger samtýek thett biótte, atth wbrideligen geld skall till evindelíg tíid. Till sandende her wm tryckom wij fforschreffne mendt worr Indsigle nedhenn ffor thette breff som schreffuedt er aar och dag som fforr staar

Huilchet fforschreffne obne pappyr's breff som er Lyend och Indeholdend wdj alle sýnne punckter och artikler som fforschrefuet staar thet wittner wij fforschreffne Sier andro Hiel sogneprest wdj Jenst och official offuer Hieltlandt, Sier andro wissiarth sogneprest wdj Sandzting, andres tollach ffogett nordenn moffue Mag[n]us tolach, laugrette mandt ther samesteds, och willum paa brostedt ffogett wdj dalletingom medt worr Indsigle hengend nedhen ffor thette breff som schriffuet er paa Edhe y Eydztingum Anno domini M. D. xlv thenn xxvj dag aprillis.

2. Translation.

We, the afterwritten Sir Andro Hiel, parish priest and official over Hieltland in temporals Sir Andro Wissiarth, parish master in Sandzting, Andres Tollach Foud [of or in] North Moffue (Northmavine), Magnus Tollach, Lawrightman of the same place, and William [in] Brustedt Foud in Dalleting, Make known to all that we have seen, heard, and carefully read over, an open paper letter, with an entire seal unpierced, uncut, and in every way unfalsified, reading word for word as follows :—

To all good men into whose hands this letter may come, we the after-written men, Niels Willomson, lawman in Hieltland, Tomes Rigadzonn, Mag[n]us Jonsson, and Tomes Engusson, inhabitant of the same land, send a hearty greeting in God ; making known that we were gathered together at Eydye, in Eysting in the aforesaid land, A.D. 1516, the Monday next before [the feast of St] Gregory, that we made a friendly and just exchange between Niels Tomesson and Margrette Sanders daughter, the lawfully born daughter and heiress of Alexander Tomesson, in such manner, that the said Neils Tomesson, on the one part, came before us with full and lawful powers for himself, and on the other part, Toreualdt Hendrichson, with full powers on behalf of this Margaret, his daughter's daughter. Then an agreement was made, and it was confirmed, with full consent, among the heirs, that the said Niels Tomesson should have twenty merks burnt [of silver] in Eyde, and ten merks in West Brecka ; but the said Margret Sanders daughter should get for her share in return twelve merks in Heelle, which her father chose for himself as a Head Bull, while in full possession of his faculties, on the right seventh day with his [?]. And the said Sander was the oldest brother, and had therefore the first choice. And the other lands are to be taken and laid under the Head Bull, and it is to be made equally good as Eyde, according to the number of merks ; and this exchange has been consented to on both sides that it shall be valid and inviolable everlastingly. In confirmation of this, we, the above-written men, impress our seals underneath this letter, which is written year and day as above.

That the above-written paper letter reads and contains in all its points and articles as written above, do we, the above-written men, testify: Sir Andro Hiel, parish priest in Jenst and official over Hieltland ; Sir Andro Wissiarth, parish priest in Sandzting ; Andres Tollach, Foud [of or in] North Moffue ; Mag[n]us Tolach, Lawrightman of the same place ; and William at Brustedt Foud in Dalleting, with our seals hanging under this letter, which was written at Edhé, in Eydzting, Anno Domini 1545, the xxvi. day of April.

This document, dated in the year 1545, is an instrument on parchment by official men, who certify the existence and terms of a previous certi-

ficate of excambion between Udal proprietors.¹ Its phraseology contains suggestive references to the Udal system of succession and land transfer, and to other peculiarities of the ancient laws and institutions of the "Countries of Orkney and Zetland," as they were termed. The original deed of excambion, which is embraced verbatim in the parchment deed of 1545, is dated in 1516. At both dates the islands were subject in mortgage to Scotland, but the deed clearly shews that the native Norwegian laws and usages, the preservation of which was solemnly guaranteed by treaty, were still subsisting comparatively unimpaired. Their supercession and gradual assimilation to the laws and institutions of Scotland had been undertaken at an earlier period, and was too successfully accomplished in the course of time by the Stewart Earls and their successors. I have endeavoured, in the form of an appendix, to explain, so far as I have been able, the position of the old native officials referred to, now extinct, and the terms of native law and consuetude occurring in the two deeds, which afford those significant glimpses of the ancient system to which I have alluded.

In attempting to analyse the contents of the deed, it may be well to consider these in the order of the two distinct parts of which the document consists, viz.—(1st), the original Certificate of Excambion, executed in the year 1516; and (2d), the certification of that certificate, dated in 1545.

I. *The Certificate of 1516.*—The narrative describes an exchange, or excambion, as it would be termed in Scots law, of certain lands in Shetland, between Niels Tomesson (Thomson) and Margaret Sanders' daughter, carried out in the presence of persons of repute, four in number, who attest and confirm the arrangement in the form of a certificate, then deemed an amply sufficient title. The whole parties are designated patronymically in the style formerly almost universal in the islands, and which has been observed occasionally even within the present century. Niels Thomson appears for himself, but Margaret Sanders' daughter is represented by one Torwaldt Hendrichsson. This Torwald is in all proba-

¹ Both the deeds seem analogous in character to the lately abolished Scottish seisin, which was a deed on parchment evidencing, among other things, an existing deed of conveyance by a proprietor to a disponent.

bility the same Thorvald Henricksson of Borg, who, as "Thorrald of Brucht," is nominated as one of his executors by Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh, chief captain of the palace in Bergen, and governor¹ of Zetland, in his testament dated ten years earlier than this—namely, at Tingwall, 9th July 1506.² Thorwald is supposed, by the late Professor Munch of Christiania, to have been a son of Henrik Thorvaldsson, descended from Herr Thorvald Thoresson, who, in the year 1299, possessed the great estate of Borg (or Brough).³ This estate in 1587 passed into the hands of the Sinclairs, Barons of Brough, parish of Nesting.

Margaret Sanders' daughter is declared to be in possession of the subjects excambied by her in right of her father, who, as eldest brother of the family, had the right, by choice, of the "Head Buil" (*hofud ból*) or principal manor farm of the property—a right of the eldest odal-born, expressly provided by the Law Book of Norway,⁴ and recognised as a leading principle in odal succession in every *Shuynd*, or division of heritable or moveable estate.⁵

The persons at whose sight the excambion was arranged, are Niels Wilomsson, designed as "Lawman in Hieltland,"⁶ Tomes Rigadzonn (Rin-gansson or Niniansson), Magnus Jonnson, and Tomes Engusson (Angusson).

¹ Sir David Sinclair was the Fowde of Shetland for the time. See the Charter of 1498 in his favour, by William, Earl of Caithness, and the other sons and daughters of the late Earl William St Clair of Orkney, conveying to him the estate of Sumburgh, in which he is so designed (*miles et Foldus Zetlandie*).

² Copy printed in the 3d volume of the "Miscellanies of the Bannatyne Club."

³ See the deed, Anno 1299, in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, and also paper by Professor P. A. Munch, *Geographiske Oplysninger om Hjaltland*, in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen 1857.

⁴ The mode of succession is thus laid down in the Law Book, lib. v. cap. 2, art. 63 :—"Does a father leave odals behind him? Then shall the eldest son succeed to the principal mansion and estate, the other children receiving an equivalent out of the other land; every one his own lot, a brother a brother's lot, and a sister a sister's lot, according to the estimation of neutral men. Is there no son? Then descends the chief manor to the grandson by the eldest son, or by the second, or any other son in order, as nearer the inheritance than daughters. Are there no grandsons? Then belongs the chief manor to the eldest daughter, the rest of the sisters getting land in equivalent, as said concerning the children in general."—*Grievances of Orkney and Zetland*, p. 8.

⁵ See Appendix,—HEAD BUIL and SHUYND.

⁶ See Appendix,—LAWMAN.

The only one of these whom we can identify is Williamson the Lawman. Thirty years earlier he was present at a convention held in the choir of the Cross Church of Bergen, in 1485, sitting in judgment upon a case arising out of a disputed sale of certain lands in Shetland¹—a very noteworthy, though by no means uncommon instance, inasmuch as, though the islands were at the time subject in mortgage to Scotland, the appeal is not advocated to a Scottish Court, but to the court of the Lawman of Gulating and Bergen in Norway—a circumstance which would seem to indicate that the permanent severance of the islands from the mother country was not then contemplated either in the islands or in Norway; indeed, that their resumption by that country was considered only a question of time.

The date on which the succession of Margaret's father, Alexander Tommesson, was arranged, is singularly expressed—"the right seventh day"—(*paa retta syvunda dag*), the meaning of which I am unable to explain.

The place where the arrangement of excambion is carried out is Aith, in the parish of Aithsting, and the properties referred to are there and at West Breck and Heelle (see Appendix). The land is measured by the usual local denomination of *merks* (see Appendix). The transaction being an exchange, there is no *consideration* or price.

2. *The Confirmatory Certificate of 1545*.—This certificate, which is also executed at Aith, in Aithsting, 26th April 1545, repeats, as has been mentioned, the former document *verbatim*, and its object is virtually stated in itself to be the preservation of evidence of the excambion therein described. Not that feudal succession, or transfer by sale or otherwise, seems to have required the intervention of written instruments, any more than it did of confirmation, in the feudal sense of the term, at the hands of a superior; but we find that in later times such ratification by formal deed was very frequently resorted to. It does not appear whether the persons before whom the deed was presented were brought together for the settlement of this particular question, or whether they were constituted as an ordinary court for adjudication in such or in general causes. More probably the latter was the case—a district court (*Vard-Thing* or *Herads-Thing*),² at which, *inter alia*, all necessary attestations or confirma-

¹ Grievances of O. and Z., App. p. ii.

² See Appendix,—THING.

tions of this kind would fall to be made. The practice of such confirmation by men of repute was by no means uncommon, though this is perhaps the only known instance, executed in Shetland, by formal deed in similar terms. The other deed (No. II.), a purely Norwegian instrument, having apparently no reference to this one, though also referring to lands in Shetland, is drawn in precisely the same form. The signatories testify that they also "have carefully seen and read over" a former deed, whose terms they repeat and confirm, as in the present instance and in numerous similar instances in those times in Norway, recorded in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. It was a constant practice in the local administration of justice in Shetland, down to comparatively recent times, to have matters of dispute or of personal right determined before local recognised officials, informally or in open court, as the case might be; and I am informed that a similar practice exists in Iceland at the present day. At a district court called *Mann-tals-thing*, held periodically in that country, all deeds or agreements by written instrument, executed in the interim, are read over and marked; and this is held as equivalent to publication, as registration is in this country. It is to be observed, however, that, common as the practice may have been in Shetland, as elsewhere in the Scandinavian north, it does not appear in the instances under consideration that this form of ratification was a *necessary part* of the legal formula involved in completing such transactions, because, in the case of the first charter, the ratification is *twenty-nine years*, and in the second, *eight years*, after the dates of the respective transactions.

Of the individuals by whom the confirmatory certificate is granted, two are parish priests—Sir Andrew Hiel (or Hill), of Unst, and Sir Andrew Wissiarth (or Wishart) of Sandsting. These were probably the last incumbents of their respective parishes prior to the sweeping away of the whole fabric of the ancient Church, fifteen years later, at the Reformation of 1560. We are unable to say with certainty whether these pre-Reformation vicars saved their livings by turning with the tide, or whether they remained Roman Catholic and were ejected. They have not been recognised as Protestant clergymen. The first ministers of the Reformed Church, according to the *Fusti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, were presented to the two parishes not long afterwards—namely, James Hay to Unst, 31st

October 1576, and William Watson to Sandsting in 1574 (he having been previously appointed reader there in 1567).¹

Sir Andrew Hiel is witness to a deed, drawn in Scotch in 1528, in which he is designed "*Sr Andro Hill, Vicar off Onst*;"² and he is mentioned in another deed of 1569.³ From the latter, in which his former designation of Vicar is retained, it may perhaps be inferred, though he is not classed among the Reformation ministers, that he retained the benefice during his lifetime—that is, till probably near the date of the appointment of James Hay in 1576, as mentioned above. Sir Andrew appears from the present deed to have possessed, like many churchmen of the time, a temporal authority in addition to his spiritual charge. The precise nature of that authority or jurisdiction implied in the terms, "official over Shetland in temporals," it is not easy to determine. It was certainly not the purely secular position of either the great Fowde, or of a parochial or under-Fowde. Nor could it have been that of the highest local official of the church, for the incumbent of the parish of Tingwall seems also to have been Archdeacon of Zetland,⁴ and, as such, representative of the bishop, who was resident chiefly in Orkney. This co-ordinate authority, whatever it may precisely have been, of a churchman in temporal affairs, does not, however, appear to have been singular. In a *Shuynd Bill*, or division of an estate, drawn in Scots, in 1558, Sir George Strang, the then Vicar of Nesting, is similarly designated "official of Zetland."⁵ And in other parts of the Scandinavian north, the title was sometimes borne by churchmen representing absent bishops in temporal matters. In the present instance we may therefore regard it as indicating a commissioner in charge of the bishopric estate, or other temporalities of the church.

The other priest, Sir Andrew Wishart of Sandsting, also bears in the deed a curious designation—*Sogne Her Herr*—"parish lord lord," or "master," implying also a secular dignity or charge. It is only in what

¹ *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scotticæ*, Synod of Shetland.

² Deed of Sale, July 15, 1528. (Maconochie's Col. No. VIII.)

³ Charter of Sale, 1569. (Maconochie's Col. No. XI.)

⁴ *Diplom. Norveg.—passim.* See letter from Pope Honorius to Nicolas, Archdeacon of Shetland, dated 3d November 1226. Dip. I. p. 8.

⁵ *Shuynd Bill*, 1558. (Maconochie's Col. No. XIV.)

we may call the *testing clause* that he is termed "parish priest" of Sandsting. Whatever the precise meaning implied in the words *Her Herr* (repeated) may have been, the same formula is used in the designation in a deed of 1532, of the Archbishop Gowte of Drontheim;¹ and in a document of the same year, the same words are found prefixed to the name of King Frederick of Denmark.²

The other attesting parties, along with the clergymen, are Andrew Tulloch, Fowde of Northmavine; Magnus Tulloch, Lawrightman there; and William of Browsted, Fowde of Delting—of none of whom does there appear to be any other record. These parochial officials—Fowdes and Lawrightmen—performed important functions in the police and government system of this little *imperium in imperio* of the Northern Isles.³ By their means the machinery of local administration was carried on in early times, in a manner that fully maintained the interests of the ruling power—the all potent Jarl, in the absence of his distant suzerain, the King of Norway—and, at the same time, that most jealously guarded the rights and liberties of the people. The abolition of their offices has been concurrent with the destruction of much of those ancient local liberties, and the ruin of most of the old native families, odal proprietors of the soil.

As to the identification of the place-names mentioned in the deed, see Appendix, under the respective names.

DEED No. II.

1. *Transcription.*

Thett Bekendis Wij efter^{ne} Mattie Stórsson Laugmandt wdj Bergen; Jonn symonssonn och Anders pederssónn Raadmendt thr samestets att wij haffue szeett och grandgüffueligen offuerlest ath obit papürs breff met ath innsigl och füre mercker vnder sereffne: Lydendis ordt fran ordt som her efter filger.

¹ *Herre hæer Gowte med Gutz raade erchebysp i Trondem (Diplomatarium, ii. 818).*

² *Herre her Ffrederick Danm[ar]kis Wendis oc Gottis Konung (Ibid. vii. 746).*

³ See Appendix,—FOWDE and LAWRIGHTMAN.

Alle Mendt the som thz^e breff see elder hóre : Kundgöri jeg niels angusson att jeg haffuer selth Jon magnus bondiszonn alle mýne jorde partter som ieg agher ý hieltlandt som han kand vpspyria mz lagh oc rett : oc efterfolge scall : som er vi mercker ý haüerlande oc y giotonn : och andzmere hvor han kand thet vp at spýrie vnden meg oc mýne erffuinge : och vnder hann och hns erffuinge tiill ewerdelig eignar : met alt thz som vnderligger oc leigit haffuer : fra den offste stein ý fælde oc tull den neste stein i fioren : och al Aenge * * * * * Rec * * * * * och tull ydermer wissen oc sandz : szo byder ieg thesse gode mendt som saa hetha gewys bý : thomes ionsson : Sýmon erlandsson : Heming ollszonn sette sýne mercke nedenfore for thze breff : som giort war ý bergenn ste Laffrens dag Anno Domini m d xxxvj

* * * tull thne wor vdscrefftes sandhets stadfestning haffue wij same pap[ürs bre]ff * * * * * seg sielff att beuisse saa lenge thet ware * * * * * wij thet met wor signetter her vnder * * * * * thne wor widisse sandt oc fast at were vdj alle maade : som giort er vdj Bergenn odensdagen * * Margarete Anno &c m d xliiij

2. Translation.

We the after [written], Mattie Storsson, Lawman in Bergen, Jon Symonsson, and Anders Pedersson, Councillors of the same place, acknowledge that we have seen and carefully read over an open paper letter, with a seal, and subscribed with four marks, reading word for word as hereafter follows :—

To all men who see or hear this letter, I, Niels Angusson, make known that I have sold to Jon, son of Magnus the Bondi, all my parts of farms which I possess in Hieltland which he may find out lawfully and rightly. They are as follows :—Six merks in Hammerland and Giotonn, as well as other parts wheresover he may find them out, from myself and my heirs to him and his heirs, for perpetual possession, with all that belongs and has belonged to them, from the highest stone on the hill to the lowest

stone on the beach, and all meadows * * * * *
 wreckage * * * * * and for still further certainty
 and verity, I ask these good men who are called Thomes Jonsson, Symon
 Erlandsson, Heming Ollsson, to put their marks under this letter, which
 was done at Bergen on St Lawrence day, A.D. 1536.

* * * for confirmation of the truth of this our copy, we have
 * * * the said paper letter * * * * *
 to prove itself as long as it lasts * * * * *
 * * * with our seals underneath, we [testify] that this our certi-
 ficate is true and unassailable in every way. Done at Bergen, Wednesday,
 [St.] Margaret's [day]. Anno, &c., 1544.

This deed is shorter than the former, and deficient, comparatively, in local interest. The general tenor of both is similar, as already observed. A deed of sale, executed at Bergen in 1536 by Niels Angusson, in favour of Jon Magnusson, of all his property in Shetland, is ratified at Bergen by the Lawman of Bergen and his assessors, of date 1544. The remarks under the former deed as to the prevailing conformity of laws and usages in Shetland and in the mother country, are therefore equally applicable here.

Of the parties to the transaction, nothing further, so far as I am aware, is known. No designation of the seller is given, but he is presumably resident in Norway; and this and other instances of Shetland landholders residing in that country, recall the pretty frequent references to be found in Shetland documents to lands belonging to "the lordis of Norroway," even so late as the seventeenth century, though all knowledge or trace otherwise of those magnates and their possessions has passed away.¹ The

¹ In the thirteenth century a Norwegian duke (*Hertug*) was an extensive landowner in Shetland, including the island of Papa Stour, in which he had a house. (*Diplomatarium*, i. p. 81.) Hibbert alludes to a tradition, that during the reign of terror of Earl Patrick Stewart, more than half a century later than the present deed, "many wealthy Scandinavians hastily sold to Scottish inhabitants their estates and interests in the country, seeking a refuge in the more kindly bosom of the parent region from which their ancestors had originally emigrated." ("Shetland Islands," p. 205.)

disponee is named simply "Jon son of Magnus, *Bóndi*" (*i.e.*, residenter, peasant proprietor.¹).

The properties disposed are Hammerland and Giotonn, probably Hammerland and Gott, in the parish of Tingwall;² and the conveyance is expressed in the widest terms, embracing the lands named—"as well as other parts, wheresoever he may find them out." The descriptive phrase, "from the highest stone on the hill to the lowest stone on the beach," is one common in Shetland titles of the period; and the partly illegible clause, commencing "and all meadows (*Aenge*) . . ." may be made up in the phraseology of later native deeds, expressed in Scoto-Norse, thus:—"And all Eing and outhwell, ryt and roith, eis and Intres [ish and entry], hous and harbry, toftis, thowns [*túns*] moillis, inpastor and outpastor," &c.

The word *Rec* rendered "wreckage" (apparently distinct in itself, though the words immediately before and behind it are illegible), seems to indicate that the right to wreck cast ashore went along with the property, instead of being as in Scotland, where udal holdings are unknown, vested in the Crown. Such a claim by the Crown has recently been successfully contested by an Orkney landowner, standing upon the specific terms of his titles, confirmed by Crown Charter, which in all likelihood merely perpetuated the form of the original holding under the Norse system, as exemplified in the terms of the present deed.³ In Iceland, wreckage still belongs to the private property on which it is cast. In Norway, the same rule prevailed (as may indeed be gathered from the present deed), that only which landed on the public common being held as pertaining to the King.⁴ The competing rights of landowners and salvors in captured whales, which have

¹ See Appendix—BOND.

² See Appendix—Place Names.

³ See the case, *Lord Advocate v. R. J. Hebden*, First Division, Feb. 26, 1868. It was contended that the Crown had "sole and exclusive right to all wreck cast upon the shores, or floating upon the coast of the said island of Eday," subject to provisions as to wreck in the Merchant Shipping Act and other statutes, and claims of rightful owners. This contention was repelled, the defender's charters containing right to "wreck and waith," &c. (VI. D. 489).

⁴ Old Norwegian Law—"Rek thau öll er rekr i almenninga, thá á Konungr."—Norges Gamle Love ii. 165.

immemorially been a subject of contention in Shetland, have probably grown into form gradually along with this question of the right to wreckage and derelict property.

The deed distinctly states that the transaction is a *Sale*, but there is no consideration named, unless the number of merks specified may be regarded as both the extent of the land and its price in merks of silver.¹

The witnesses are Thomas Jonsson, Symon Erlandsson, and Heming Ollsson, without designations, but presumably Norwegians; and the date is St Lawrence Day, 1536.

Eight years later this deed of sale is ratified like the other, or, as we may say, has its tenor proved, in the confirmatory deed, which is the completed parchment document now under consideration. The parties attesting are—Mattie Storsson, lawman in Bergen, John Symonsson, and Anders Pedersson, councillors (*Raadmen*) there; and the date is at Bergen, Wednesday, St Margaret's Day, 1544.

Generally, in looking at these deeds, what is most noticeable is their simplicity and brevity, in such marked contrast to the tediously lengthened forms of later conveyancing. Even what we deem the essential formality of signature is dispensed with; the appended seals of men of repute being the guarantee of the *bonâ fides* of the document and the validity of the transaction. There are accordingly none of our customary clauses or formalities, no narrative of the *seller's title*, no specified *term of entry*, no clause of *warrantice*, unless the vain assurance that the property shall remain to the purchaser and his heirs "for an everlasting possession" (*til æverdelig eignar*); no feudal *vassalage*, no claims or *casualties*; no holding, but of God and their own right arm only. The description of the subjects, too, is very vague—the seller's so many merks land in such a place; in the second deed, or "*anywhere else*," as the purchaser may discover! The difficulty of identification would be an insuperable objection to such a title in modern practice; and its sufficiency in a former age exhibits a singularly primitive state of society, in which the mere *possession* of a certain extent of land by inheritance or purchase, attested by witnesses of repute, with or without the evidence of writ, was deemed a sufficient, if not an indefeasible, title.

¹ See Appendix—MERK.

In concluding these imperfect remarks, thrown together on short notice at the latest moment, I must express my regret that the subject has not been dealt with by a lawyer, especially as I am not aware of any analysis of a Scandinavian legal instrument of the kind previously attempted. The period in question is a remote one, and the subject involved in many obscurities. It deserves more careful treatment at more competent hands.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Sheriff Thoms in the whole matter; and I have also to thank Mr Mure, sheriff-substitute in Lerwick, and Mr John Scott Smith, the sheriff-clerk, for their courtesy in affording me every facility in their power for the examination of the local records.

APPENDIX.

EXPLANATION OF PLACE NAMES AND LOCAL TERMS.

BRECK, West.—This is probably the Brekka, a portion of which appears in the division of Hans Sigurdsson's estate as falling to Herr Alf Knutson. It is previously mentioned in a deed of the year 1299, in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, p. 81.

BRUSTEDT.—William in Brustedt is Fowde of Delting in the first deed. According to Munch, this is "Byrstad"—Byjarstadir or Busta, which, in the division in 1498 of the estate of younker Hans Sigurdsson, fell to Herr Otte Mattsson-Romer and his brothers and sisters.¹ Busta is now the manor place of a considerable estate.

EYDYE (*Eid*, an isthmus).—Village of Aith in Aithsting (also *Eyde* and *Edhe*).

EYDZTING.—The parish of Aithsting, west mainland (also Eysting).

DALLETING.—The mainland parish of Delting (*Dalathing*).

GJOTONN, GIOT.—Gott in Tingwall?

HAMMERLAND.—Six merks here conveyed by Niels Angusson to Jon Magnusson (Deed No. II.) *Hamarr* in Northmavine belonged to the Monastery of St Michael in Bergen (Munkeliv's Cloister), given to it in the year 1403 by Thiodhild, daughter of the priest Sira Helge.² But I have little doubt that the place at present in question is Hammerland, in the parish of Tingwall.

HEELLE.—There is said to be a place of this name in the parish of Northmavine. A place called "Heleland," is mentioned in the division of Hans Sigurdson's pro-

¹ Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1857, p. 361.

² *Codex Diplomatarius Monasterii*, pp. 97, 98, 167, 169.

perty, before Archbishop Gaute and others in 1490 (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vii. 436). Heylor (*Heellr*) is near Hillswick, in this parish.

JENST.—This is another variation of the name of the island of Unst, the etymology of which has proved so puzzling. It is difficult to explain its meaning by Norse etymology. It should, I think, be referred to the Pictish period.

NORDENN MAFFUE.—North Mavine. The original name, as it appears in old documents in the *Diplomatarium*, is Maveid (*Mewaith*, narrow portage or isthmus), which most appropriately describes the locality from which the name of the whole parish is derived. It is called *Nordan Mawed* in a document of King Eric (the Pomeranian), 15th April 1412, and *Nordhan Mawid* in a deed of 1490 (*Diplomatarium*, vii. 436). The testimony, as in this case, to the early existence of the present distribution of the Shetland parishes is very clear. In the south of Shetland the northern districts of the country generally are still termed "*da Nordenn*," i.e., the North.

Of native offices and institutions the following referred to in the charters, or in the foregoing explanatory paper, may be noticed :—

LAWMAN OF ORKNEY. } The chief officers of law and justice in Orkney and Shetland
FOWDE OF ZETLAND. } in ancient times. The question of their relative positions is somewhat obscure. They are thus defined by Mr Balfour of Balfour, to whom every student in this department of historical inquiry is under deep obligations :—

LAWMAN (Norse LÖGMADR, *nomophylax*).—"The President of the Althing, Keeper and Expounder of the Law-book, and Chief Judge of Orkney, ultimately abolished or merged in the office of Sheriff."

FOWDE or FOUD (Norse FOGETI, Danish FOGUD, *questor Regius*).—"Collector of the King's Skatt, Skyldts, Mulets, &c., afterwards Chief Judge, and ultimately Sheriff of the Foudries of Zetland" (OPPRESSIONS—Glossary).

The two titles appear to have been used indifferently in Shetland. At one time, again, the same person is designed "Lawman of Zetland and Orkney"; at another time, when Shetland was politically separated from Orkney, and connected instead with Ferøe, one individual bears the title of "Lawman of Zetland and Ferøe" conjoined. The first FOWDE of Zetland was appointed by King Sverrer in 1196.¹ In a deed of the year 1307 the names of several persons who were "Lawmen of Shetland" at that date are specified.² In 1405 Svein Markusson is designed "Lawman in the same land."³ In the charter of 1498, by William, Earl of Caithness, and others, his brother, Sir David Sinclair of Sumburgh, is denominated "Foud of Shetland" (Foldus Zetlandiæ). In 1485, and again in the present deed No. I., of 1516, Niels Williamson is termed "Lawman" there.⁴ He may probably have been a subordinate lawman or parish Fowde, because at the same time, in 1514, Nicoll Hall, designed Lawman of Zetland and Orkney, pronounces doom in the Lawting Court at Kirkwall.⁵ If,

¹ "Oppressions in Orkney and Zetland," Introduction, p. 20.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, i. p. 97.

⁴ Mackenzie's Grievances, Appendix No. I.

³ *Ibid.* i. p. 439.

⁵ *Ibid.* Appendix No. II.

however, Hall, as resident lawman in Orkney, claimed titular superiority over Shetland, as he appears to have done, Williamson may have been the contemporary Chief Lawman or Great Foude there, the probability of which is supported by his appearance as Lawman of Shetland in a Court held at Bergen, in Norway, in 1485. On the 27th July 1532, Nicol Reid of Aith, was elected "Lawman Generale of all Zetland" at the Lawting Court held in the Tingholm of Tingwall;¹ and Niels Thomasson (of Aith) is denominated "Lawman of Shetland" (*laugmann offuer Hietland*) in a deed of 1538.²

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Olav Sinclair of Havera was the great "Fowde"; and in 1572 Laurence Bruce of Cultemalindie appeared upon the scene in the same capacity, as the instrument of the extortions of Lord Robert Stewart first Earl and Lord of the Stewart race. On the deposition of Cultemalindie the Scottish Sheriff seems gradually to have assumed his place and functions.

The name of Olav Sinclair of Havera is linked with a strange incident in Scottish history. It was while he was Fowde, in October 1567, that Bothwell, Duke of Orkney, fleeing from the vengeance of his enemies, paid his hurried visit to Shetland on his way to Denmark, and was entertained by Sinclair. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the Scottish Court, makes a curious but natural mistake in reporting the circumstance of this visit to his mistress, Queen Elizabeth. He writes:—"The principal man of the isle, named *Fogge* doth favoure Bodwell, as yt ys sayde, whereby hys partye shall be the stronger," supposing *Fogge* or Foud to be the family name instead of his office.³ The anonymous contemporary author of the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, is more accurate. He says:—"In this mene tyme the said erles schyppis passed to ane place quhair the said erle and his complices being in the time foresaid upoun the Ile of Zetland, at his dinner with Olave Sinclare, foude of Zetland, &c."⁴ Bothwell himself gives confirmation to the story in his first declaration addressed to the King of Denmark, in which he speaks of the arrival of his pursuers while he was "on shore at the house of the Receiver" of the Islands.

The country of Zetland was termed a Foudrie; and the "Foldrie," *i.e.*, the office, jurisdiction, and revenue of the Foud, was confirmed to Lord Robert Stewart by the charter in his favour of 28th October 1581. In the charter to Earl Patrick in the year 1600, the "Faudrie de *Orknay* et Zetland" is specified, and the "Foudrie of Zetland" alone is annexed to the Crown, along with the Earldom and Lordship by the Act of the Parliament of Scotland, in the reign of Charles II., 1669.⁵

The Fowdes were paid by a small tax called *Thing-för-Kaup* (Forcop).

UNDER FOWDES or PARISH FOWDES.—These were important parish functionaries thus defined by Mr Balfour:—

"An official in every parish of Shetland, with local duties and powers

¹ Complaints contra Cultemalindie, art. 2.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ii. p. 833.

³ Letter, Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil, 1st September 1567.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Maitland Club), p. 123.

⁵ Act for Annexation of Orkney and Zetland to the Crown, 17th December 1669.

similar to those of the Head Foud, especially in representing and watching the interests of Government, latterly superseded by the Bailie."

So late as 1604 the "Fouds of ilk parochin and isle," are mentioned in local acts, but they gradually disappeared thereafter. The tombstone of one of them, "Thomas Boyne, sometime Foude of Tingwall," bearing date 1603, remains in good preservation in the churchyard of Tingwall. The names of most of the parish Fowdes about the middle of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century can be gathered from the records. The title was variously spelt *Foud*, *Fowde*, *fold*, *feald*. *Votn-tel* was the name of the assessment for the maintenance of these officials.

LAWRIGHTMAN (Norse *Lög-retta-madr*).—The office of the Lawrightman was as ancient as it was honourable. He was "ane discreit man"—a kind of Tribune of the people—chosen by the Vard-Thing for the protection of their rights and interests, especially in the matter of the Standards of Weight and Measure, of which he was charged with the responsible custody. It was the first point of complaint against Bruce of Cultemalindie that he had put down these officials by the strong hand, appointing instead creatures of his own, who by falsified standards of weights and measures, defrauded the people in the payments of their rents and duties which were accounted for in kind. The sworn testimony of the inhabitants in the trial of Cultemalindie in 1576, thirty years after the date of the two charters, describes in quaint language the native conception of the position and duties of the Lawrightman:—

"The Lawrichtman of auld vse and consuetude was ane necessar officiar in everie seuerale yle and parochie of the cuntrie, chosin with the commoun consent and electioun of the Fowde and Commownis to keip and giff attendence to the lawful and just cuttell; quhilk is thair mesour or elwand quhairwith thai mett their clayth, callit Wadmell, quhilk is ane dewitie thai pay to the Kingis Maiestie for thair seat and landmales zeirlie. And siclyk to keip the just wecht callit the Bismeir, quhairupoun thair haill buttir, baith of seat and landmales was weyit, togidder with ane just Can quhairwith thai mesourit thair ulie payit in seat to the King. With the quhilks cuttell, bismeir, and can, the said Lawrichtman mesurit, met and weyit the saidis dewities of butter, wadmell, and ule fra the Commownis, and delyverit the saimen to the Fowdis, swa that bayth the Fowde and Commownis gat just measour and wecht without hurt, fraude, or gyle. And mairattour, it was ane pairt of his office, as ane speciale man chosin for his discretioun and jugement, to be Chancellor of the assyiss in all Courtis, that quhair ony difficill questioun come in hand he schew the law, use, and practik thairupoun, and gair the rest of the assyiss informatioun how to decerne, and pronouncit the decreits, perqueyre, in default of serybis; and had ane ordinar stipende of the Commownis thairfor, and was as ane procuratour and defender of thair richtis and commonwelth."¹

A number of special charges were "hevilie lamentit and complenit, be the said auld Lawrichtmen of the Cuntrie of Zetland" themselves, at the same time

¹ Probations contra Cultemalindie, MS. Printed by Mr Balfour for Maitland Club, p. 18.

that the general complaints were brought forward by their countrymen (1576). Gradually after this their offices fell into disuse as the native laws and usages were abrogated. The last shadow of their existence or indeed of that of any of the old native officials was the RANCELMAN, whose duties in reference to Theft, Scandal, and Marches, were laid down in the "Country Acts" framed in the seventeenth century.¹ The last known appointment of Rancelmen in Shetland was in the year 1836, for the parish of Lunnasting, on a Petition to the Sheriff by the Tutor at Law for a landowner in minority.² One Rancelman, James Sinclair, of the parish of Dunrossness, probably among the very last of the race, was known to me more than twenty years ago.

HEID BUILO or HEAD BULL (Norse *Hofud Bol* or *Bu*).—The principal farm of the *Odalsjord*; hence, Bow or Bu, a common place-name, used either singly or as an affix, in Orkney and Shetland. Thus, Boe, Bu of Orphir, Exnaboe. It has already been explained in a note that the "Head Buil" became, by the Odal rules of succession the property of the eldest Odal-born son, as we have also seen from the Charter No. I.

SHUYND, SCHYND, SCHOIND, SCHEIND, SCHOWND (Norse *Skynd*).—An inquest of Thingmen to examine and arrange all *Erffs*, or divisions of real or moveable estate.

In the complaints above referred to, the Lawrightmen explain that it was "the use and consuetude of the cuntrie quhen ony man or woman deceissis, haveand landis, gudis, or geir, to be divydit amangis the airis, the Underfowde (quhilk is the baillie of the parochin or yle), accompanyit with certane honest nichtboris (come) to the principall houss quhair the persoun deceissit, callit the Heidbuil, for making of the said airschip, callit ane Scheind," &c. Specimens of the SHUYND BILL framed on such occasions are extant.

THING (Norse).—A meeting, court, or assembly, of which there were various kinds.

1. ALTHING.—The great Assemblage of the Freemen of the country; the name by which the Parliament of Iceland is known at the present day. In Orkney, the Althing Court, presided over by the Earl, met at St Magnus Cathedral, the Circle of Stenness, or other convenient place on the mainland. In Shetland, the place of meeting was the Thing-holm in the Loch of Tingwall (*Thingvölur-vatn*), the Fowde presiding. Latterly the LAWTHING Court (Norse *Logthing*), a Court of Law, became the better known name for the great annual assembly, as the occasion for a meeting of freemen for political and general purposes grew less. According to the *Complaints and Probations* against Cultermalinde—"This Lawthing is the principall Court haldin in the cuntrie in the haill yeir, to the quhilk all men aucht to cum, bayth Mayneland and yles, that hes land and heritage or grit takkis of the King." The last shadow of a local THING was held in 1691. The word Thing came in course of time to signify a district, and hence forms part of the name of several Shetland parishes—Delting, Aithsting, Lunnasting, Sandsting, Tingwall.

¹ Printed by Hibbert, and also in Sheriff's "Agriculture of Shetland."

² MS. Advocates' Library. Petition by John Bruce, Esq. of Sumburgh, for Miss Hunter of Lunna.

While the ancient system of local administration was in operation there were several minor courts, viz. :—

2. HERADS-THING.—A district or parish meeting.

3. HIRDMANS-THING.—A council of warriors.

4. VARD-THING.—A ward, or district assembly.

BONDI.—In the second charter, executed at Bergen, the lands described are sold to “Jon son of Magnus Bondi.” It is not easy to give a satisfactory equivalent for the term, which, originally signifying a *dweller*, a tiller or husbandman, came to designate the entire body of Odal-born freemen, somewhat resembling the “yeomen” of England. In Orkney and Shetland, as in Norway, the Bondi became an important political class. In the latter country they rose in rebellion and slew Saint Olaf, their king, in the battle of Stikklstad. In the islands they maintained their rights in the Parliament of the Althing, where every Odalman (*Odals-madr* or *Bondi*) had an equal voice and vote. In the words of Mr Balfour, “he was a Peasant, for he tilled his own land, and claimed no distinction among his free neighbours; but he was also Noble, for there was no hereditary order superior to his own. The king might wed the Odaller's daughter, or match his own daughter to the Odal-born without disparagement, for he himself was but the Odal-born of a larger Odal. The king might enforce the military service of the Jarl—the Odallers owed none to any of them.”¹

About the time when this deed was framed, the term was common in Orkney and Shetland, and it continued to be used down to a much later date.

MERK.—This is the usual denomination of land measurement in Orkney and Shetland from the earliest times to the present day. The entire islands seem to have been divided into *Merks* and *Ures* (ounces), when the lands of the Udallers were valued and taxed by King Hacon IV. in 1263.² The measurements are indefinite in extent, representing rather the *value* of the ground. That is to say, what is reckoned as so many merks of *intrin*, or good cultivated ground, will be much smaller in extent than an equal number of merks of bare, uncultivated, or inferior ground (*outfield*). In the present and other early deeds the merk-land is regarded as equal in value to the equivalent number of merks of burnt (*i.e.*, refined) silver, in contradistinction to the base coinage current at the time. The value of the land was further estimated as being of so many *pennies* the merk, as is so commonly to be observed in Orkney and Shetland titles.

¹ *Opus. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxx.

² Torfæus *Rerum Orcad. Hist.* p. 169.

V.

NOTICE OF THE HORNS OF CATTLE (THE HORNY SHEATHS OF THE HORNS) FOUND IN BOGS IN ROXBURGHSHIRE AND ABERDEENSHIRE. (THE HORNS WERE EXHIBITED). BY JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., V.P. S.A. SCOT.

Roxburghshire.—Last summer a relative of mine, John Elliot of Binks, Esq., sent me the pair of ox horns now exhibited. They were found in Liddesdale, near Newcastleton, on the sheep farm of Boghall, or Flight, as it was formerly named, from an old peel tower long since demolished. A shepherd was digging in some peaty ground on the Watch Hill there in June last, and came on the horns some 3 or 4 feet below the surface. Mr Elliot says he “presumes they must be old, as there have been no cattle kept there in the memory of any one, and the place where they were found is quite out on the top of a hill far from a house, and besides, they are not like the horns of the cattle that we have now. The horns were found near one another, as if they had been attached to a head, but no bones of any kind were noticed near them.”

The horns (they are simply the horny sheaths or coverings of the horns of an ox) are black in colour, and are tolerably perfect, though they have been somewhat cut or damaged since they were found; they are rather small in size, and measure—the right 13 inches in length along the greater curvature of the horn, and 8 inches in circumference at about 11 inches distance from the pointed extremity of the horn. The left horn measures 14 inches in length, and 8 inches in circumference at about 12 inches from its point. The latter is the most perfect of the two. They seem to have belonged to the same animal,—a small-sized ox,—probably one of the rough class of cattle bred in old border reiving days, and the representative of the still older variety of the short-horned cattle of Roman times in Britain,—the *Bos longifrons* of Professor Owen,—of which there are various specimens in the Museum; the most perfect being those presented by me, which were found with Roman remains at Newstead, near Melrose. (“Ancient Cattle of Scotland,” Proc. vol. ix. p. 587.)

Mr John Elliot makes me a present of the horns, and I have much pleasure in now giving them to the Society for the Museum.

Aberdeenshire.—Shortly after I got these horns from Liddesdale, I saw a notice in the newspapers of a pair of large ox horns which had been found some 20 feet deep in a peat bog in Aberdeenshire, and thinking it just possible that they might turn out to be the horns of the Great Urus, *Bos primigenius*, I wrote to the gentleman who was stated to have found them,—Mr James Gall, farmer, North Cowford, Aberdour, near Fraserburgh, and he has kindly sent them for your inspection.

These horns (for, like those already described, they are also simply the hollow horny sheaths which covered the bony horn-cores of the ox), were found last summer, on the farm of North Cowford, in the course of digging peats. Though now dry, Mr Gall says they were wet and spongy when found, and were somewhat damaged by the spade before their real character was observed. Mr Gall states that their dimensions are 27 inches long (following the course of the curve), and 10 inches in circumference at a distance of 8 inches from the open extremity of the horn. The points are finely tapered, and the colour a uniform blackish. For several inches at the larger end the substance of the horns is split or raised up in scales or layers one above another. No hard “flints” or bone-cores could be discovered in the horns, and a careful search has failed to discover any other animal remains in or near the place where the horns were found. The cavity of the horns, however, contained a soft pulpy substance undistinguishable from the surrounding moss, except that it seemed a little lighter in colour; which might be the last remains of the bony horn-cores.

These horns, like those first described, were stated to have been found at or about the natural distance from each other, as if they had been attached to the head of an ox. They lay on the surface of the hard subsoil, under about 7 feet of peat-moss then in process of removal, about 15 feet having been removed in former years, thus giving a total depth of about 22 feet of peat over the site of the horns. The right horn measures now about $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length along its outer curvature. The left horn is 25 inches in length, and 9 inches in circumference, 17 inches from the point of the horn; it is more perfect than the right.

I may mention that the horns found at North Cowford have the points of the horn solid,—the right horn for $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the left for about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. I do not know whether this solid part bears in its extent any

particular relation to the size or age of the horn; it may be useful, however, to note the fact for comparison with others.

These horns are of much interest from the depth at which they were found in the peat bog, and also from their size, which is much greater than those found in Roxburghshire.

I was at first inclined to hope they might have belonged to our great extinct *Bos primigenius*, or Urus, but I fear they are scarcely large enough, —no horny sheaths of the horns of the Urus have, as far as I know, yet been found. Cæsar, in his "Commentaries," says:—"Amplitudo cornuum, et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Hæc studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt, atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur." Some of the skulls I have described in my papers "On the Ancient Cattle"¹ have horn-cores measuring as much as 2 feet 6 inches in length, and 15 inches or more in circumference at their base; if we add to this measurement of the length of the bone-core, the additional length of the solid point or tip of the horny sheath, which always extends beyond the bone (but the exact relation of which to the length of the bony horn-core itself I do not know), we shall have some idea of the prodigious size to which these formidable horns had grown, and of the huge drinking vessels they would form.

Both of these discoveries of horns are, however, of interest, as found under closely corresponding circumstances; the horny sheaths alone remaining, placed about the natural distance from each other, and yet in neither case was any bony-like matter noticed beside them. They remind me of a portion of a skull of the *Bos longifrons*, with the horn-cores attached, and also the horns, found in a bog in Ireland, now preserved in the Museum of the New College here, and which I have already figured and described in my paper "On the Ancient Cattle of Scotland."¹ (I repeat the figures here for reference, see p. 496). In that case, however, the mineral or bony matter of the skull was almost entirely removed, and the bones remaining were soft, consisting only of the animal and organic constituents of the bones. It is at least suggestive of a breaking up and change which might go on to the total removal of the osseous tissue; as would appear to have probably been the case in these instances now recorded, where the horny sheaths alone are left.

¹ Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. vol. ix.

The only other instances that occur to me of the discovery of the horny sheaths of the horns of cattle are those found many years ago, at Blair Drummond during the clearing away of the great peat moss which formerly existed there. I have already described these horns in my paper, "Notes on the Ancient Cattle of Scotland." They appear to have been short-horned cattle, and they may perhaps be assumed as having been found alone, no bones being apparently preserved with them; but the exact details of their discovery do not appear to have been recorded.



Portions of Skull of small Short-horned Ox (fig. 1), with Horns (fig. 2), found 25 feet below the surface of a bog near Castle Connell, Limerick, Ireland.

In the paper referred to, I have, by mistake, placed Blair Drummond under the title of Stirlingshire, it being at no great distance from the town of Stirling; but the true boundary of the county, it seems, is the river Forth, and as Blair Drummond lies on the left bank of the river, it is accordingly in the county of Perth, under which title it should have been placed in my former paper.

These discoveries also remind me of two human skeletons found buried in a peat moss on the hill of Nosewick, mainland of Shetland, where the bony matter was almost entirely removed, the bones, however, still retaining their natural shape, from the animal matter remaining; but quite soft and flexible, so that they were quite easily bent, and knots could be tied on the ribs. A portion of the woollen dresses in which they had been buried, and also some of the bones, were presented by me to the Museum from Benjamin Bell, Esq., F.R.C.S.E., and a note of the circumstance was published in vol. i. of our "Proceedings," June 1852.

It was formerly, in reference to the human bones found in Shetland, suggested as a probable explanation of the removal of the earthy matter of the bone, the organic constituents being left, that an excess of acid, especially carbonic acid, present in the water of the bog or moss, had dissolved the earthy matter or lime of the bone, carrying it away in solution, and thus reduced them to this peculiar state. Probably a still longer exposure would have broken them up or removed the bones altogether, as may perhaps have been done in the present instance of these ox horns; the more indestructible horny sheath alone remaining.

In some cases, as in the bones of the Urus found in marl pits, the bones are preserved, but the horny sheaths of the horns have disappeared.

Curiously enough, it would therefore appear that in a peat bog you may have either a strongly preservative action upon animal matters deposited in it, which indeed is the more common one; or, as in these cases, a dissolving or destructive action, due perhaps, as has been suggested, to some local circumstance, such as the presence of a spring of water strongly surcharged with carbonic acid; but into this curious but perhaps rather more chemical part of the subject I shall not attempt to enter.

This whole question would, however, it seems to me, form a most interesting and instructive subject of inquiry to be taken up and discussed by a practical chemist able to enter fully into all its varied details and results.

Not having observed any exactly similar instances of this apparent solution of bone recorded, I am, therefore, glad to put these examples on record, by now bringing them under the notice of the Society.

MONDAY, 11th February 1878.

JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

THOMAS AITKEN, M.D., District Asylum, Inverness.

ROBERT DOUGLAS, Esq., Frankfield, Kirkcaldy.

JAMES KING, Esq. of Leverholme, Glasgow.

WILLIAM LINDSAY MERCER, Esq., of Huntingtower.

ROBERT YOUNGER, Esq., 15 Carlton Terrace.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

- (1.) By Mr JAMES MARR, Salmon-Fisher, Abernethy, through
ALEX. LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Ball of grey sandstone, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, carved into six circular and slightly projecting facets, with triangular spaces between, similar to those balls described by Dr John Alexander Smith in the "Proceedings," vol. xi. p. 29. It was found near the Grange of Lindores, parish of Abdie, Fifeshire.

Perforated Hammer of sandstone, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness, having a hole for the handle 2 inches in diameter. It was found in four pieces on a heap of stones broken for macadamising a road at Invernethy, parish of Abernethy, Perthshire.

- (2.) By ALEXANDER LAING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Lower Jaw of *Bos longifrons*. The jaw is complete, with all the teeth in place, and measures 16 inches in length. It was dug up beside the well at Housesteads, Northumberland, which has been identified as the station of Borcovicus on the Roman wall.

- (3.) By Colonel FRASER TYTLER of Aldourie, through Rev.
JOHN E. FRASER.

Portion of a Sculptured Stone, measuring 22 inches in length, by $16\frac{1}{2}$

inches in breadth, and 7 inches thick, having incised on its flat face the figure of a bull, much mutilated by the squaring of the stone to fit it for building purposes. It was discovered, built into the chimney-head of a cottage on Clune farm, parish of Dores, Inverness-shire, by Rev. John E. Fraser, in April 1877. Mr Fraser, finding that the sculpture was archaeologically interesting, communicated a tracing of what remained on the stone to the Society. He also ascertained that it had been originally discovered on the farm about 30 years ago while reclaiming waste land. When first found, the stone was much larger than it is now, but it was broken in the excavation, and subsequently dressed to a rectangular form with a mason's hammer. Along with it some pieces of coloured glass and several fragments of pottery were found. Incised figures of bulls have been found on small flattish water-worn boulders at Burghead (see the "Proceedings," vol. x. p. 663), of which five have been discovered at different times. They are incised in a style and manner very similar to the Clune specimen, which differs from the Burghead specimens, however, in being larger and carved on the flat surface of a slab of very considerable size and thickness, and is much harder than the soft sandstones of Burghead. There is some resemblance between the style of these incised figures and that of the bull or ox as the emblem of St Luke, which appears in MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries.

(4.) By ALEXANDER WALKER, Esq., Dean of Guild of Aberdeen,
F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

"A Description of the Tapestries in the Church of Saint Nicholas, Aberdeen," 8vo, pp. 12, 1877. Five large photographs of the tapestries. These interesting specimens of Scottish needlework represent—

- (a.) The Finding of Moses.
- (b.) Jephthah's Vow.
- (c.) Susanna and the Elders.
- (d.) Queen Esther kneeling before Ahasuerus.
- (e.) Jacob wrestling with the Angel.

The first four adorned the king's seat in the Old East Kirk till about 1757. The designs are attributed to George Jamieson (born in Aberdeen in 1586), a pupil of Rubens. On the first of the tapestries, in the centre

of the upper border, a dark-blue circle is worked, having two quaint female figures as supporters; and in the centre of the circle are the initials M. J., believed to be those of Jamieson's eldest daughter Mary, who is supposed to have worked the tapestries.

(5.) By JAMES RETTIE, Esq., Jeweller, Aberdeen.

Facsimiles of two Finger-Rings, gilt and inscribed, both probably of fifteenth century. The larger of the two is ornamented with diamond-shaped panels, each having a central star-like figure. The bezel is broad and prominent in the middle, and bears on one of its concave panels the inscription MARI, and on the other I H S. The ends are also inscribed—the one having the letter M, and the other I. It is said to have been found at the ruined Priory of St Andrew at Pluscarden, Elginshire.

The smaller ring, which belongs to Sir William Forbes, is plain, but of similar form, has the same inscription on both sides of the bezel. The ends are slightly ornamented. It was found in the old burying ground of St Medans, near Fintray House, Aberdeenshire.

(5.) By R. B. ARMSTRONG, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Rubbings from seven incised sepulchral slabs, viz. :—

(a.) Slab, rudely incised with a double cross on the upper part, and the coulter and sock of a plough on the lower part. The slab, which is about 6 feet in length and 15 inches wide, is in the churchyard at Penner-saugh, parish of Middlebie, Dumfriesshire.

(b.) Slab with ornamental border, and having a central floriated cross-shaft running up the middle. Mr Armstrong states that this slab is at present used as a gate-post to the churchyard at Cowdieknowe, parish of Middlebie, Dumfriesshire. There are many interesting sculptured stones and slabs at this place, two of which form the steps of the stile leading to the churchyard. This cemetery is not marked on the Ordnance Survey Map. It is situated near a place called Crossbankhead, and about half-a-mile from Kirtletown.

(c.) Stone, with incised markings of uncertain character, now used as a gate-post in the old churchyard at Hoddam, Dumfriesshire.

(d.) Slab, 4 feet 3 inches in length, 14 inches in breadth, with a floriated cross, considerably defaced, extending the whole length of the

stone, and having the letters AA and MA in the centre. It forms a lintel in a dry-built shed close to Ettleton Churchyard.

(e.) Slab, 5 feet long and 15 inches wide, tapering gradually to the bottom, and having a Latin cross in slight relief in the centre, extending the whole length of the stone, and a plain border round it. This slab is in Hoddam Churchyard.

(f.) Slab of similar character, the cross having semicircular hollows at the intersections of the arms; also in Hoddam Churchyard.

(g.) Slab of similar character, similarly ornamented, near Hoddam Castle.

(h.) Portion of a slab, with floriated cross and part of a sword with rounded pommel and guard recurved at the ends; from Ettleton Churchyard.

(7.) By Master DAVID OCTAVIUS CROALL, 16 London Street.

Mace-head of bronze, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness, made



in the form of a six-rayed star. Each of the six projections bears the similitude of a human head, with the face rudely fashioned by a graver.

The flowing hair is indicated in the same way on the back of the head. Three of the faces look to the front, and each of these is placed alter-



nately with one looking the reverse way. The hole for the handle is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, and the handle, which is still in it, is 29 inches in length. It was brought from a tomb in Peru.

(8.) By JAMES CRUICKSHANK ROGER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

"Some Account of the Rogers in Cupargrange." 8vo. Privately printed, 1877.

(9.) By the Right Hon. the EARL OF GLASGOW, F.S.A. Scot.

"Catalogue of Heraldic, Genealogical, and Antiquarian Books and Manuscripts which belonged to the late Alexander Sinclair, Esq." 4to. Edinburgh, 1877. Privately printed.

(10.) By the COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY.

"Annual Report of the Royal Scottish Academy." 8vo. Edinburgh, 1877.

(11.) By Mr GEORGE JOSLIN, the Author.

"Discovery of Roman Potters' Kilns at Colchester." 8vo, pp. 7.

(12.) By Rev. B. LODGE, M.A., the Author.

"Description of a Roman Sepulchral Monument found at Colchester." 8vo, pp. 8.

(13.) By CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

"Remarks on Shakespeare; his Birthplace, &c." Second edition, 8vo, 1877.

(14.) By Rev. ALEXANDER BALLOCH GROSART, F.S.A. Scot., the Editor.

"The Towneley Nowell Manuscripts: the Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire, 1568-1580." 4to. Printed for private circulation, 1877.

"The Towneley Manuscripts: English Jacobite Ballads, Songs, and Satires." 4to. Printed for private circulation, 1877.

(15.) By FRANCIS COMPTON PRICE, Esq.

"Facsimiles of Examples from the Press of William Caxton at Westminster." Privately printed. London, 1877. Small folio.

(16.) By Dr BATTY TUKE, F.S.A. Scot.

Volume of Tracts relating to the Civil War, 1640-1660.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

TRADITIONS OF THE MORRISONS (CLAN MAC GHILLEMHUIRE), HEREDITARY JUDGES OF LEWIS. BY CAPT. F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., VICE-PRESIDENT S.A. SCOT.

A letter communicated to the *Athenæum*, in March 1866, contained some account of the Lewis Clans founded on oral tradition. Since then I have collected much additional information concerning them, either from printed books and MSS., or from notices supplied to me by residents on the island.

In the letter to the *Athenæum* it was stated, on the authority of those around me, that time out of mind Lewis had been inhabited by three confederated clans—the Macleods, the Morrisons,¹ and the Macaulays.

¹ R. Chambers has, under the heading of "Family Characteristics," in his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland,"—"The Manly Morrisons. This is, or was, especially applicable to a family which had been settled for a long period at Woodend, in the parish of Kirkmichael, in Dumfriesshire, and become remarkable for the handsomeness of its cadets" (Collected Works, vol. vii. p. 97). It is still applicable to the Morrisons of the Outer Hebrides.

This statement is confirmed in a "Description of the Lewis, by John Morisone,¹ indweller there," which is inferred to have been written between 1678 and 1688. The "Indweller" states:—"The first and most ancient inhabitants of this countrie were three men of three several races, viz., Mores, the sone of Kennanus, whom the Irish historians call Makurich, whom they make to be naturall son to one of the kings of Norovay, some of whose posteritie remains in the land to this day. All the Morrisons in Scotland may challenge their descent from this man. The second was Iskair Mac Aulay, an Irishman, whose posteritie remain likewise to this day in the Lews. The third was Macnaicle, whose only daughter, Torquile, the first of that name (and sone to Claudius the son of Olipheus, who likewise is said to be the King of Norvay his sone), did violently espouse, and cut off immediately the whole race of Maknaicle, and possessed himself of the whole Lews, and continueth in his posteritie (Macleod Lews), during thirteen or fourteen generations, and so extinct before, or at least about 1600."²

Such was the tradition of the origin of the ruling families in the seventeenth century, and it is first to be noted that the writer uses "Irish" and "Irishman," where we should now write "Gaelic" and "Gael."

With regard to the Macleods, the tradition is general that that family got dominion in Lewis by marriage with the heiress of Mac Nicol; but while willing to believe that Torquil increased his superiority by such marriage, I have shown in the Memoir on Lewis Place-names that Thormod Thorkelson was in Lewis, with wife, men, and goods, in 1231; and that the clan-name, Leod, is in all probability derived from *Liotulfr*, who was a chief in Lewis in the middle of the twelfth century.³

¹ From internal evidence it can be proved that the "Description" was written after 1678, and probably before 1688. He speaks of the destruction of Stornoway Castle, which took place in 1654, as having "lately" occurred. The writer was intimately acquainted with Lewis; when young, there were only three people in Lewis who knew the alphabet, but when he wrote, the head of the family at least was usually able to read and write. The author was probably the Rev. John Morrison, sometime minister of Urray, son of John Morrison of Bragar, and father of the Rev. John Morrison, minister of Petty.

² Spot. Mis. vol. ii. p. 341.

³ Pro. Soc. Ant. Scot. vol. xi. p. 507.

Of the Morrisons, it is strange that the "Indweller," himself a Morrison, should have ignored what he would have called the "Irish" name of his clan, which is from *Gille-Mhuire*, *i.e.*, servant of Mary; from *Gille*, *i.e.*, a servant, &c., and *More*, *i.e.*, Mary. A Morrison in Gaelic is *Mac Ghille-mhuire*, sometimes shortened to Gillmore, Gilmour; or translated Morrison, Maryson; or reduced to Milmore, Miles, Myles. The Morrisons are a numerous clan in Lewis, where, in 1861, they numbered 1402, or one-fifteenth of the whole population; in Harris there were 530, equal to one-seventh of the inhabitants. These numbers indicate a domination in the island of many centuries.

There is no real tradition¹ of their original settlement in Lewis, except that the founder was the inevitable son of the King of Lochlann; but one remarkable genealogy of Macleod makes Gillemuire to have been the father of Leod; and before Raice (Rooke) and Olbair (Ulf?) the Hewer, we have another Gillemuire. It is added that *Ealga fholt-alainn*, *i.e.*, Ealga of the Beautiful Hair, daughter of Arailt Mac Semmair, King of Lochlainn, was the mother of Gillemuire."²

I learn from Mr Skene that the serfs or tenants on lands belonging to a church or monastery dedicated to the Virgin would be called the Gillies of Mary; hence the origin of the name; but in process of time it is evident that such names as Gillemuire were used as proper names, and without any reference to office or employment. Although Petrie says that no Irish churches were dedicated to the Virgin before the twelfth century,³ there are notices of Maelmaire, son of Ainbith, at 919 A.D.,⁴ and of Maelmuire,

¹ Norman Macleod, "the bard," who believed himself to be acquainted with the builders of the Druidical Circles, and with the origin and history of the Lewis people from the fourth century, told that the Morrisons were originally Macleods [therein agreeing with the ancient genealogy]. The chief of Macleod had a son by a young woman of the name of Mary. The lady of Macleod could not tolerate that one so born should bear the clan-name, so the infant was called "Gille Moiré," the son of Mary; hence the origin of the Morrisons. "I have also sent for another account of the origin of the Morrisons, from a Morrison patriarch, which will doubtless be more honourable than the bard's, the latter being a Macleod" (Letter, Rev. J. M'Rae, Stornoway, 12th Dec. 1860).

² Ulst. Jour. Arch. vol. ix. p. 320.

³ Round Towers, p. 173. "The dedications to St Mary in Scotland came in long before the 12th century, as early as the sixth."—W. F. Skene.

⁴ Todd's "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," p. xci.

son of Eochaidh, abbot-bishop of Armagh, at 1020 A.D.¹ Nor, although the name is Gaelic, is it to be inferred that the possessor was of pure Gaelic descent, but rather that he was one of the Gall-Gael, or mixed race of Northmen and Gael who peopled the towns and shores of Ireland and the western islands and coasts of Scotland. For Maelmaire, sister of Sitric, King of Dublin, is on record *circa* 1066;² and, before the conquest of Ireland, in 1130, Mac Gille Maire, son of Allgoirt of Port Lairge (Waterford), the best foreigner (*Gall*) that was in Eirinn, was slain.³

In Ireland there was a Clan Mac Ghillemuire settled in Lecale (*Leth-Cathal*), County Down. On July 7, 1244, Henry III. requests—among others—that Mac Gillemuri himself, and with his forces, will join the Justiciary of Ireland about to depart for Scotland:—

The King to [Mac Gillemuri]. Thanks him for the good service he is prepared to render. As Alexander, King of Scotland, has made peace [Mac Gillemuri] may return to his own country, but the king prays he may be ready for service⁴ the ensuing summer. [For further notices of the Clan Mac Ghillemuire, see Reeves' "Ecc. Antiquities," p. 339.]

The chief of the Clan Morrison, whose dwelling was at Habost, Ness, was hereditary judge or brieve⁵ (*Breitheamh*) of Lewis, and continued to hold the office till the beginning of the seventeenth century. The only record of his judgeship is that given by Sir R. Gordon, who, under the

¹ Todd's "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," p. clxxxix.

² *Ib.* p. cxlix.

³ "Chron. Scot." p. 334. And I have seen in a history of Waterford a mandate of protection from Henry II. or III. to Mac Gillvore *and the other Danes* there,—but have lost the reference.

⁴ Cal. Doc. Ireland, p. 405.

⁵ The traditionary origin of the title of Brieve of Lewis is absurd. It is that Lewis had been given to Donald Mor Mackay. Donald Mor fell so desperately in love with a daughter of the then Earl of Sutherland that he offered to give Lewis to her if she would be his bride for only one night. She consented, and claimed Lewis, but her pretensions were stoutly resisted by John Morrison. The case went to "head-quarters," when the judge said, "*Ian is tusa Breitheamh an fhear ann, agus cha ne am boirionach,*" i.e., "John, thou art judge of the land, and not this woman." The grain of truth here is, that the mainland estates of the Lewis Macleods were really granted to Mackay in 1508; and for some of the other circumstances compare the traditions in O. S. A. of Edderachyllis.

rubric of "What the office of a Breive is amongst the ilanders,"¹ states that "The Breive is a kind of judge amongst the ilanders, who hath an absolute judicatorie, vnto whose authoritie and censure they willinglie submitt themselves, when he determineth any debatable question betuein partie and partie." In former times there was a breive in every island, and he had one-eleventh of every subject that was in dispute, but from whom there was an appeal to the chief judge in Islay.² Very exaggerated notions remain of the extent of the jurisdiction of the Brieve of Lewis. One writer asserts that it was a venerable institution that had stood for many ages, and that the jurisdiction extended over the Hebrides from Islay to the Butt of Lewis, and on the opposite coast to the Ord of Caithness; another, that he was invested by His Majesty as judge arbiter from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Kintyre, and was absolute in his jurisdiction.³

It is probable that the Brieve in Lewis represented the *log-maðr* of Norse domination, and that in the progress of time the office changed from that of law-man or speaker-of-the-law at the *þing*, or popular assembly, to that of *Dómandi*, or administrator of justice. In the Isle of Man the *Deemster* held an office of great antiquity. He was judge in cases of life and death, as well as in the most trifling contentions. His presence, whether in house or field, on horseback or on foot, constituted a court; his decisions were guided either by what he could remember of like cases, or by his sense of justice, and this *lex non scripta* was called "breast-law." On assuming office he swore that he would administer justice between man and man as evenly as the back-bone of the herring lies between the two sides of the fish. Wherever the deemster was present, the aggrieved party could lug his opponent before him. The plaintiff placed his foot upon that of the defendant, and held it there till judgment was pronounced. Both in Lewis and in Man the decision seems to have been accepted without reserve.

¹ Sir R. Gordon, "Earl. of Suth." p. 268, The Supp. to the Conflict of the Clans, has, after "themselves," "and never doe appeal from his sentence quhen he determineth," &c., p. 12.

² Coll. De Reb. Alb. p. 297.

³ See also O. S. A. vol. vi. p. 292.

On the 29th May 1527, King James addressed a letter to "Oure Breff of Inuerness," where "breff" is synonymous with "sheriff;" from whence it may be inferred that the *vice-comes* of Skye, named in the Chronicle of Man, was the brieve of that island. How the office of law-man was abused under Scottish tyranny in Shetland may be seen in Balfour's "Oppressions;" but in Lewis, owing to its remote situation, the brieve appears to have exercised his ancient jurisdiction without interference. It is very doubtful if ever a brieve of Lewis could have spoken a word of English, and as the Scots Acts of Parliament have not been translated into Gaelic, the decisions of the judge can never have had any relation to them. Before the utter confusion into which the country fell towards the close of the sixteenth century, the brieve of Lewis, like the bard of Clanranald, may have received some education in Gaelic; but in any case we have ample proof that he exercised his office most unsparingly, for there are few islands or districts in which the *Cnoc na Chroiche*, or Gallows Hill,¹ is not a conspicuous feature. With the judge, says Dr Mac Ivor, perished the different records of the Lewis, and of the countries over which he had jurisdiction, except a few memoranda, or rather scraps,² retained by some of the judge's descendants who escaped the fury of the Macleods.

The "Indweller" is only partially correct in stating that Kennanus Makurich, *i.e.*, Cain Macvurich (*Cathan Mac Mhurich*), was the first Morrison in Lewis; for the current tradition throughout the island is that the heiress of the Morrisons, having determined she would only marry with a Morrison, Cain, who was a Macdonald from Ardnamurchan, passed himself off for a Morrison, became husband of the lady, and consequently brieve also. The Harris Morrisons claim to be of the original stock. The North Uist historian of the Sleat Macdonalds (Hugh Macdonald) states

¹ There is a Gallows Hill at Kneep, Uig; at Shawbost, Barvas; another near Stornoway; a *Cnoc na Chroiche* at Scalpay, Harris; and the place where a gallows stood is pointed out at Rodil, Harris. A boat's mast seems to have often been used to hoist up a man instead of a sail, or the mast upon which the victim was suspended was laid across a rift between rocks. Gallows Hill is a common name in the Orkneys and in the Shetland islands.

² These scraps were part of a MS. History of the Mackenzies, called by Donald Gregory the Letterfearn MS. Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis" contains what is probably a copy of those scraps.

that "Reginald married a brother's son of his grandfather's to an heiress of the name of the Morrisons in the Lewis;" and that Reginald was killed by the Earl of Ross in 1346.¹

The genealogy of the Macdonalds, as given by the Uist historian, when compared with that compiled by Donald Gregory,² is found to be confused and inaccurate. Reginald is made to be a son of John, son of Somerled, son of Somerled; the common ancestor of the Macdougals, the Macrories, and the Macdonalds, when, in fact, he was Reginald (Ranald) Mac Rorie, the illegitimate brother of Amie Mac Rorie, who was the first wife of John first Lord of the Isles. For the glorification of his own clan, the Uist historian ignores the existence of the clan Rorie, or wilfully confounds them with the Macdougals, and bastardises them both together.

The John Mac Angus Mor and John Mac Somerled of the Uist historian are the same person; and he is historically known as *Eon Sprangaich*, or John the Bold, son of Angus Mòr; he is the founder of the Clan Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan.

It is also stated that John (*Sprangaich*) came to Uist, married a daughter of Macleod of Harris, and had a son named Murdo;³ and that from Murdo has descended the ancient branch of the Macdonalds called Shiol Mhurchy. *Mac Mhurch* represents the "Makurich" of Lewis tradition.

It is further stated that Angus Oig of Islay married a daughter of Guy O'Kaine in Ireland;⁴ and this is confirmed by Mac Firbis, who writes that the mother of John Mac Angus of Islay was *Aine*, daughter of *Cumhaighe O' Cathain*.⁵ In this way the name of Cain has been introduced—if it was not there before—into the Clan Macdonald, and through them it has been continued as a family name among the Morrisons to the present day.

The conclusion to be drawn is that Kennanus Makurich, *i.e.*, Cain

¹ Coll. De Reb. Alb. p. 292.

² Hist. West. Isles, *passim*.

³ De Reb. Alb. p. 291.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 294.

⁵ Hill's "Macdonnells of Antrim," p. 375. 1376, Cumoighe O'Kane, Lord of Oireacht O'Kane (Derry) was taken prisoner by the English at the port of Coleraine, and sent prisoner in fetters to Carrickfergus.—Connellan's "Four Masters"

Macvurich, who was adopted into, and from whom descended the leading family of the Morrisons of Ness, was the son of Murdo, son, or rather grandson, of John the Bold, founder of the family of Ardnamurchan; and that the marriage took place not long before 1346.

I am told that the badge of the Morrisons is "drift-wood," of which a great quantity is driven upon the west coast of Lewis. The Lewis word for drift-wood is *sgoid*; hence, in derision, a Morrison will be told that he has a "skate" (*sgait*, Gae.) for a baby.¹

Besides the district of Ness, the Morrisons were dominant in the district of Diurness, in Lord Reay's country. The tradition of their settlement there is that Ay Mac Hormaid (*Aodh Mac Thormoid*), a Morrison from Lewis, who was a handsome and good-looking fellow, went for a cargo of meal to Thurso, and there married the illegitimate daughter (or the sister) of the Bishop of Caithness, who bestowed upon the young couple the whole of Diurness, with Ashir.² Ay Morrison "brought over with him from Lewis a colony of no less than sixty families, mostly of his own name, to whom he gave lands upon his property; hence it is that the name of Morrison is prevalent in these parts, for though the property has fallen into other hands, the stock of the inhabitants remains."³

In 1518, Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan was killed;⁴ the Uist historian

¹ Or, for a wife. *Sgoid* is undoubtedly a survival of the Norse *Skid*, a log of timber. "*Sgoid-chladaich*," Gael., a shore [*i.e.*, drift] log.

² Now foolishly corrupted to "Old Shores." In 1772 it was written Ashar; in 1551, Aslar. In 1263 King Hakon sailed with all his host from the Orkneys to *Asleifar-vik*. Now *Asleifar* becomes *Aslar* by the aspiration of the *f*; and Ashir, the Gaelic form of which would be *Asear*, by the further aspiration of the *l*. *Asleifar-vik* is therefore in Loch Inchard (the termination *ard* in which represents the Norse *fjorder*), and the *vik* is probably the place now called Badcaul. (I find myself anticipated in this identification. Pope's *Torfaeus*, p. 198). The Norse copyists made great mistakes when they had Gaelic names to write. For long it was a puzzle to tell where they got the name of *Satiri* for Kintyre; but it was found once written *Santiri*. This gave the clue, for I do not doubt that hearing the Gaelic *Cean-tir* (Head-land) they wrote originally *Kantiri*, which the copyists have corrupted to *Santiri*, *Satiri*. I consider *Haterskot* to be a like corruption for Abercros.

³ O. S. A. vol. vi. Edderachylis; where the tradition of the circumstance which caused the lands to be claimed by the Sutherlands is stated.

⁴ Gregory, "Hist. West. Isles," p. 125.

says that he fled for the space of a mile, but was overtaken by Mr (*i.e.*, the Master or Heir) Allan Morison, and killed by the Laird of Raisay.¹

In 1546-47, March 22, there is a remission to "Rorie M'Cleud of the Lewis," and some of his clan, for treasonable assistance given to "Mathew, formerly Earl of Lennox,"² among whom is "William M'hucheon," probably a son of the brieve.

In 1551, July 23, Patrick Davidson is paid £10 by the king's treasurer that he may go to the Lewis to charge "M'Cleude of the Lewis and Hucheon of the Lewis to come to my Lord Governor [Arran] at the aire at Inverness."³ This is Hucheon Morrison, brieve or judge of Lewis, who was indirectly the cause of the ruin of the *Siol Torquil*.

The Chief of Lewis,⁴ Rorie Mac Malcolm Macleod, afterwards known as Old Rorie, had married, when young, Janet Mackenzie,⁵ daughter of

¹ De Reb. Alb. p. 324.

² Reg. Privy Seal.—Greg. Colls. MS.

³ Treasurer's Accts.—Greg. Colls. MS.

⁴ The following narrative is founded upon Donald Gregory's "History of the Western Highlands and Isles," compared with his "Manuscript Collections," which contain a large amount of interesting matter, and with Sir R. Gordon's "History of the Earls of Sutherland." Besides which Lord Cromartie's "History of the Mackenzies," printed in Fraser's "Earls of Cromartie," has been consulted; as well as two MS. histories of the Mackenzies, &c. &c.

⁵ "She was first married to M'Ky, and after his death to this Rory. She had come to a greater age then suited well to his youth, whereupon did shortly follow a dislike, and from dislike to loving of others, whereby in a short time he became wicked, licentious, and putting away his wife, alleging a falsehood, but without process or proof, since they were not grounded on any proof."—Fraser's "Earls of Cromartie," vol. ii. p. 521.

Dr George Mackenzie gives the following account:—Rory Macleod "married Janet Mackenzie, daughter to Kenneth [recté John] the 8th Baron of Kintail, by whom he had Torquil Connonach, to whom he gave the lands of Coigach, but being a man abandoned to all kinds of luxury and vice, and there being no agreement on that account betwixt him and his Lady, the Briff of the Lewis, who was the Supreme Judge in all Causes Civil and Ecclesiastical, summons him before him to answer for his many notorious adulteries, for he had then in adultery no less than five sons—Tormod, Murdoch, Neil, Donald, and Rory. In revenge of this he accuses the Briff of adultery with his Lady—" &c.—MS. Hist. Mackenzies.

The Letterfearn MS. says nothing about the brieve, but that Mackenzie's daughter was taken away from the Chief of Lewis by his own kinsman, John Mac Gillichally, Laird of Rasay. This statement is adopted by Donald Gregory.

John Mackenzie of Kintail, and widow of Mackay. She became the paramour of Huchoun Morrison, and on the adultery being known, both she herself and the child she bore—Torquil Connonach (so called from being fostered among his mother's relations in Strath Connan)—were repudiated by Rorie Macleod. He seems to have had sufficient reason, as is shown by the following declaration :—

INSTRUMENT¹ UPON THE DECLARATION OF THE BREVE OF LEWIS ANENT THE BIRTH OF TORQUIL, SAID TO BE SON TO M^cLEOD OF LEWIS, 22D AUGUST 1566.

. . . The quhilk day S^r Patrik M^cMaister mairtin Persoun of Barwas deponit upoun his aithe and that he being in Lewiss visiting Huchoun Breve of Lewess that wes then in the poynt of dethe and in thay dayes wes Confessour to the said Huchoun attending to the consuetude usit in yai tymes That he sperit and requiret of the said Huchoun anent yis son Torquill borne be Makkenzes sister as wes allegit to Maccleod of Lewess hir housband Quhat ye said Huchoun's Jugement wes anent him and to quhome the said Torquill as he belefit pertenit Quha ansuerit to ye said S^r Patrik, yat he cull nocht deny bot he had carnale copulaⁿe w^t the said Ne V^e Kenze in hir husband's tyme in dew tyme and seasoun afoir ye said Torquillis birthe And y^t the s^d Huchouns father afoir him tuik w^t ye said Torquill to be ye said Huchoun's sone afoir his deathe And in respect that the said Huchoun wes to depairt of this warld in perell of deid he culd not do vtherwayis nor his father afoir him had tane w^t the said Torquill That is that the said Huchoun wes his father naturall And that he culd not refuse him to be sone to him in tymes (comming) And this the said Huchoun grantit and confessit to ye said S^r Patrik in his Confessioun being in danger of deathe — Upoun ye quibilk confessioun of ye said S^r Patrik and Vidimus of his Testificatioun ane honorabill man Donald Makdonald gorme of Sleat appearand and acclaimand rg^t to be air of Lewess Requirit fra me Notar vnderwritten actis and instrumentis befoir yir Witness Ane ry^t reverand man M^r Johne Carswell Bischop of ye Iles Hector Makclane Allansoun w^t vyeris duierss

Ita est PATRICCIUS MILLER Notarius Publicus &c.

After Rorie Macleod had repudiated his first wife, he married in 1541,

¹ From Macleod's Charter Chest.—Greg. Colls. MS.

Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew Lord Avendale, by whom he had a son, Torquil *Oighre* (Torquil the Heir), to whom Queen Mary wrote that he, being of the Stewart blood, should not marry without her consent;¹ but Torquil Oighre was drowned, somewhere about 1566, when crossing the Minsh. Torquil Connonach then made a claim to succeed, receiving the help of the Clan Kenneth, and no doubt assisted on the island by the Morrisons; he was also supported by two of Rorie Macleod's natural sons, Torquil Uigach (*i.e.*, fostered in Uig) and Murdo, which is easily understood if their mother was a Morrison.

The Castle of Stornoway was taken and the Chief of Lewis made a prisoner for four years. He gives a miserable picture of the treatment he received from his pseudo son. The old chief states that the evil handling he has received from Torquil Connonach and his accomplices these two years bygone is notorious; that his "Lugeing" was invaded by them at night and burnt, himself held in most miserable captivity in mountains and caves far distant from the society of men, and almost perished with cold and hunger.

While still a prisoner, Rorie Macleod was taken to Edinburgh and made, by the friends of Torquil Connonach, to resign his lands to him, Rorie Macleod merely holding them in liferent. But Old Rorie, as soon as he got back to Lewis, repudiated the resignation on the ground of coercion. In 1576, both Old Rorie and Torquil Connonach were summoned before the Regent Morton, when a reconciliation was effected, Old Rorie recognising Torquil Connonach as his heir. In these quarrels three of Old Rorie's natural sons—Neill, Donald, and Rorie Oig—took their father's part, while Tormot Uigach and Murdo sided with the Mackenzies.

Old Rorie, apparently between 1566 and 1570, had taken a third wife, Jennette, the daughter of Maclean, and had by her two sons, Torquil Du and Tormot.

Before long, what Sir Robert Gordon calls "The civill troubles of the Lewis," again commenced. Tormod Uigach, of the Morrison faction, was killed by his brother Donald; for which Donald was seized by Torquil Connonach, with the assistance of Murdo, and carried prisoner to Coy-

¹ From Inverary, 23d July 1563.

geach, from whence, however, he escaped and got back to Lewis. Old Rorie was incensed against Torquil Connonach for seizing Donald, and caused Donald to apprehend Murdo, who was then imprisoned in Stornoway Castle. Torquil Connonach invaded Lewis, took Stornoway Castle after a short siege, released Murdo, made a prisoner again of his imputed father Old Rorie, killed a number of his men, and carried away all the writs, charters, and infeftments of Lewis; these, on a future occasion, he gave to Mackenzie of Kintail. Torquil Connonach then placed his son John over Lewis, and Old Rorie was, I suppose, a sort of prisoner at large in Stornoway. The date of these transactions is fixed by "Ane lettre maid to Johne M Cloyd oy to Rorie M Cloyd Of ye gift of ye escheit and lyfrent of all guidis &c Quhilkis pertinet to the said Rorie M Cloyd of the Lewis And now pertenis to o' Soureane lord &c Throw being of ye said Rorie ordourlie denuncit his Maiestes Rebell and put to ye horne upoun ye xxij day of May, 1583 for non finding of souertie that he sould compeir befor his Hienes Justice and his Deputes at ane certain day bipast to have under lyne ye lawis for airt and pairt of ye persute of Torquill M Cloyd his sone and apperand aire and divers slauchteris and crymes mentionat and contenit in ye said lettres, &c. &c. Stirling, 20th Sept. 1535."¹

John Macleod, being in possession, set about banishing his bastard uncles, Rorie Oig and Donald. Rorie Oig having placed an ambuscade, caused John to be deluded out to shoot swans at the Loch of Sandwick, when John was shot himself and killed. Old Rorie was then "agane commander of that iland, which he did possesse dureing the rest of his troublesome dayes."²

Malcolm, the father of Old Rorie, died in 1517. Rorie himself appears in record in 1537, and his last appearance is in 1595, in which year he no doubt demised. His least possible age is 78 years, but there is a tradition in Lewis that he was 94 years old when he died.³

On the death of Old Rorie, Torquil Du possessed Lewis, excluding Torquil Connonach as a bastard. The mainland estates were held by

¹ Gregory Collections, MS.

² Sir R. Gordon's "Earls of Sutherland," p. 268.

³ Dr Macivor, MS.

Torquil Connonach, for which reason they were, in 1596, ravaged by Torquil Du with great barbarity, if Kenneth Mackenzie is to be believed,¹ but the young chief, who was followed by 700 or 800 men, appears to have been too powerful to have been conquered by the Mackenzie faction. So a conspiracy was entered into by Kenneth Mackenzie, Torquil Connonach, John Morrison the brieve of Lewis, and Murdo, when it was considered necessary that Torquil Du "should be maid out of the way: bot," says Sir R. Gordon, "ther laiked ane to execute the interpryse."² At length the Brieve, by the promise of a great reward, was induced to undertake the matter. John Morrison having soon afterwards captured a Dutch ship partly laden with wine, he took his prize to Stornoway, and invited Torquil Du to come on board to partake of a banquet. But instead of wine they bring them cords, and Torquil Du and his company were carried across to Ullapool, to Torquil Connonach, where Kenneth Mackenzie caused them all to be beheaded, in July 1597. At the instant of execution there was an earthquake, which much astonished the malefactors, though naturally hardened by cruelty and mischief.³

The Lewis estates had been made over to Kenneth Mackenzie, as far as writings could do it, by Torquil Connonach; the Government made Lewis over to adventurers; but the command of the island was possessed by the bastard uncle, Neil Macleod.

¹ Fraser's "Earls of Cromartie," vol. ii. p. 440.

² The fragment of Sir R. Gordon's Hist. of the Earl. of Sutherland in the *Miscellanea Scotica* is printed from an earlier and better MS. than that of the Edinburgh edition of 1813. In the "Conflict," Donald Mac Neill "went into Holland, quher he remains" (p. 27); in the Edinburgh edition it is "wher he died" (p. 276). The paragraph relating to the conspiracy of Mackenzie in the "Conflict," is—"Kenneth M'Kenzie of Kintail, (afterwards Lord of Kintail,) Torq. Conn., Murdo M'Leod baiese brother of Torq. Conn., and the Brieve of the Lewes, (the son of that Brieve [Hucheson Morrison] who was said to be the father of Torq. Conn.,) haid a secret meiting together, to consult of ther affaires; the Lord Kintail his proposition was, that to advance Torq. Conn. to the possession of the Lewes, it was requisit that his brother Torq. Dow should be maid out of the way, which motion was presently embraced by the rest, but ther laikit on to execut the enterpryse" (p. 15).

³ Here the text in the "Conflict" is better than that of the Edinburgh edition, for we get the information in the former that Torquil Du had but seven men in company (p. 15).

The Mackenzie faction, having failed to gain Lewis, left the Morrisons exposed to the vengeance of the Macleods for their treachery to Torquil Du; but the foregoing narrative supplies a reason for their conduct. The oligarchic Sir R. Gordon, cannot imagine that the ties of blood should be superior to fealty to a chief. About this time the Morrisons fortified themselves in Dun Eystein, at Ness.

Dun Eystein is a natural stronghold at the north end, or Ness, of Lewis, in the townland of *Cnoc Aird*, to which the Morrisons were wont to retire when hard pressed or in times of war. It is a flat, cliffy island, of a somewhat oval shape, about 75 yards long and 50 yards broad, and is separated from the mainland by a narrow, perpendicular ravine, through which the sea flows at high water. The ravine is between 30 and 40 feet broad, and the same in height. The remains of a strong wall follow the edge of the cliff on the landward side of the island, and through the wall there are said to have been squints or loopholes for observation and defence.

Towards the north-east corner of the island is a dùn or castle, sometimes called *Tigh nam Arm*; or the House of Arms, now but $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The outside of the dùn is an oblong square, 23 by 18 feet; and this basement is nearly solid, for the central area, which is of an oval shape, is only $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and there is no appearance of any doorway. The entrance or doorway was no doubt at the height of the first floor, similar to a dùn in Taransay. The walls are of dry-stone masonry, but that is no proof of age in this part of the country. When exploring the ruins, the Rev. M. Macphail, who made the above measurements, found a small piece of flint, fragments of charcoal, and a strip of leather such as was used for making brogues.

There are the remains of huts upon the island; and on the south sides is a flat ledge, called *Palla¹ na Biorlinn*, or the Ledge of the Galley or Birlin, whereon tradition tells that the Morrisons used to haul up their boat.

There is no tradition of the Eysteinn who gave his name to the dùn; it is a common Norse name.

¹ This interesting word is a survival from the Norse, and means in Lewis "a grassy ledge in a cliff." Cf. Cleasby's "Teel. Dic.," *sub voce* "*Pallr.*"

Many sanguinary battles, still recounted by tradition, were fought between the Macleods and Macaulays on one side, and the Morrisons on the other. At last the Morrisons were forced to leave Lewis, and take refuge with that branch of their clan which was settled in Duirness and Edderachyllis, in Sutherland, where still, in 1793, the natives were all, except a few, of the three names of Mac Leay, Morrison, or Macleod.

At that time there lived on *Eilean Shianlaidh* (pronounced Elen Handa), *i.e.*, Sandey or Sand Island, one of the family of Assynt Macleods, named Little John Mac Donald Vic Hucheon, a man of low stature, but of matchless strength and skill in arms. He and the brieve, John Morrison, met accidentally in a house in Inverkirkaig in Assynt. Being in one room and of contrary factions, presently they fell to fighting, when, although the Brieve had six men, and John of Sandey but four, the Brieve and five of the Morrisons were killed without any loss on the side of the Macleods. Sir R. Gordon suggests that God deprived the Brieve and his company of the courage or ability to resist; but it must not be forgotten that this same John of Sandey had been previously defeated at Carloway, in Lewis, by the Morrison faction.¹

Among the numerous islands on the coast of Edderachyllis is one called *Eilean a Bhrithheimh*, or Judge's Island; for after John Morrison had been slain his friends in Lewis came in a galley to bring home his corpse; but contrary winds arising, they were driven to this island, where they found it convenient to disembowel the body and bury the intestines, and on the wind changing they arrived in safety at Ness.²

Malcolm Mòr Mac Ian, who now succeeded to the chieftainship of the Morrisons, sought for John of Sandey, in order to revenge the death of his father, when both parties met by chance in Coygeach. They fought; but John of Sandey, besides killing most of the opposite party, took Malcolm Mòr himself prisoner, and carried him to Tormod Macleod in Lewis, who caused him to be beheaded. This was between 1601 and 1605.

In October 1559 the Fife adventurers, with 500 or 600 soldiers, artificers, &c., sailed for Lewis, when Murdo Macleod captured the Laird of

¹ Sir R. Gordon's "Hist. of Earls. Suth.," pp. 264, 272; O. S. A., vol. vi. pp. 292, 293.

² O. S. A., vol. vi. p. 293.

Balcolmy near the Orkneys, where soon afterwards the unfortunate gentleman died. Neil and Murdo opposed the adventurers in Lewis; but Murdo had all along supported the Morrison faction, while Neil represented the Macleods. The brothers soon quarrelled, and Neil took Murdo prisoner. The adventurers offered to Neil, if he would deliver Murdo to them, that they would procure Neil's pardon, and give him a portion of the island. Neil accepted these terms, went with the adventurers to Edinburgh, taking with him the heads of ten or twelve Morrisons,¹ and had his pardon. Murdo, against whom the adventurers must have been much exasperated for causing the death of Balcolmy, was also carried south and hanged at St Andrews; "who, at his death, reveiled something of the Lord of Kintayle his proceedings. Then the king was advertised by the adventurers, that the Lord of Kintayle was a crosser and hinderer of their interpryse; wherevpon he was brought in question, and was committed to warde in the castell of Edinburgh, from whence he escaped without his tryall, by means and credet of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland."

In 1601 the adventurers and Neil M'Leod returned to Lewis, but they soon became enemies; an attempt being made to entrap Neil, he, being aware of their purpose, surprised the party sent against him, and killed sixty of their number. Mackenzie then let loose Tormod Macleod (the youngest son of Old Rorie), whom he had abducted from school in Glas-

¹ "There wase ane vther convention appointed to hold heir at Edinburgh, vpon the first of Apryll 1599; wherin ther was a contract past betwixt the Kings Majestie and gentlemen venturers towards the Lewes, vpon certaine conditions, speciallie, that sufficient securitie being maid to them therof, they sould pay to his Majestie sewin scoire chalders of beare yairlie. And vndertaking the journey toward the Lewes in the end of October the same yeare, accompanied with v or vi^c men vnder vadges, besyde gentlemen woluntars, throw the coldness of the ile, the lake of ludgeinge, and vther enterteinment, a number of them died of fluxes. And the laird of Balcombie and his cumpanie, passinge in ane boate out of the Lewes toward Orkenay, were intercepted be the way be sume hilandmen supposed to be Mackenzies men, be whome sume of Balcombies men was slaine, and himself taken and detained captive, and so hardlie vsed, that be deadlie diseases contractit he deceasit in Orknay after he wes sett at libertie. Be the meanes of ane speciall hielandman off that ile there were ten or twelfe apprehendit of the speciall withstanders of that interpryse, and beheidit, and ther heids sent heir in a pok to Edinburgh, which were sett vpon the ports thereof."—Moyse's "Memoirs," p. 165 (Ban. Club).

gow and held prisoner and hostage against the Siol Torquil and his mother's relations the Macleans. Mackenzie secretly promised the young man great assistance if he would attack the settlers in concert with his uncle.

As soon as Tormod got to Lewis he was at once acknowledged by the islanders as their chief; he speedily attacked the camp of the adventurers, and forced them to capitulate. They agreed to obtain a remission from the king for all past offences of the Macleods; that they would not return to Lewis, but give up their title to the island to Tormod; and that they would surrender Sir James Spence and his son-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, as hostages, till these conditions were fulfilled.

The remission seems to have been procured; but the adventurers only waited till their hostages were out of danger before they prepared for the reconquest of the island.

In 1605 the adventurers returned, with extreme legal powers and a great force, to Lewis. The adventurers offered Tormod to procure his pardon from the king, and not to oppose any grant he could obtain to afford him the means of subsistence. Tormod was sent to London; but when it was understood that his—or his nephew's—claim to Lewis was likely to be regarded with favour, the adventurers, by means of their friends at court, prevailed so far that Tormod was sent down to Edinburgh, where this victim of untoward circumstances was detained a prisoner for ten years.

Tormod Macleod had submitted to the terms of the adventurers against the advice of his uncle Neil; and Neil still opposed them, being assisted by Macneil of Barra, the captain of Clanranald and Macleod of Harris—who were all in fear that their estates would be likewise confiscated—and being secretly supported by Mackenzie, the adventurers became weary of their undertaking, forsook the island, and returned home.

Mackenzie now, acting upon a resignation formerly made to him by Torquil Connonach, got a charter of Lewis to himself passed under the great seal by means of his son's father-in-law, the Lord Chancellor. But the adventurers complained to the king, who forced Mackenzie to resign the gift; and the island being once more at the disposal of his Majesty, he granted it anew to three persons only. In 1609 these adventurers again landed in Lewis, and Mackenzie proposed to supply them with provisions by a ship

from Ross-shire; but at the same time he gave secret information and instructions to Neil Macleod, who captured the ship. The adventurers, being short of provisions, dismissed their forces and returned southwards, but left a garrison in their fort—which I am told was at the point of Holm, where certainly the remains of ramparts and trenches still exist. Neil Macleod soon captured and burned the fort, but sent the garrison out of the island unhurt. This was the last attempt of the Lowlanders to colonise the Lewis, and, being disgusted with their failure, they were easily persuaded to sell their rights to Mackenzie, who then, July 20, 1610, acquired a legal title to Lewis. The Mackenzies then sent a large force into the island, to which the islanders made no resistance, except Neil Macleod and his nephews, and about thirty others, who fortified a rocky island in the mouth of Loch Roag, and there defied the powers of the Mackenzies for nearly three years. But, in 1612, “the Clan Cheinzie gathered their wyffs and children of those that were in Berrisay,¹ and

¹ Berisay (Berrisay, Berinsay (misprint for Berirsay), Birsay), in Gaelic orthography *Bereasaidh*, for *Byrgis-ey*, Norse, = Enclosed or Fortified-island; from *Byrgi*, Norse, = an enclosure, fence; and *Ey*, Norse, = an island. The name is identical with Birsay, in the Orkneys. *Byrgi*, an entrenchment, is repeated in “The Berry,” Hoy, Orkney; at *An Berigh*, Shabost, Lewis; and a *Loch na Beridh*, Benbecula.

A gulf, or estuary, full of islands, on the west side of Lewis, has (like Loch Tarbert, Harris) lost its distinctive Norse name, and has acquired that of Loch Roag, though that name really belongs to a narrow inlet or voe (*voagr*), now called Little Loch Roag, in the entrance to which there is a dangerous *strom* or rapid, which is the *Rok* (Norse, for a foaming, splashing sea). There is another *Rok* (Roag) in Skye.

The greater part of Loch Roag is nearly filled by the large island of Bernera (*Bjarnar-ey*); and off the north end of Bernera, in the open sea, are a number of small islands, and among them is Berisay. It was at sunset, on an autumn evening, that I pulled past this island-fortress, and I had every wish to examine the scene of nearly the last act in the bloody drama of the “Conquest of the Lewis;” but the sea was up, it was already nearly dark, and my vessel was several miles away, so after a good look at its craggy sides, I steered for Loch Carloway. It seemed a dreadful place to live on, for in winter there must be weeks and even months in which, by reason of the raging sea, no boat could land upon it; yet it was here a brave, treacherous, and bad man held out against the superior fraud and violence of the Clan Kenneth.

Berisay is a craggy islet, one-tenth of a mile long and half as broad, surrounded by mural cliffs 100 feet high, with an *acarsaid* or landing-place on the south-east side, and the ruins of huts upon the *terre plein*; the highest part of the rock is 175 feet

such as, by way of affinity or consanguinity, within the island, did apperteyn to Neill and his followers, and placed them all vpon a rock within the sea, wher they might be heard and sein from the rock of Berrisay. They vowed and protested that they wold suffer the sea to overwhelm them the nixt flood if Neill did not presentlie surrender the fort; which pitifull spectacle did so move Neill Macloyd and his company to compassion, that immediatlie they yielded the rock, and left the Lewes; wherevpon the women and children were rescued and randered."¹

Neil took refuge in Harris, but shortly presented himself before Sir Rorie Macleod of Harris, and requested to be taken to the court of the king in England. To this Sir Rorie consented, and they had arrived as far as Glasgow on their journey, when Sir Rorie was met by a mandate from the Privy Council to deliver up Neil to them; and the last of the Siol Torquil who led the clan in arms was hanged in Edinburgh, in April 1613.² And so ended the "Troubles in the Lewis."

As noted above, those of the Brieve's descendants³ who had escaped the fury of the Macleods took refuge with the portion of their clan that was settled in Lord Reay's country. When the Mackenzies had gained possession of Lewis, the relatives of the Brieve returned and established themselves again at Ness. According to tradition, John the Brieve, who was killed at Inverkarkaig, had four sons,—Allan, Donald, Kenneth, and Angus. A fifth was Malcolm Mor, who was beheaded at Stornoway. Allan and two others are said to have been killed in a sea-fight by Neil Macleod, and their heads were probably taken by Neil Macleod to Edinburgh, where he himself was afterwards hanged. Of Donald we appear to have authentic record; for in a commission of Fire and Sword, dated 24th June 1630, granted to "Rorie M'Kenzie of Cogach, Tutor of Kin-

above the sea. Berisay is exposed to the whole force of the Atlantic Ocean, but is the beau ideal of a pirate's nest, commanding a view of half the horizon, impregnable, and near a frequented harbour.

¹ Sir R. Gordon's "Earl. of Sutherland," p. 275.

² The Macleods of Rasay thereafter inherited the chieftainship of the Siol Torquil; and I was told by the late Rev. Rory Macleod of Snizort that the head of that family was then a billiard-marker in London.

³ "The banker in Stornoway [the late Mr Roderick Morrison] is the 7th or 8th in descent from the last of them;" *i.e.*, the Brieves of Lewis.—*Letter*, Rev. John M'Rae, Stornoway, 12th Dec. 1860.

taill," and others, against the remaining members of the Siol Torquil. "Donald M'Indowie [Donald Macillevore] Brieff" is included, and this is the last notice I have found of the *Brieve* of Lewis.

Donald, along with some Macleods, is described as having been concerned in the first rebellion against the Gentlemen Adventurers; but it is difficult to understand why a Morrison, whose clan had suffered so severely for having favoured the Mackenzies, was included in the commission of extermination. It is repeatedly affirmed that the Morrisons assisted the Mackenzies to reduce Lewis, but a slight explanation is offered by one of the bards,¹ who states that the "Soldier of Kintail promised part of Kintail to Donald, but never gave it."

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the whole of Lewis formed but two parishes—Barvas and Ey (Stornoway). The minister of Barvas was the Rev. Donald Morrison, who must have been born about 1620; he was a grandson of the judge, was bred an Episcopalian minister, but conformed to Presbyterianism. He was personally known to Martin, and supplied that invaluable writer with information about North Rona. Mr Donald helped to suppress the sacrifice to *Shony*² about 1670, and

¹ Angus Gunn, North Dell, Ness.

² This remarkable superstition—of making an offering at Hallowmas to a supposed sea-god, that he might send a plentiful supply of sea-weed on shore—and which was supposed to have been abandoned about 1670, must have been the survival of the *harust-blót*, or autumnal sacrificial feast of the pagan Scandinavians; for *Sjóni* is a name derived from *són*, = an atonement, sacrifice (of the heathen age) (Cleasby's Iced. Dic. pp. 535, 586). *Onundr Sjóni* is named in the *Land-bók*, pp. 73, 89. But although the sacrifice to *Shony* may have been repressed the superstition only took another form; for up to quite recent times there existed an almost extinct custom of proceeding in spring to the end of a long reef, and there invoking "*Brianuill*," "*Brianuill*," to send a strong north wind and drive plenty of sea-ware on shore to manure the land.

There seemed little prospect of making anything out of "*Brianuill*, *Brianuill*," until the Rev. M. Macphail told me that "*Brianuill*" was the name of a saint, and that his day was about the 26th or 27th May. Now, St Brenden is written in Irish, *Brenainn*, and Martin calls St Brendan's Chapel in St Kilda *St Brianan*. His day is on the 16th May; and if this is taken as Old Style his festival would be on 28th May, New Style.

With regard to the terminations *uill*, *uillt*, I hazard the conjecture that they represent the Gaelic *Séladair* = sailor, voyager; for when written phonetically it is *Shulta*,

died before 1700, in his 86th year. He was succeeded in Barvas by his son, the Rev. Allan Morrison.¹

When Mr Donald was minister of Barvas, his brother, Rev. Kenneth Morrison, was minister of Stornoway; he joined with his brother in suppressing the sacrifice to *Shony*, and informed Martin of a singular method which he saw practised in his own church for exorcising the second-sight from a "Maid."² He also conformed to the Presbyterian Church. Mr Kenneth was a highly gifted man, and well suited to repress the turmoils in Lewis which then existed between the Papists and Protestants; for he used to walk from his manse at Tong to the church at Stornoway with his sword at his side, and when preaching he had two men standing with drawn swords at the door of the church.

The Papists received great encouragement from John Mackenzie of Assynt (who was a Papist), Laird of Kildun, and uncle of William, Earl of Seaforth. They kept Mr Kenneth so much on the alert that he never went to bed without having his sword lying by him. On one occasion the Laird of Kildun was so exasperated against the minister that he sent six stout men to bring Mr Kenneth by force to Aignish, where he then resided. The men arrived at the manse just as Mr Kenneth had gone to bed; his wife suspected some evil design, and informed her husband. He merely told her to send them up stairs if they had any business with him. They were brought to his room and on his asking them what they wanted they told him that the Laird had bid them take him to Aignish.³ He replied, "Oh, very well; let us first drink the Laird's health, and then I will go with you." To this there was no objection. Now Mr Kenneth

and when compounded *ulta*; so that *Brianuilt* I take to be a condensed form of *Breanainn-sheoladair*, i.e., Brendan the Voyager.

There is a legend among the Lewis folk which implies that the "Temple" on Sulasgeir was erected by or dedicated to St Brendan; but the inference is counter-vailed by the fact that the island is known as "Bara," which surely means the Island of St Barr.

¹ Rev. Mr Gunn, formerly of Lochs; MS. But the O. S. A. has "Murdoch" Morrison.

² Martin's "Western Isles," p. 314.

³ Aignish, for *Egyja-nes*, Norse = Egg-ness, so called from the rounded pebbles found on its shores. Aignish forms the south-east point of Loch Stornoway.

had a very large "dram-horn,"¹ which was only used on particular occasions; and it was now produced. The men drank the Laird's health and then that of his lady. His Reverence then asked them to drink his own health. By this time the men were so exhilarated that they would drink anybody's health. But John Barleycorn was master of them, and they were soon unable to move hand or foot. Mr Kenneth then made his own men bind them with ropes of straw, carry them to the boat, ferry them to Aignish, and lay them in the passage leading to the Laird's room. The Laird was restless from anxiety, and rose early to learn what success had attended his adventure, and, on going out, stumbled over one of his drunken men. They could give no account of how they came there, nor why they were bound with straw in so ridiculous a manner. The Laird said this was black Kenneth's doing, and that he had practised some trick to bring them to that condition; but that they should be thankful to Mr Kenneth for not having left them on the shore within reach of the flood.

The clemency of Mr Kenneth softened in some degree the anger of the Laird, for shortly afterwards he wrote to Mr Kenneth to come to Aignish to have a discussion on the merits of their respective creeds. Mr Kenneth was kindly received, and after dinner the discussion took place. Mr Kenneth seems to have advanced his arguments with moderation, and illustrated them with amusing stories, by which the Laird was induced to assert that he would more minutely examine into the doctrines of his Church. From that time the Laird moderated his zeal for the Papists, and lived on good terms with Mr Kenneth.

The Rev. Kenneth Morrison was a good poet, as some of his productions in the Gaelic language sufficiently attest. The Rev. Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris, married a daughter of the Rev. Kenneth Morrison.

Mr Kenneth was succeeded as minister of Stornoway by his second cousin, the Rev. Donald Morrison, whose pedigree is thus given: Donald MacRorie Vic Angus Vic Allan *Mhic a Bhreitheimh*; i.e. son of the Brieve

¹ "Dram-horn," in Gaelic *Adharc-dhrama*. The one I have is a section of a cow's horn, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the mouth; it holds $3\frac{1}{4}$ fluid ounces or about one-third of a tumbler. How large one might be that was only used on particular occasions it would be rash to guess.

(John Morrison). Mr Donald must have lived till 1747, when his successor the Rev. John Clark, was admitted.¹

It is told that Mr Donald studied at St Andrews, where having won the good opinion of the professors they recommended him to the notice of William, Earl Seaforth, who presented him to the church of Stornoway. Mr Donald was zealous in his calling ; in no long time he married a lady of great personal attractions ; Seaforth, the young Laird of Kildun, and many others were at the wedding. That night nothing but politics were discussed, and they all got early to bed. Seaforth invited Mr Donald, his bride, and all the party to come next day to Seaforth Lodge, where there was a splendid and cheerful feast. The Rev. Kenneth Macaulay, minister of Harris, but a Lewis man, was present.

Seaforth himself was a Protestant, but the Laird of Kildun and some others were rank Papists, and they determined to browbeat the two ministers. A smart discussion ensued ; but it is a Protestant who reports the arguments, so of course the Protestants had the best of it.

Not long afterwards Mrs Morrison became unruly in her family, when it was found out that the cause of Mrs Morrison's change from better to worse was the effect of spirits. Mr Donald was unable to reform his wife, so that her habitual intemperance became known far and wide, and the clergy threatened to suspend him for not separating from such a woman. He received a letter from the Synod to appear before it. By the advice of Seaforth he wrote to his relation, the Rev. Angus Morrison (of Contin), who was then living at *Doire-na-muic*, by Little Loch Broom. Mr Angus gave Mr Donald a sealed letter, dated 1741, to the moderator of the Synod ; but in spite of argument the Synod summoned Mr Donald before the General Assembly. The two friends went to Edinburgh, and there engaged the services of John Macleod of Muiravonside, advocate. After hearing arguments from both sides, the Assembly decided against the Synod.

Some months after Mr Donald had returned to Stornoway, on a Sunday after coming from church, he was reading the Bible while Mrs Morrison was brawling and annoying all the family. But the minister was deaf to her noise, and would take no notice of her ; this so enraged Mrs Morrison that she snatched the Bible off the table and threw it in the fire. His

¹ O. S. A., vol. xix. p. 250 ; Culloden Papers, p. 293.

reverence preserved his composure, and, drawing his chair close to the fire and warming his hands, he said, "Well, mistress; this is the best fire I ever warmed myself at." Mrs Morrison gazed at her husband and at the Bible in the flames; without saying anything she withdrew to another room, and from that hour, to the joy of all around her, she became sober and penitent, and strove daily to add to the comfort of her husband and family.¹

In 1653, Murdo Morrison, son of Allan, son of the brieve (John) was tacksman of Gress. He had three sons—John, subsequently known as the tacksman of Bragar, Allan, and Murdo.

On the 10th August 1653, Colonel Cobbett of the Roundhead army took possession of the peninsula on which the town of Stornoway now stands, and having had the arms of the place delivered up to him, he fortified the point and left Major Crispe as governor of Lewis, with six companies of soldiers, two great guns, and four sling pieces. On 31st January 1654, a strange report reached Edinburgh, that Seaforth had with 1400 men stormed the fort of Stornoway and taken it. But on 14th February 1654, more certain information arrived there, and "the business of Lewis was thus—Norman [*recté* John] Maccloud [of Rasay, and nephew of Seaforth] with four or five hundred men, landed in the Lewis island [at Loch Shell], and after three or four days staying at some inaccessible places in the isle, fell upon our soldiers who lay at Stornoway out of the fort, and killed twelve of them; but a party out of the fort beat them thence, relieved the remainder of the men, removed the goods into the fort and burnt the houses." On 21st March news arrived at Dalkeith, that "the garrison of Lewis had made slaughter of the country people that joyned with Seaforth, and they have also slaughtered some of the garrison; the old natives [Macleods] joyned with our men against the rest of the country, so that these divisions cause great devastation in those parts."²

This account is corroborated by the "Indweller;"³ but the patriotic antiquists now tell a very different story which need not be repeated here; except that John, the future tacksman of Bragar, being on good terms

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

² Spot. Mis. vol. ii. pp. 124, 126, 169, 196.

³ *Ib.* p. 342.

with the officers of the garrison, spent the night previous to the attack in drinking with them, and after observing where the sentinels were posted and the weakest part of the defence, returned to Gress. His brother Allan had been employed in collecting the Lewis men. The attack was made at night in two columns; Seaforth marching by the lands of Torry, and Rasay by Bayhead.¹ The result is stated above.

John Morrison of Bragar, who is said to have had "Ladies modesty, Bishops gravity, Lawyers eloquence, and Captains conduct,"—was personally known to Martin, and described by him as "a person of unquestionable sincerity and reputation;" and he is still remembered for his poetry, shrewdness, and wit. He is named by Martin at pp. 28, 315, and 316 of the "Western Isles."

A great part of the lands of Bragar was, as was universal at that time, sublet to tenants. It happened that Seaforth sent for Morrison to come to Stornoway; it was spring time, and Morrison was in doubt as to whom he should leave in charge of the farm during his absence. In order to fix upon the most trustworthy, he took the following plan:—He closed up all the windows and openings that admitted light, and placed a big stone in the passage that led to his room. He then sent to tell all his tenants that he had something to say to them. The tenants arrived, each one stumbling over the stone, till at last an old man, after sprawling across the passage, remarked that that was no place for such a stone, and rolled it out of the way. John Morrison then said to his tenants, "You may now go away all of you; but while I am absent see you obey the instructions of this old man, whom I leave as my substitute, and who appears to be the most careful and willing of you all."

One day John Morrison had the people of Balaloch, in Bragar, working on his farm. They had their breakfast at his house, but lingered too long over it. When they resumed their work, he addressed them thus:—

Fasan muintir Balaloch,
 An deigh mo chuid arain is brochain ith 'us òl.
 Na h-uile fear'bagairt éiridh,
 'S cha togadh e féin thon.

As much as to say that it was the way of the people of Balaloch, after

¹ Dr Macivor, M.S.

eating his bread and drinking his *brochan*,¹ for each to say it is time for us to go to work, but that no one got up from his seat.

On one occasion John Morrison considered himself overcharged by the factor, and refused to pay his demand. The factor complained to Seaforth, who sent for Morrison to come to Stornoway. Morrison set out at once, putting the rent into one purse and what he considered to be the overcharge in another. When he arrived at Seaforth Lodge a large dog barked furiously at him, on which Morrison struck it a violent blow on the nose with his stick. The dog yelled dismally, and one of Seaforth's servants, on coming to see what was the matter, commenced to abuse Mr Morrison, who punished his insolence by striking him on the jaw. The uproar now was greater than ever, and Seaforth made his appearance. John Morrison explained the origin of the row, and added:—

Gille tighearna ' us cù mòr.
Dithis nach còir leigidh leò;
Buail am balach air a' charbaid.
'S buail am balgair air an t-sròin.

Translation.

The boy (menial) and bull-dog (watch-dog) of a laird
Are two that should not be let alone;
Strike the boy on the jaw,
And strike the dog on the nose.

Seaforth was amused at Morrison's impromptu verse, and welcomed him cordially. Morrison told him why he had not paid the rent, and presented the bags containing the real rent and what he had been overcharged. On inquiry, it was found that the factor exacted more rent than was just, and he was dismissed, while John Morrison had the honour of paying his rent in future into Seaforth's own hands.

John Morrison sent two of his servants to pull heather for making ropes; one pulled indiscriminately whatever came in his way, whether fit or unfit; the other left a great deal of soil sticking to the roots. When John Morrison saw what they had done, he said:—

¹ *Brochan*, Gael., thin gruel.

Chuir me breinean'ús fuididh
 'Bhuain fraoich an cuideachda chéile ;
 Thug breinean dhachaidh an cudthrom,
 'S thug fuididh dhachidh na geugan.

Translation.

I sent Nasty and Turbulent
 To pull heather in company together ;
 Nasty brought home dandriff,
 And Turbulent brought home [only] bare sticks.

John Morrison had a red-haired wife, who was sometimes in a bad temper, and on whom he occasionally practised his sarcastic humour, as follows:—

Diubhaidh connaidh fearna fhliuch;
 Diubhaidh side fion chur ;
 'S gus an téid an saoghal as
 'Se diubhaidh an t-saoghail droch bhean.

Translation.

The worst of fuel is wet alder ;
 The worst of weather is soft sleat ;
 And until the world is at an end
 The worst thing in it is a bad wife.

Again :—

Fadadh teine ann an loch ;
 'Tiormachadh cloich ann an cuan ;
 Comhairle ga toirt air mnaoi bhuirb
 Mar bhuill' uird air iarrunn fuar.

Translation.

Making a fire in a lake ;
 Drying a stone in the ocean ;
 Giving advice to a headstrong wife
 Is like the stroke of a hammer on cold iron.

It appears to have been the custom in Lewis for the ground-officer (under-bailliff—*maor*, in Gaelic) to have claimed half the smith's dues. Donald MacRorie was then ground-officer, and his demand was resisted

by Murdo Morrison. His father pleaded his cause very pithily, as follows:—

Aon de charaibh an t-saoghail
 Saoilidh mi féin gu 'm beil e tuadhal;
 Gobha ga losgadh an cardaich
 'S leth na cain aig Domhuil Mac Ruairidh:

meaning that he thought the world must be turning round the wrong way; for Donald Mac Rorie to take half the *cain* (tax, dues) while the smith was being scorched in his smithy.

John Morrison had to pay some tax in Stornoway, and sent it by Donald Chuain, a poor man who sometimes worked on his farm. When Donald came back, John Morrison went to Donald's house, where he found him leaning on his elbow in bed. When John Morrison was leaving, he said:—

'S buidhe dhuit fein Dhomhuill Chuain
 'S tu ad laidhe air do chluain thaobh;
 Cha thog pracadair do gheall,
 'S cha mho tha thu an taing na maoir.

Translation.

Happy art thou, oh! Donald of the Main,
 Reclining easy on your side;
 A tax-gatherer will not sue thee for taxes,
 Nor to a *maor* (ground-officer) you need not crouch.

On another occasion John Morrison addresses Donald Chuain thus:—

Dh' fhalbh thu s' cha mhìst leam
 'S dh' fhag thu mo lionn agam fein
 'S leis a bhith bha nam fheòil
 Dheanainn òl ged dheidheadh tu eig:

but the meaning is obscure.¹

Donald of the Ocean is immortalized by Martin; for he tells us Donald lived in a village near Bragar, and that he cut his toe at the change of the

¹ These epigrams of the Tacksman of Bragar are from the Rev. M. Macphail, Kilmartin, and the late Mr John Morrison, surveyor.

moon (perhaps on this very journey), "and it bleeds a fresh drop at the change of the moon ever since."—"West. Isles," p. 13.

Once when the family at Bragar was short of meal, John Morrison left home in the morning to buy some, but in the evening returned with empty sacks, for he had unloaded what he had got at a little distance from the house. When his wife saw the empty sacks she began to scold him angrily. Morrison allowed her to go on till she was tired, and then went and fetched the meal. As soon as she saw it her mood changed, and she began to smile. John Morrison then said:—

Ni thu gàire 'nair a gheibh thu min ;
 'S mist do ghean bhi gun bhiadh ;
 'S b'fear leam féin na'n t-each dearg
 Nach tigidh fearg ort riammh.

Translation.

You laugh when you get meal ;
 Your good humour is the worse for being without food ;
 I would rather than the red horse
 That anger came not on you ever :

meaning that he would give his red horse to have her always in good humour.

To his various other talents John Morrison of Bragar seems to have added that of engineer; for Seaforth having—about 1660—undertaken the siege of the castle of Ardvreck, belonging to Macleod of Assynt, and finding he made but little progress, sent for John Morrison, who, having gone over the ground, recommended that four hundred raw cow-hides should be made into bags and stuffed with moss. The bags were placed in line and raised to the height of a man, and from the shelter of this rampart the besiegers fired upon their assailants without receiving any damage themselves. Some say the Mackenzies placed the wives of the Macleods upon the top of the rampart; at any rate the castle was quickly surrendered.¹

John Morrison had five sons, four of whom, Roderick, Angus, John, and Murdo, seem to have inherited their father's genius; the fifth

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

is said to have been Malcolm, who was appointed to the Chapel of Poolewe.¹

Roderick, called *An Clasair Dall*, or the Blind Harper, finds a place in Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry;" but I have nothing to add to what is there stated, except that his father declared that he was put to more expense and trouble in bringing up one son as a musician, than he would have had in educating three as clergymen.²

The fame of Angus, minister of Contin, occupies a wide space in folklore. He was "the last Episcopal minister of Contin, of whom many interesting anecdotes are still related, illustrative of his wit and benevolence. This excellent man suffered very harsh treatment for refusing to conform to Presbytery. He was rudely ejected from his own church, to which he had fled as to a sanctuary."³ The writer goes on to say that he closed a long, honourable, and a useful life in great indigence; but I think this must be a mistake, for, besides that he owned the small property at Doire-na-Muic, by Little Loch Broom, we find that "Mrs Morrison, daughter of Mr Angus Morrison, the last Episcopal minister of Contin," left a legacy of £80, for charitable purposes, to the poor of Foderty;⁴ and that "Mrs St Clair, who died at Jamaica [possibly the same lady as the Mrs Morrison named above], a native of this parish [Contin], daughter of Mr Æneas Morrison, minister of Contin," left a legacy of £100 to the poor of that parish.⁵ He was living on his own property at Doire-na-Muic, by Little Loch Broom, in 1723, and travelled to Edinburgh in that or the following year.

The Rev. Angus Morrison, otherwise call Black Angus, was noted for his sagacity, wit, and good fellowship, as well as for being a learned and eloquent preacher. The *sgeulachdan* of the "Fathers in Ross-shire" are valuable, not so much for their historic truth, but as illustrating the way of life and mode of thought of that time. Alexander Mackenzie of Applecross and Highfield bought and sold cattle, and sometimes went

¹ Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," p. 85.

² He may have been recorded in one of the two lost volumes of Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

³ N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 237.

⁴ O. S. A., vol. vii. p. 414; N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 259.

⁵ O. S. A., vol. vii. p. 166; N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 243.

with his droves to England, where he sold them to great advantage. At one time, Mackenzie having sold his drove, was staying at a gentleman's house in Yorkshire, and, on the Sabbath-day, attended divine service. The preacher was a talented man, and much esteemed for his doctrine and eloquence. Conversation turning upon the discourse, Mackenzie said that there was a preacher in Ross-shire who excelled any they could bring against him in soundness of doctrine, fluency of speech, and clear and powerful delivery; and that he would stake £50 upon it. His English friend accepted the wager. When Mackenzie came home he went to Contin, and told Mr Angus of the wager. He replied, "Well, Sandy, I'll go with you to Yorkshire; but I fear you will have a poor chance for your money." Mr Angus let his beard grow, and for a snuff-mull he took a rough, undressed ram's horn of most uncouth appearance, and for a lid closed it with a pickle of straw. Applecross and Mr Angus arrived safely on a Saturday night at their destination, and on the next day, as the wager was well known, there was a large assemblage to hear the Scotch minister. It was then the custom, when rivals had to preach, that a text, from which they had to preach extempore, was placed in the pulpit by the Presbytery. When Mr Angus entered the pulpit he was meanly dressed, and, with his long beard, presented an uncouth appearance. He looked round the pulpit for the slip of paper with the text upon it, and finding none, sat down, pulled out his ram's horn and took a pinch. At last one of the ministers got up, and asked him if he was going to address them. Mr Angus said they had given him no text. One of the ministers told him he could take his own beard and snuff-box for a text. I omit the sermon. Of course, Aaron's beard and its anointing, and what it was typical of, were introduced. In the evening the ram's horn was the text, which was illustrated by Joshua and his trumpets, with suitable applications and inferences. When the sermons were concluded, all the ministers gave their verdict in his favour. So Applecross won his wager, which he presented to Mr Angus, who had no scruple in accepting it.¹

Other reminiscences would lead to the conclusion that the days of the Fathers in Ross-shire were not all so miserable as has been supposed; but

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

they are passed over to give place to an instance of the sagacity of the minister of Contin. Some sheep had been stolen from a parishioner, and the soldiers at Fort-Augustus were suspected of the theft. With the consent of the commanding officer the soldiers were drawn up, when Mr Angus gave to each of them a straw, and told them he should know which of them was the thief, for he would be in possession of the longest straw. The man who was guilty of the theft shortened his straw to avoid detection, and was thereby discovered.

Mr Angus was as courageous as he was witty ; for, having business in Edinburgh, he had arrived at Inverness, where he was informed that a desperate robber, of whom a party of soldiers was in pursuit, and for whom a reward was offered, was supposed to be lurking upon the road. Mr Angus, however, proceeded upon his journey, but was again warned that the robber had lately been seen in that neighbourhood. Mr Angus having a fast horse thought he might venture to proceed ; but as he was passing through a wood the robber sprang from behind a tree, and, presenting a pistol at Mr Angus' breast, demanded his purse. Mr Angus, saying that his purse contained very little money, and that he would rather part with it than his life, told the robber to hold his horse ; and, as the horse was very young and skittish, to take hold of the bridle with both hands. Mr Angus had a stout stick, and when he saw both hands of the robber engaged, he turned to one side, and instead of taking out his purse as the robber expected, he raised his stick and brought it down with such force across the arms of the robber as completely to disable him. Mr Angus then tied him to the tail of his horse, and returned to Inverness, where he received the reward for the capture and the hearty congratulations of the people.¹

Of Mr Angus it is said, "his satirical wit was the terror of many in those days, so that any person who invited such a man to a treat, made the best shift he could to please him, and to part with him on good terms." When Mr Angus was living at Little Loch Broom, a neighbour pressinglly invited Mr Angus to visit him, which Mr Angus prepared to do rather unexpectedly. The neighbour caught sight of Mr Angus coming towards his house, and not being, as he thought, sufficiently prepared

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

to entertain him, he went into his house and told his wife to say that he had gone from home, and that he would not be back for two days. When Mr Angus entered, the mistress said what her husband desired her. But Mr Angus, who had his suspicions, told her that he would wait till her husband came back. The mistress was very uneasy all day, and towards evening brought a man, with a very large creel, into the *culaiſt*¹ or small room at the end of the house in which her husband was secreted. Mr Angus watched the mistress and the man with some interest, and presently saw the man returning with a heavy load upon his back. Mr Angus guessed what was in the creel, and, having his pocket-knife ready, he dexterously cut the strap of the creel as the man was passing the hearth. Both the creel and its contents fell into the fire, and the goodman roared for help. None was more ready than Mr Angus to render assistance, and to ask the goodman what could have induced him to practise such an expedient. The goodman made a clean breast of it, and added, that had he got out of the house, he would have come in as from a journey, and made the minister welcome to what he had. Mr Angus explained that he would have been contented with a herring and potatoes, and recommended a straightforward line of conduct in future.²

Another of the sons of the tacksman of Bragar was the Rev. John Morrison, sometime minister of Urray, in Ross-shire. On the 7th April 1719, the Rev. John Morrison of Urray, ordained and admitted the Rev. John MacGillegen of Altness, minister of Loch Ailsh.³ I have stated before, that I suppose the Rev. John Morrison of Urray was the "Indweller," who wrote an account of Lewis, now in the Macfarlane Topographical Collections.⁴

The minister of Urray had a son, also called John, who was missionary at Amulree in 1745; he was settled in Petty, in Inverness-shire, in 1759, and in 1774 his successor was appointed. He was called the *Bard*, and one of his popular Gaelic songs was to the lady whom he had baptized,

¹ *Culaiſt* is an abbreviation of *Cul-na-glais*, behind the lock. Where the house is divided by two partitions into the three chambers, the inner one is the *culaiſt*.

² Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

³ N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 408.

⁴ Spottiswoode Mis. vol. ii. p. 335.

and to whom he was afterwards married.¹ According to Lewis tradition, he was chosen minister of Petty in a competition with four other candidates.² He was a highly-gifted and orthodox preacher, and was believed to be gifted with the spirit of prophecy in a wonderful manner.

The following tale illustrates some of the customs which I have seen in my youth. Mr John had a family of sons and daughters, and an orphan girl, Kate, was brought up with them. After some years Mrs Morrison died, and Kate had charge of the household. At last it was whispered about that Kate had been indiscreet, and an elder informed Mr John of the suspicion. The minister seemed to excuse Kate; said that human nature was fallible, and a great deal more which it would be irreverent in me to quote. The elder admitted that all his Reverence had said was quite orthodox, but asked permission to summon Kate before the Kirk-Session to be questioned.

The first day Kate was called before the session, and asked who was her paramour. She said she did not know his name, and that he was a drover. The elders became clamorous and threatening, in order to extort a confession; but the girl would only give the same answer. At last Mr John interposed; he said he was more grieved than any of them for her folly; but that she ought not to be treated so harshly, and that her crime should not debar her from his protection and sympathy if her future behaviour evinced a sincere repentance. The members of Session could not tell why the minister should be displeased at their endeavour to force a confession, and they therefore began to suspect the minister himself. The first Sunday after the Kirk-Session one of the parishioners who had been incontinent was ordered to stand up, and the Kirk-officer was directed to put the sack-cloth over his shoulders; but the man made so much resistance that Mr John cried out to leave him alone till next Sunday, when he would have a companion. Everybody in the church wondered who this would be.

Early next week one of the elders, being at market, heard it said that Mr John was the delinquent, and went to tell him so. "Ah! well," said Mr John, "half a word from the Judge's mouth at the day of judgment

¹ N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 409.

² But compare N. S. A., Ross-shire, p. 410.

will clear me of that charge." The elder would rather that his Reverence might be cleared in this life.

On the next night Kate knocked at the window of a certain married man; she said there was no use in her screening him any longer, for that he himself must have told the minister of their acquaintance. The man said that he had done nothing of that sort. "Then who could have told him," said Kate; "it will be well for you to go where he is to-morrow and own your guilt, and thereby you may come off the easier."

On the following Sunday the man was sack-clothed along with the other delinquent, as Mr John had predicted in the hearing of the whole congregation.¹

The youngest son of John Morrison of Bragar was Murdo, and he was bred to be a smith.² He was a man of uncommon strength, and possessed a full share of the genius of the family; he could make swords and guns, though in a measure self-taught. He proposed at one time to his father to make a gun for killing deer. His father, doubting his ability, persuaded him not to attempt it. However, he set about it, and on a day he was fixing the gun into the stock when his father entered the smithy. His father said, "You have made a gun contrary to my advice, and I daresay it will never kill a beast." Murdo replied, "Do not judge prematurely, for I am just going to put a shot into it." There happened to be a lot of Mr Morrison's cows grazing at some distance from the smithy, and Murdo said, "What should I have to pay if I shoot that speckled ox from here?" "Well," said his father, "if you kill six of my cattle at that distance you will not have to pay a penny for the loss." Murdo fired at the spot, which fell, and Murdo told his father to send a servant to bleed the beast. John Morrison advised his son, if he wanted to keep so good a gun for himself, that he should put no ornament on it, nor fix it in the stock, but simply tie it on with cord, so that the ugly mounting should scare

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

² The social status of a smith must not be compared with that of a farrier at the present day; besides his farm, his *cain* or dues gave him a competent livelihood. In the earliest time he made his own iron (in Sweden, certainly) which he fashioned into anything that was needed—needles, fishhooks, arms, armour, &c.; he manufactured the gold and silver ornaments of the wealthy, and was both jeweller and goldsmith.

any gentleman from desiring to possess it. From this circumstance it was called *Gun na Sraing*, i.e., the Rope Gun. In spite of its ugly mounting, Murdo did great execution in the deer-forest, and on one occasion, when returning from a visit to his brothers at Contin and Urray, he arrived at Gairloch when there was a shooting-match for a silver cup. Each competitor had to put a half-crown into the cup, and Donald Roy Mackenzie, otherwise Donald Roy Mac Vic Urchy, formerly tacksman of Park, Lewis, and *co-alt* (fosterer or foster-brother) of Murdo, persuaded him to try. Murdo aimed at the target, and won both the cup and the money. The laird of Gairloch was so much pleased with Murdo that he sent him in his barge to Lewis.¹

In those days Seaforth used to go once a year round Lewis to sport, when he would remain for a night at Mr Morrison's house at Bragar. On one occasion Seaforth had Mackenzie of Assynt with him and the captain of a man-of-war. Seaforth desired a peck measure to be brought, for he had been told that if a sword was properly tempered, it might be bent into the circle of the measure. The gentlemen took their swords, and all stood the trial but Seaforth's, which broke. Seaforth was somewhat disappointed with the result.

In due time the guests went to their beds, when John Morrison told his son that he must not go to his bed, but to his smithy, and try to mend Seaforth's sword. So father and son set to work, and when Murdo had mended and polished the sword, he handed it over to his father, and desired him to tell where it had been broken. His father could not see where it had been joined. Murdo then wanted to go to bed, but his father said, "Not yet; let us try if the sword will go into the peck measure without breaking." It did so. The half-peck was then brought, and it stood even that trial.

After breakfast next day, when Seaforth and his suite were preparing to leave, Seaforth put on the scabbard with, as he thought, the broken sword, muttering some words about breaking it. John Morrison then said that even here, in Bragar, the sword could be repaired and made better than ever. "Well," said Seaforth, "if you could get my sword mended and tempered so as to stand the proper trial, I would give you

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

this year's rent of Bragar down." John Morrison replied, "Let us see the pieces and be thinking about it." Seaforth drew forth his sword, and, looking at it with astonishment, he remarked, that though he had passed the night in bed, that they, the Morrisons, had not taken their wonted rest.

The *Gun na Sraing*, although an ugly piece of furniture, was a very profitable one; but after Murdo Morrison's death, his son, Donald Morrison, who was tacksman of Habost, at Ness, broke it in a fit of anger, and repented of his rash deed when there was no remedy.¹

The Rev. Norman Morrison, grandson of John Morrison of Bragar, succeeded the Rev. John Macleod, who was the first Presbyterian minister of Uig. On 9th May 1763, the Rev. N. Morrison received a letter at Balnakil, Uig, dated 30th March last, from Macleod of Hamar (Theophilus Insulanus),² in Skye. In answer, the Rev. N. Morrison states that he will subscribe for a bound copy of Hamar's "Treatise on the Second Sight,"³ then about to be published; but he assures Macleod that not one in his parish can read but himself.⁴ The book might have been more useful to Mr Morrison had it contained instructions for dispelling these

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

² Carruthers "Boswell's Jour." p. 127.

³ This work is a curiosity, and supplies much interesting matter. Hamar was strongly anti-Jacobite. The tradition concerning him is: Roderick Macleod, tacksman of Hamar, was a true patriot and a loyal subject. After the battle of Sheriffmuir he was appointed by the Commissioners to uplift the rents of the forfeited estates in Skye and Uist, but managed his business, as king's factor, with prudence and compassion.

Hamar was travelling to Inverness with the king's rent, and had but one servant with him who was very strong, but not very wise. Hamar was surprised by three robbers as he was resting in a wood, and his servant was sleeping a little distance off. Resistance was useless, so he gave up the money. The robbers returned a crown to Hamar to pay his lodgings for a day and a night; but he declined it, and said he would be obliged to them if they would give a good slap to wake up his lazy servant. The robbers treated the kilted Highlander very rudely, but he sprang up so suddenly that he wrested a gun from one of them in a moment, and killed them both. The third fled; but Hamar, who had by this time got his gun, brought him down. By the clever stratagem of getting the violent temper of his man aroused he regained all his money. After this adventure Hamar always got some soldiers to be a guard when he was going to Inverness with money.

⁴ "There are none but myself in the parish to use the book.—*Second Sight*, p. 161.

supernatural illusions; however, a demon having got into communication with Malcolm Macleod, tenant of Cliff, he applied to the minister, who gave him a written paper which he was to offer to the demon. When they next met, Malcolm presented the paper (the demon being able to read, while Malcolm could not); but the demon was disgusted and, on Malcolm continuing to persecute him with it, he disappeared and was never seen again.

But more unruly than the evil spirits were the spirits of some of his parishioners; for one of them, Donald Macaulay, tacksman of Brenish, having taken offence at the minister, locked him out of his own church; but the misdemeanour was compromised by a fine to the poor's-box.¹

About 1778 the Rev. Norman Morrison was succeeded in Uig by the Rev. Hugh Monro.

The Morrison clan, besides forming a large proportion of the population of Lewis, are numerous in Harris, North and South Uist, and Edderachyllis. The numbers of a clan-name is a good indication of the length of time that the clan has been settled upon the land. Often, by the irony of fate, the poorest beggar is the representative of the most ancient lord of the soil.

The Harris Morrisons claim to be of the original stock, and the following tradition concerning them is interesting.

Sometime in the fifteenth century, Macleod of Harris, who was a young man, was in Pabbay. He heard that Peter Morrison, a tenant in Pabbay, was an expert wrestler, so he collected the young men of the island and desired them to show their skill. They then began to wrestle, and Peter Morrison proved himself to be the best man. The laird then requested Peter to try a fall with himself; but Peter declined, for he said his temper was such that he could not yield to any man unless he was overpowered. Macleod commended him for his courage, and bade him act as he had said. They then grappled, and Peter soon laid Macleod upon his back. Macleod took no offence, but one who was standing by, thinking to gain the laird's goodwill, drew his sword and killed Peter. But when Macleod saw Peter fall he ordered his men to seize the murderer, who

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

fled, but being closely pursued he jumped headlong over a precipice into the sea.

Peter Morrison left one son, and the kind laird brought him up with his own children, and as he displayed considerable ability he had the chief management of Macleod's estate.

Young Morrison was a comely person, and, in the suite of Macleod, visited Maclean of Coll. It was soon agreed between the chiefs that Morrison should marry one of Coll's daughters, but when he was called before them he modestly declined, as he had not wherewith to support a family. But the worthy Macleod said he had plenty to maintain them, and that the Laird of Coll would not see his daughter want. Then they went to the young lady's room, and asked her if she objected to marry Macleod's secretary and the chief manager of his affairs. The young lady discreetly answered that she could not refuse what had been arranged for her by her kind friends, but she requested of Macleod that, if she had sons, one should be a minister (priest) and another a smith; that Macleod should present the minister to a parish, and to the smith the usual revenue belonging to his office. This was granted, and there was one son a priest in Harris, who the people remember as *A' Person*, and another son was the smith there. From this Morrison the smiths in Harris are descended;¹ and I add that while I write the smith in Harris is still a Morrison, and that Peter is yet a distinctive name in that family.

The following legends are of little historic value, but they often unconsciously record the ideas and customs of a remote age, and are eminently suggestive on that account. These legends, along with most of the foregoing tales, have been selected either from the MS. "Traditions of Lewis," written by Mr John Morrison, cooper, Stornoway; or from the Rev. M. Macphail's "Traditions of Ness," which were obligingly collected by him in answer to my request for information concerning the, "Brieve of Lewis." He says that "most of them were taken down from the dictation of Angus Gunn, at North Dell, who not unfrequently told the same story with additions and omissions; he died about a year ago." Gunn could not read, and had no dates, but recited volumes of what he supposed to be the history of Lewis.

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

IAN BRITHEAMH, THE JUDGE OF LEWIS.

John Morrison was married twice; by his first wife, who was an Irish lady, he had four sons—Allan, Kenneth, Angus, and Murdo.¹ He used to go every alternate year for wood to Ullapool, where, after the death of his Irish spouse, he became enamoured of the only daughter of the tacksman of Ullapool (*aon nighean Fir Ullapoll*). The lady was not willing to accept him, but by the persuasions of the islander and her aged father she was induced to consent, and they were married.

When the marriage was over, *agus a chaidh òg chur air leabadh*, and all the household were asleep, some one entered the bedroom of the wedded pair, and placed his hands upon them both. The Brieve awoke, and demanded in a loud voice, "Who is this, and what do you want?" when the person, whoever it was, left the room without saying a word. But the bride began to cry, for she knew it was her handsome young lover, for whose sake she had at first refused the Brieve. Next day the newly married pair sailed for Lewis; a daughter was born to them before the Brieve made his voyage to Ullapool again, where, after taking in a cargo of wood, himself and crew slept in the boat, waiting the return of the tide. But during the night a blow with a club killed the Brieve as he lay asleep, and the foul assassin escaped unseen. Before the Lewis men left on the morning, a fair-haired, handsome young man came to the boat, and seemed much distressed when he was told of what had happened. When they were about to leave, he said he had long been anxious to visit Lewis, and if they would give him a passage, and bad weather came on, that he would show himself to be as good a hand at the helm as their deceased master. He embarked with them, and took the helm all the way till they arrived at Ness.

As soon as they landed, the stranger asked a boy to show him the way to *Tigh mor Thabost*, i.e., the Big House of Habost. The boatmen were astonished, and asked him how he came to know about the Hall of Habost. "I know something," said he, "about Habost." The stranger went to the house, and the Brieve's wife welcomed her former lover. She asked him about her husband. "He is coming," was the answer.

¹ Murdo is a mistake for Donald, and Malcolm Mor is forgotten.

Presently the crew came up from the boat, and told her all that had happened, and that her husband had been murdered. The lady did not seem to take it much to heart, for her husband was hardly buried before she was again married, and to her first lover.

Allan, the eldest of the Brieve's children, having arrived to sixteen years of age, claimed his father's sword and the right to use it. For such pretension his stepfather sought to kill him; but Allan fled to his mother's friends in Ireland. In the course of a few years they came back with him to assist him to get a share of his father's property. It was Christmas Eve when they landed at Ness, and as they came near the house they heard the sound of music, by which they knew that the inmates were enjoying a feast and making merry with their friends. Allan, embittered by the remembrance of the injuries he had suffered at their hands, was with difficulty restrained from rushing in and dealing with them in the midst of their merriment. But his uncles reasoned with him on the barbarity and cowardliness of so doing, and told him they would shed no blood without warning them of their danger, so that they might prepare for defence.

Allan went into the kitchen and there saw his father's bard, neglected and despised, lying upon straw upon the floor. The bard, on seeing his master's son, swooned with joy; the sight recalled to him the days when Ian Còir¹ Britheamh was his patron, when on Christmas he used to be, not in the kitchen, but in the hall, and there the life and soul of the company. When the bard recovered his senses, Allan urged him to go to the hall door and charge *him* with the murder of his patron, and not to fear, as Allan's party would be quite near to render assistance.

When the new bard saw the old bard at the door, he addressed him as follows :—

Fàilt' ort féin a bhàird Eòin,
 Shuidh'riamh an tigh an òl ghann;
 Dh' fhuadaich thu'am Britheamh gu chladh,
 Am beul o'n tigidh an Lagh cam.

¹ Còir, Gae., just, upright, good, hospitable.

Translation.

Welcome to thee, oh ! bard of John.
Thou didst always sit where drinking was scanty.
Thou didst drive the Judge to his grave.
The mouth from which proceeded the crooked law.

Upon which the lady clapped her sides with delight. The old bard, finding his worthy master and himself insulted in this manner, denounced his mistress in the following reply :—

A bhean bhaoth, 's a bhean bhaoth,
Teann a nall ach eì do bhreith
Fuath do'n fhear do'n rug thu clann
'S gràdh do'n fhearathug cheann dheth.

Translation.

Oh wicked woman, oh wicked woman,
Draw nigh that we may know your opinion,
Hatred to him to whom you bore children,
And love to the man that beheaded him.

The party, quickly understanding the reason of the old bard's boldness, fled from the house and escaped to the mainland. Allan Morrison regained his heritage, and became Brieve of Lewis.¹

No corroboration has been found of this obscure tale. The events belong to a period anterior to the sixteenth century. That the widow of a brieve married the murderer of her husband is supported by the tradition that John Macleod of Sandey did so. Of course, there is no truth as concerning him, and the event may have been borrowed from a tragedy that was enacted on an island in Loch Stack, Edderachyllis. Sir Hugh Macky of Far fell desperately in love with a beautiful woman, who resisted his addresses on the score that she had a husband. The miscreant detained the wife upon the island, caused her husband to be murdered, had the

¹ Rev. M. Macphail's "Traditions of Ness," MS.

corpse decapitated, and produced his head to the wife. The widow offered no more opposition, as she feared a like fate for herself.¹ Sir R. Gordon's account is that Y. Macky slew Tormat-Mack-ean-Woyr (Mhór) [Macleod], the chieftain of that race, violated his wife, and had a son by her, called Donald-Balloch-Macky.²

ALLAN MÒR MORRISON, JUDGE OF LEWIS.

Many a wild and impossible story has been invented from the shadowy remembrance of the tragedies of the seventeenth century, of which the following is an instance :—

Neil Macleod, called in the legend *Odhar*, i.e., dun, the bastard uncle of Torquil Dubh Chief of Lewis, attacked the Morrisons on the Habost moor, but was defeated. Neil sent to Harris for assistance, and came again to Habost; but the Morrisons had taken shelter in Dun Eystein. The Macleods arrived at night and marched to Dun Eystein, when one of the Morrisons, unaware of the presence of an enemy, came out of the hut. An Uig man shot an arrow—*Baobh an Dòrlaich*, literally, the Fury of the Quiver, the last arrow of the eighteen that should be used—at him, and he was struck by the arrow, which passed through his body. The wounded Morrison cried for help; the rest came out, and Allan, the eldest, and by far the bravest, of them sprang across the ravine which separated Dun Eystein from the adjacent cliff, and loudly demanded that the assassin should be given up to him. The Macleods denied all knowledge of the deed; but Allan reproached them with cowardice, and said, "If you have come to fight you ought, according to the laws of war from the creation of the world, to have waited till there was light enough to see each other." He then asked Neil for his *Leigh*, i.e., Doctor, to attend the wounded man. Neil, after some hesitation, consented; Allan took the *Leigh* under his arm and leaped back across the ravine with him into the dun. The wounded man died, however. The Morrisons fled from Dun Eystein to the mainland, whither Neil pursued; but the Morrisons had seen Neil crossing the Minch, and, slipping out from among the islands, tried to get back to Lewis. The Macleods ascended a hill, espied

¹ O.S.A., vol. vi. p. 294.

² Sir R. Gordon's "Earl. of Sutherland," pp. 136, 307.

the brieve's birlin, and gave chase. There were only Allan Morrison and his two brothers in the boat ; so Allan Mor, who was very strong, set his two brothers to row against himself, and composed and sung this *iorram* or boat song, with which the Ness fishermen still lighten their toil.

The chorus "*Nàilìbh i 's na-ho-ro,*" is repeated after every line :—

Iomair a Choinnaich fhir mo chridhe ;
Iomair i gu làidair righinn ;
Gaol nam ban òg's gràdh nighean.

Dh' iomrain fèin fear mu dhithis,
'S nam éiginn e fear mu thri.
Tha eagal mòr air mo chridhe
Gur i biorlìnn Neill tha' tighinn,
No eathair Mhic Thormaid Idhir.

'S truagh nach robh mi fèin 's Nial Odhar
An' lagan beag os ceann Dhun Othail ;
Biodag nam laimh, is e bhi fodham,—
Dhearbhinne fèinn gun teidheadh i domhain ;
'S gun biodh fuil a chlàibh 'na ghabhail.

Translation.

CHORUS.—"Na liv ee, 's na-hò-rò ;" words having no meaning.

Row, Kenneth, man of my heart ;
Row with vehement might ;
The darling of damsels, and the beloved of girls.

I myself could row against two ;
And may be against three.
There is great fear on my heart
That it is Neill's barge that is coming,
Or the boat of the son of dun Thormod.

It is a pity that I and dun Neil were not
In a small hollow above Dun Oo-ail ;
A dirk in my hand and he beneath.
I would be sure it should go deep,
And that the blood of his breast should flow down his reins.

Neil overtook the Morrisons a short time after they had passed Dun Othail (pro. Dun Oo-ail), where they fought desperately. Neil attacked them on one side, and the Harris men, in a second boat, on the other. Allan engaged Neil's party and killed nearly all his men, when Neil exclaimed, "My men, something must be done, or the monster (*biast*) will not leave a head on the shoulders of any one of us." They fastened a sword to the end of an oar, therewith to stab Allan, who, when he saw it coming, made such a desperate blow as to cut the oar in two, but striking into the gunnel of the boat his sword stuck fast, and before he could extricate it the Macleods closed round him, and both himself and his two brothers were killed. They were buried in a small hollow a little above Dun Othail.¹

In this story we have the distinctly Scandinavian notion that it was wrong to slay after dark. Among the Northmen, and no doubt among all other peoples in the same barbarous stage, the mere killing of a man was of little importance,—in Burnt Njal, the atonement for a foul assassination was only twelve ounces of silver,—but it was murder if the killing was done at night; *nátt-vigg eru morð-vig*, "Is it not called murder to kill people at night?" So, too, Sweyn, Earl Hakon's son, objects to captives being killed, because "it was night." "Burnt Njal," vol. ii. p. 36.

With regard to the *Léigh* (Læknir, Icel.), Leech or Surgeon, it might be supposed that the bard had imported a foreign idea into his tale. Though I have found no record, yet it may be inferred that a chief would be attended by his hereditary doctor in time of war. But there is no reason why the Macleods and Morrisons should have ever been in want of a doctor; for so late as 1793 the natives of Edderachyllis were nearly all of the names of Macleay, Morrison, and Macleod. These Macleays were the descendants of "Ferchard Leche," i.e., Ferchard Beathadh, Beaton or Bethune, a native of Islay, and who was physician to King Robert II. In 1379 "Ferchard, the king's physician," had a grant of the lands of Mellenes and two parts of Hope, in Sutherland ("Or. Pr." vol. ii. part 2, p. 704); and in 1386 "Ferchard Leche" has a gift of all the islands

¹ Rev. M. Macphail's "Traditions of Ness," MS.

near the coast between the Stour in Assynt and Armadale, Sutherland (*ib.* p. 695). The Clan Beaton or MacBeathadh were a medical clan, and there are notices of them in Islay, Mull, South Uist, and Far in Sutherland. One of them, the "famous *Doctor Beaton*," of Mull, had the dubious fortune of being blown up when on board the Spanish ship *Florida*, in Tobermory, but escaped unhurt. (Martin's "West. Isles," p. 254).

DUN OTHAIL, NORTH TOLSTA.

It was a cold and snowy day when, under the guidance of the shepherd, by wading through overflowing brooks and wet heather, I reached the cliff above Dun Othail, which rose before me desolate and grand "through storm and reek," and at any time is one of the most picturesque objects in Lewis.

Dun Othail is a natural fortress, being an irregular peaked rock, upon the sea coast, nearly 200 feet high, and disjoined from the main by a perpendicular ravine which, however, does not reach to the water. The sides of the ravine appear to have been the walls of a trap-dyke, which has been denuded. The dun is only accessible from the land on the south-east side, and there it is defended by a wall. I was unable, through fatigue, to proceed beyond this, but the Rev. M. Macphail informs me that, although there is no defensive masonry upon the rock, it is so difficult of access that the path which leads upwards could be defended by a single individual.

An oblong ruin upon its extreme point is supposed by Mr T. S. Muir to have been a chapel.¹

Dun Othail is famous in Lewis legends; the ubiquitous *Coinneach Odhair* (Kenneth Oear) has prophesied that there will be great destruction of the Lewis people by sword; but—

Amhainn Laesdail fo thuath,
 Aig an Crinnich am mòr shluagh;
 * * *
 Ach thig a mach a Dun Othail
 Na bheir cobhair dhoibh 's fuasgladh.²

¹ "Characteristics of Old Church Arch," pp. 2, 168.

² This prophecy is not in the interesting collection made by Alex. Mackenzie of the "Prophecies of the Brahan Seer," Inverness, 1877.

That is :—

At the North Laxdale river,
Where the great multitude of people will gather ;

* * *

But one shall come out of Dun O-ail
That shall render them help and relief.

The deep ravine dividing Dun Othail from the main is called *Leum Mhac Nicol*, i.e., Nicholson's Leap ; and it is made to be the scene of a legend of which I have several and various editions. One of them may be briefly told as follows :—MacNicol, for some misconduct, was sentenced by the chief of Lewis to be mutilated. In revenge he ran away with the only child of the chief, and, being pursued, he leapt over the chasm to Dun Othail with the child in his arms. Persuasion was used to induce him to surrender the child ; but he refused unless the chief were reduced to the same condition as himself. Several subterfuges—which are too technical to be repeated here—were tried to deceive MacNicol, but in vain ; and to save the child the chief consented. When MacNicol was sure that he had gained his purpose, he sprang with the child over the cliff into the sea, saying (in Gaelic of course), "I shall have no heir, and he shall have no heir."

Now, this tale is a good instance that where the accidents of a place are fit, a legend is either originated there or is transferred to it. The South Uist people claim the scene of this tragedy to have been at Huishness, South Uist ; and "Nicholson's Leap" is marked on Johnston's map. Nearly the same tale is told of a place in Mull, and probably elsewhere. But the original tragedy occurred a long way south of Lewis ; according to Gerald Barry it was "*apud castellum Radulphi*," at Chateau Roux, now the chief town in the department of the Indre, in France. The story is told in the "Itinerary through Wales," chap. xi., in words of the same meaning as those used by the bards of Lewis at the present day. It is most singular that an event which happened so far away, and probably more than seven centuries ago, should, though falsely located, be told in the islands with such distinctness. Whether it has been passed on from mouth to mouth, or whether it has been read from Giraldus by intelligent

priests, it is nearly certain that it has been kept alive by repetition for at least three or four hundred years.¹

ALLAN MORRISON AND THE DEMON.

Macleod of Lewis possessed Assynt and Cogach (but not Strath Connon, only his son was married there); and when he was passing some time in those countries, he left the sole management of Lewis to Judge Morrison of Ness. Donald Cam and Neil Macleod being dead, the sons of the Judge ruled the country most tyrannically.

Allan Morrison, the Judge's eldest son, was intimate with a demon; this coming to the ears of Macleod of Lewis, Allan was sent for by him, and was asked if it was true; Allan confessed it was. Macleod then said, "The next time you meet the demon, ask whether I shall die a natural death or not." Allan returned in a few days, and said that the demon foretold that the present Laird of the Lewis would be killed by a Macleod then living. But the wicked Allan Morrison feigned this story, for the demon had said that either Allan and his father would be killed by the hands of a John Macleod.

In consequence of this information, Macleod of Lewis left the country for his other estates, for he did not consider himself safe while a single John Macleod was left alive in Lewis; and Judge Morrison obtained his sanction to bring all the Macleods in the country before his court as suspected persons.

Judge Morrison now began the trial of the suspected Macleods. He killed sixteen of the Macleods of the name of John, for it was by a John Macleod that Judge Morrison was to lose his life. But after he had disposed of all the John Macleods in this manner, the demon or spirit told him that it was by John Macleod of Harris, that he or his son was to be killed.

The Judge had then recourse to conspiracy, and engaged sixteen stout and able men to swear to support him in his bloody plot. He sent one of his men with a letter to the Laird of Harris, saying, that as the Judge had now the sole management of Lewis, he sent him his respects, and

¹ Roll's Edition, p. 84.

requested Macleod to meet him on a certain day to sport and hunt deer in the hills of Lewis. John Macleod of Harris had been by this time forewarned of Judge Morrison's plot, so he answered, that having been lately sporting in the Lewis hills, he would rather that the Judge should come to sport with him in Harris.

The Judge and his sixteen warriors arrived at Rowdle, and were hospitably entertained by Macleod for the greater part of the night. But while the Judge was enjoying himself, quite happy in the thought that he would take Macleod's life upon the hills on the next day, Macleod gathered his chief men about the house; suddenly a strong body of swordsmen entered the hall, and bound Judge Morrison and his sixteen warriors. The Laird of Harris now produced the letter which a friend in Lewis had written, telling about the conspiracy. Macleod offered pardon to the sixteen men, who had been forced to join the plot, provided they would return peaceably to Lewis, which they joyfully accepted. The Judge was hanged at Rowdle; and thus the prediction was fulfilled in spite of the shifts made to avert it by the bloody massacre of the Macleods in Lewis.¹

This myth has been elaborated, from the facts that John Macleod of Sanda killed Ian Breitheamh, *i.e.*, John the Judge, defeated Malcolm Mòr, his son, and carried him to Stornoway, where he was beheaded.

CAIN MORRISON.

Judge Morrison, who was executed at Rowdle, was succeeded by his son-in-law, Cain Morrison, in the office of Judge. This Cain Morrison was originally a Macdonald, born in Ardnamurchin. It appears the proprietor of that estate exacted his right to pass the first night with every bride. A vessel had come to anchor in the loch on the day that Cain had married. Cain did not rest at all on the night on which he was married, but wandered about much grieved. In the morning he was met by the captain of the ship, to whom he spoke of the evil practice of that country. The captain said that that vile custom ought to be done away with, and

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

that he would lend him his cloak and sword. "Watch about the Laird's house, and when he comes out, look intently up to the castle, and say that you see a serious crack in the wall. Have your sword ready inside your cloak, and when the Laird looks up, have at his throat and kill him. Then run to my boat, which shall be in waiting, and I will carry you to where you shall be safe." Cain acted on this advice, and escaped with the shipmaster, who landed him at Ness, where he married a daughter of Judge Morrison and succeeded to his office.¹

Mercheta mulierum was a fine paid to a lord by a vassal on the marriage of his daughter; for if she married a *villein* on another barony, the lord, being deprived of part of his *live-stock*, required indemnification for the loss. But *Mercheta mulierum* was, in later times associated in idea with *jus primæ noctis*, with which, as Lord Hales shows, it had no concern. The foregoing legend illustrates the vulgar notion of *Mercheta mulierum*; and I well remember that the then proprietor of Cava, in the Orkneys, was assured that he had such privilege in that island. The Lords of the Isles are said to have exercised such right; but this, from the nature of the case, is absurd. It is unnecessary to go further into the subject here; but if the following extract from a history of the Macdonalds has any foundation in fact, it shows that a state of manners existed in the Highlands so late as between 1506 and 1510, as would justify the most extreme views that have been held concerning *Mercheta mulierum*:—

"During the time that Archibald [Gillespick Dubh of Sleit] kept company with these outlaws, Angus Collach, his brother, went with a great train to Uist, and as the custom then was, he must needs have for his partner that night the goodman's daughter, or in case of his having no daughter, he must have his own wife. He came to St Mary's, the principal church of North Uist, nigh to which Macdonald of Belranald lived, a gentleman descended of Godfrey, who had to his wife a daughter of John Brainish, son of Allan, the son of Roderick of Muidort, who had Benbecula for his patrimony. This gentleman, Donald Macdonald, being

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis." Norman Macleod, "the Bard," has nearly the same story; but the account of "Kain Morrison," noted by the Rev. M. Macphail, turns on a different subject.

in the meantime absent from home, his wife went to church to hear mass, and Angus Collach, meeting her at the church, and saluting her, told her he meant to lodge with her next night, to which she made him welcome. He observed that she must herself partake of a share of his bed. She replied, when he came to the house she would give him an answer. So Angus went to her house next night, and was received by her very kindly, upon this he began to urge her earnestly to perform her promise. She replied, that it was not yet bedtime, and when it was she would be his partner for the night. So before she ordered supper to be brought to them, she got a horse ready to the house, and while he and his retinue were at supper, she rides under night to Benbecula, where her father was."—*Hist. of the Macdonalds, Knock MS.*

THE WICKED INCENDIARY.

Macleod of Lewis, having found out that he had been imposed upon by Allan Morrison, returned to Stornoway Castle. He settled Torquil, his son, at Strath Chonen; his youngest son was sent to Cain Morrison's house at Ness; and a son of Cain Morrison was fostered by Macleod at Stornoway, thus showing the friendship and good understanding between the families.

When matters had continued in this way for some time, a wicked man who used to be going back and fore between Ness and Stornoway, came one day into Macleod's castle and said that Cain Morrison had, in a violent passion, killed Macleod's child. Macleod unfortunately believed it to be true, and in his anger killed the son of Cain Morrison. The wicked incendiary then flies off to Ness, and tells that he saw Macleod kill the young Morrison. Cain, on hearing of the murder, could not conceive any reason for it, and though the young Macleod was much loved by all the family, he was not spared.

Thus the peace of those families was broken by this wicked incendiary. It is told that when Judge Morrison, with the laird's concurrence, executed all the John Macleods in Lewis, some of the relations of this wicked man suffered with them, and this was the way he took to revenge the death of his friends; and it was through him that the Macleods of Lewis became extinct. Instead of peace between the Macleods and Morrisons, there was now nothing but murder and bloodshed. Cain Morrison was at last

obliged to flee to the mainland, where he was killed by a cottar in an island by Loch Broom, since then called "Judge's Island."

Allan More Morrison then took his father's place at Ness, and fighting went on between the two clans whereby both suffered severely in their property and friends.¹

The circumstance which gave name to *Eilean a' Briteimh*, or Judge's Island, has been described above. The custom of sending a child to be fostered in a family which had been at deadly feud with the parents of the child, although intended to strengthen in the strongest manner the truce between the families, often led to his destruction. We shall have another instance of fosterage in the murderer's family in the traditions of the Lewis Macaulays.

In an edition of the Letterfearn MS. History of the Mackenzies, copied into Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis," after stating that the brieve was hated for his treachery to Torquil Du, there occurs, "as also killing a son of M'Leod's [Torquil Du's] when a child nursing in his own house." This sentence is not in Gregory's copy of the Letterfearn MS., but it is the only corroboration I can find of the preceding legend.

THE FOUR TORQUILS.

Soon after Cain Morrison was killed at Loch Broom, the Laird of Macleod himself died. He had three [legitimate] sons, who were each named Torquil, viz., Torquil the Heir, Torquil Connonach, and Torquil Du; he had also another son named Torquil Ogg. They all died before their father, and the cause of their deaths was as follows:—

Macleod the Laird was married four different times. The first wife died and left a son called Torquil the Heir. The second wife had a son whom his father also named Torquil, and his wicked mother bribed some mainland men to hang the heir at Ullapool, that her own son might succeed; he was called Torquil Connonach. The second wife died; the laird married a third time, and had a son named Torquil Du (who had a son named John), and his mother employed wicked hands to kill Torquil Connonach at Sandwick [by Stornoway]. The third wife died, and the

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

laird having married again, the fourth wife found means to have Torquil Du shot upon the moor by a couple of bloody men, named Mac Mhurchy, a branch of the Macphails or Mackenzies.

Macleod was now old and sickly, but coming to know that his wife had caused the murder of Torquil Du, he told his wife to send up their infant child, Torquil Ogg, or Young Torquil, that he might know by manual operation whether the child was fit to be his heir. The child was taken to his father's bed, when he handled the boy's body, and, in revenge of his mother's doings, he squeezed his sides together and so killed him. He then told his mother that the child would not stand the trial necessary to constitute him his heir, and that he was dead. And he added, "As you, bad woman, have left me without an heir, so I have left you without a son." He then expired.¹

There is no historic truth in this legend, but it shows to how late a period the power of the father over the fate of his child was supposed to exist. According to Dasent, among the pagan Northmen, "as soon as a child was born it was laid upon the bare ground; and until the father came and looked at it, heard and saw that it was strong in lung and limb, lifted it in his arms, and handed it over to the women to be reared, its fate hung in the balance, and life or death depended on the sentence of its father."—Burnt Njal, vol. i. p. xxv.

"On the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, A.D. 1000, it was resolved that, in regard to eating of horse-flesh and exposure of children, the old laws should remain in force; as Grimm remarks, the exposure must take place immediately after birth, before the child had tasted food of any kind whatever, and before it was besprinkled with water (*ausa vatni*) or shown to the father, who had to fix its name; exposure after any of these acts was murder. The Christian Jus. Eccl. put an end to this heathen barbarism by stating at its very beginning, *ala skal baru hvert er borit verðr*, i.e., all children, if not of monstrous shape, shall be brought up" (Cleasby's Icelandic Dic. p. 58; cf. Conybeare's "Place of Iceland," &c., p. 147.

The practice of giving the same name to two brothers is still common in the islands.

¹ Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis."

HOW THE MORRISONS GOT RONA.

The possession of the island of Rona was a subject of dispute between the Morrisons and the people of Sutherland. The mainland people claimed it, because, as they asserted, the island lay nearer to Sutherland than to Ness. At last it was agreed that the contending parties should race for it, and that the island should belong to those who first lit a fire there. On the day of trial the mainlanders seemed likely to be the first to reach to, and make a fire upon the island; but a Morrison shot a burning arrow from his boat and set the grass on fire, and Rona has belonged to Lewis ever since.¹

One of the customs of the Northmen, by which they took possession of, or as they called it, hallowed, land to themselves, was by raising a fire upon it. It seems to have been sufficient to have lit a fire at the mouth of a river to constitute a claim to all the land through which that river flowed. But what more immediately bears upon the preceding legend is told in the settlement of Iceland:—"A man, who was called Onund the Fore-knowing (*viss*), took up land from Merkigil and all the valley eastward of it; and when Erik [an adjacent landnam-man] thought of taking the west end of the valley, Onund fell to divination (*fellði blotspan*) to make him prescient (*viss*) of the time when Erik intended to come to take the valley; but then Onund was the quicker [of the two], and shot a burning arrow (*tund-ör*, tinder-arrow) over the river, and so appropriated or hallowed (*helgadi*) to himself all the land westward, and [he] dwelt by the river." Land., p. 193; Cleasby's Dic. p. 254.

With these legends we close the "Traditions of the Morrisons." Although the authorities have been carefully consulted, it is probable that a native of Lewis could have greatly extended them, and perhaps have found something to repress; but a comparative stranger has the advantage of being able to tell the whole truth,—a liberty seldom enjoyed by a family historian.

¹ Rev. M. Macphail's "Traditions of Ness." In Morrison's "Traditions of Lewis" it is Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Slait who race for St Kilda. Two boats were to be built of equal size, they were then to cast lots for them, and whoever got first "and kindled a fire therein," was to possess the island. "In this way Macleod of Harris became proprietor of St Kilda originally."

II.

NOTICE OF THE RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN THE KITCHEN MIDDENS
OF EXTINCT INDIAN TRIBES, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA.
By PROFESSOR DUNS, D.D., F.S.A. Scot.

All students of the natural sciences and archæology will cordially own their indebtedness to the Smithsonian Institution authorities for the great benefits they are year by year conferring on their special studies. The operations of the Institution embrace the increase and diffusion of knowledge in almost all departments of observation and thought, and at the same time the management of the National Museum, in which the United States Government stores its remarkably rich and rapidly increasing collection of specimens in natural history and ethnology. Though the care of the Museum does not fall within the terms of the Smithsonian Bequest, its office-bearers have hitherto co-operated very heartily with the Government in promoting the interests of the Museum. A good illustration of this co-operation recently occurred in connection with the explorations which form the subject of this paper.

A little more than three years ago, the Institution and the Government "Indian Bureau" being anxious to increase the anthropological collection of the Museum, agreed mutually to bear the expense of an expedition to the Pacific coast, with the view of examining the Kjökkenmöddings and burying-places of certain tribes of extinct Indians. To this end, a well-known and accomplished ethnologist, Mr Paul Schumacher, was sent to Santa Barbara county, California. The explorations were conducted with great earnestness, zeal, and intelligence by Mr Schumacher and his assistants, and recently fifty-one large boxes of ethnological specimens were forwarded to Washington as the fruit of the expedition.

The records of the explorations, as yet hardly known in this country, are very full of interest, and have close and intimate bearings on British archæology. I am able to submit to the notice of the Society a few good examples of the articles found.

As year by year the area of archæological investigation widens, facts are accumulated highly suggestive of the unity subsisting between tribes far removed from each other, and also of the comparatively brief period

within which objects have been realised, illustrative of the industrial art and social habits of tribes even now extinct. These objects, moreover, show us man, under climatal conditions widely diverse, and in the midst of an immense variety of circumstances, working in the same grooves, expressing his skill after a similar fashion, exercising his artistic taste in similar efforts, and hinting at, if never definitely expressing, gropings at least, towards something above and beyond the cares of family and of tribal life.

The explorations were made both on the mainland in Santa Barbara county and San Luis Obispo county, and also on the islands in the Santa Barbara Channel, as San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, San Nicolas, Santa Catalina, and San Clemente. The contents of the various "finds" were mainly utensils of steatite and magnesian mica, fish-hooks of bone and of shell, spear-points of stone, stone borers, chisels, and axes, whet-stones, mortars, and pestles. The mortars and pestles were numerous in almost all the localities visited—the latter generally far more numerous than the former; thus, of these objects found in Santa Cruz, the mortars numbered 127 and the pestles 200. This numerical disparity was explained several years ago by the discovery that the Indians on the north-west coast of the United States, who used these utensils for bruising the acorns on which they fed, had frequently dispensed with the mortar altogether, and employed instead a hollow in a large stone or on the face of a rock, around which they placed a bottomless basket, into which the acorns were thrown to be crushed. Some of these pestles are longer and more slender than most of the others, and may have served the double purpose of war club and acorn crusher.

Among the objects found were several circular bored stones similar to those described to the Society a year or two ago, as spade weights, such as are still in use in Caffraria, and were once used in Thibet, as shown by the specimen from that country now on the table.

In the course of Mr Schumacher's narrative of "finds" of utensils and implements in stone and other pre-historical material, it sounds oddly to be told that on one of the kitchen midden graves on Santa Cruz, "a wooden sword of a Roman pattern was found, having its hilt richly inlaid with shells, but in such a decayed condition that it had to be thickly coated with varnish for preservation." In the same heap occurred pieces

of board, sewed together with string and painted with asphalt, believed by a half-breed who was present to be the remains of a cradle. The use of asphalt seems to have been common. The hand point of the pestle on the table has been covered with it. Many of the bodies discovered seemed to have been buried in matting covered with asphalt. A number of pebbles, about as large as a pigeon's egg, were also found coated with it. Asphalt is plentiful on all the islands. It occurs as a marine spring in the Santa Barbara Channel, from which it is washed ashore among the rocks.

An interesting suite of specimens was gathered in Santa Cruz illustrative of the mode of manufacture of the shell fish-hooks. The makers seem to have worked in this fashion :—Pieces of *haliotis* shell were perforated by a flint point ; the hole having been rounded by a double-pointed borer of hard sandstone, its rim was shaded into the shape of the hook, and the shaded part was worked out by a knife-like tool of stone. The hook thus finished was attached to a line for use. The various tools used for these ends were also found.

Many interesting observations were made as to the modes of burial. In all cases where the surface soil is sandy and apt to be altered by the wind, the skeletons, sometimes numbering two and three hundred, were found in the refuse heaps, where more compact and heavy material made it less likely that the wind would uncover them. They had been laid down without the least regard to direction or position, three or four resting one above the other, and if at all separated, this was by the bones of the whale.

Skeletons were also found in the central depressions of former habitations, the burial having taken place while the houses were inhabited. In Santa Cruz the bodies rest in separate graves. These lie on their back, as a rule, though not always, facing the east, the feet drawn up, the arms folded over the chest, and the head resting on the occiput.

An immense number of facts go to prove that the depopulation of the islands in the Santa Barbara Channel occurred so recently as about forty years ago, up to which time the Indians continued to practise the industrial habits, to use the implements and utensils, and to have recourse to the modes of burial mentioned above.

The following specimens were exhibited:—

1. Mortar and Pestle of very fine grained, hard, and compact sandstone.

2. Fragment of a Mortar of the same material, showing distinct marks of the maker's tools.

3. Olla, or Pot, of so-called steatite. Magnesian mica is a better characterisation for this mineral. The pot bears marks of having been on the fire. (See the accompanying figure.)

4. Two worked Stones, uses uncertain.

5. A black Mineral, with vitreous lustre, crystals showing distinct cubes. This seems to be a garnet. *Melanite?*

6. Skull: sutures not anchylosed; super-orbitals prominent; occipital depression large; teeth much abraded.

7. Vertebrae of one of the *Delphinidae*.

8. Vertebrae of large fish.

9. *Mollusca*.—(a.) *Natica*, specific marks obliterated. (b.) Operculum of *Turbo fluctuatus*. (c.) *Haliotis californiensis*. (d.) *Fissurella crenulata* (a good specimen of this rather rare form). (e.) *Spondylus flabellum*. Young? (f.) *Chamas?* specific features obliterated. (g.) *Cardium magnum*. (h.) *Pecten floridus*.

10. *Crustacea*: *Balanidae*, various.



Olla, or Pot of Magnesian Mica ($8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high).

III.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF A SCULPTURED STONE AT LOGIERAIT, PERTHSHIRE. BY ARTHUR ANDERSON, M.D., C.B., F.S.A. SCOT. (Plate XXIX).

The stone, of which I forward rubbings, was pointed out to me in the churchyard of Logierait by the Rev. Mr Meldrum, the clergyman of the parish, and on looking at the part exposed I was convinced that it was a portion of a sculptured stone similar to those so ably described by the late Dr Stuart in his great work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

Its position was close to the church, in that part of the churchyard belonging to J. Stewart Robertson of Edradynate, and only the upper part of one of its sides appeared above ground.

Not having Dr Stuart's valuable work to refer to, I sent some months ago an imperfect sketch and rubbings to Mr Anderson, the Curator of the Museum, who was good enough to inform me that he could not find that any mention had been made of this stone in the work above referred to. The figure on horseback with a lance, as also that of the serpent, are in remarkably high relief, and so are the four bosses on the cross, which is a very beautiful one; and this relic may, I think, fairly take its place amongst the old sculptured stones of Scotland, as not one of the least interesting.

As the Logierait cross is cut on hard whinstone, it may reasonably be expected to last for many ages in its present upright position. Archæologists must, I am sure, feel grateful to Mr Stewart Robertson for having so readily complied with my wish to have the stone exhumed. Had all landed proprietors equally enlightened views on such subjects, we should not now have to deplore the destruction of so many interesting memorials of a very remote age.

NOTES ON THE SCULPTURED STONE IN LOGIERAIT CHURCHYARD. BY WILLIAM GALLOWAY, ARCHITECT, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

This stone is 4 feet 1 inch in length, 1 foot 11 inches in its greatest breadth at the foot of the cross, and 1 foot 7 inches at the intersection of the arms. Although very much damaged, especially in the upper part,

the partially intact edges show that the sizes given represent pretty nearly the original dimensions of the stone. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, carved upon both faces, and the material is a close-grained, compact, micaceous schist.

Toward the foot of the stone, or its insertion in the ground, it expands outward on one side with a curved outline, but whether this was mere adaptation to a natural form, or purposely so hewn, can only be matter of conjecture. The same remark applies to the possibility of there having been a similar expansion on the opposite side where the stone is now fractured.

On the more perfect face there is a cross carved in good relief with the arms hollowed at the axillæ, these hollows being sunk to the depth of from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch and filled in with plain balls or bosses nearly 2 inches in diameter. A bead an inch in breadth runs round the outline of the cross, the centre, arms, and shaft of which are filled in with a variety of quaint interlaced devices very much worn on their upper surfaces.

The termination of the shaft is peculiar. The marginal bead, instead of being carried round the foot, is formed on each side into scrolls coiling inward, a connecting curve running between them. A similar feature, but in a less pronounced form, appears in the stone at Kettins,¹ and in the stone from St Vigeans,² of which there is a cast in the Museum. On the earlier inscribed and sculptured stones of Ireland it frequently occurs, as may be seen on reference to Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language."

All the intact edges of the stone on each face, both at sides and top, have a rounded face-bead or margin $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in breadth. On the cross-graven face the spaces between this margin and the cross are quite plain, and sunk to the depth of half an inch, the general relief of the carved work in the cross itself being a quarter of an inch.

On the space below the cross at the foot of the stone, some rude letters have been incised and afterward apparently defaced. It is possible that it may have been utilized as a grave-stone in a reversed position.

The other face has been very much damaged, the upper part being

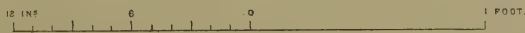
¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. pl. viii.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. pl. lxxi.

a.

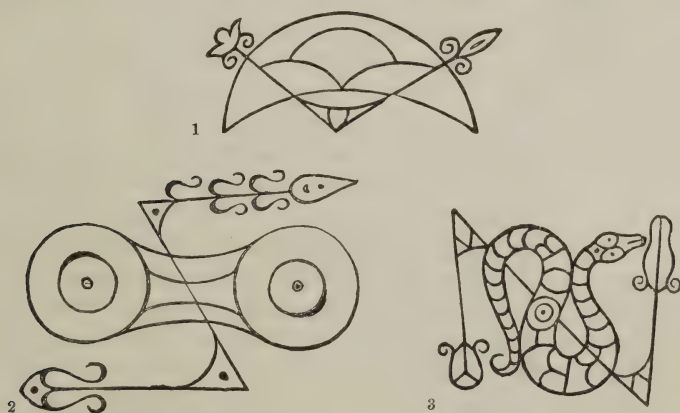


b.



indeed entirely gone, a result to which the laminated structure of the stone has greatly contributed. What remains of the carving shows that frequent subject of representation on the sculptured stones, a warrior armed with a spear and mounted on horseback, but the major part of the figure and the rear of the animal are quite broken away. The harnessing, &c., is given with considerable minuteness of detail, and makes the loss of the figure the more to be regretted. From the dimensions of the stone, it is probable there may have been some device in the space above the horseman.

Immediately beneath this mounted warrior there is a serpent interlaced with a straight rod or sceptre decorated at both ends. The floriated sceptre, both in the V and Z forms, in combination with the crescent (fig.



1), the spectacle ornament (fig. 2), and other devices, is of frequent occurrence on the sculptured stones. In the Z form it is also met with in combination with the serpent (fig. 3). Dr Stuart has given six examples where it is so combined, viz., at Insch,¹ Newton in the Garioch,² Ballutheron,³ St Vigeans,⁴ Meigle,⁵ and the Bore-stone of

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," pl. vi.; *vide* also cast in the Museum.

² *Ibid.* pl. xxxvii.

³ *Ibid.* pl. lxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* pl. lxxi.; *vide* also cast in the Museum.

⁵ *Ibid.* pl. lxxiii.

Gask.¹ The first two examples are *incised* on what Dr Stuart designates "rude undressed pillars;" the other four are carved *in relief* upon stones bearing Christian emblems. Sometimes also the rods pass over the convolutions of the serpent, sometimes behind them, while at other times they are more or less partially interlaced. The example at St Vigean differs from the rest in having the terminal arms comparatively short and at right angles to the central rod, instead of the angle being as usual more or less acute.

Differing still further from those just mentioned is the instance given by Dr Stuart from Inverury.² It is an incised slab with no distinctive Christian emblems, but having the sceptre both in the V and Z forms combined with the crescent and spectacle ornaments. The serpent is also given convoluted as usual, but with the rod or sceptre quite straight. One extremity is effaced, but there can be little doubt that in this instance both of the terminal arms have been dispensed with. To this variation from the usual custom the stone at Logierait contributes an analogous instance, differing from the example referred to in that the symbol is quite complete, is carved in relief, and occurs upon a cross-graven slab. It will also be noticed that in this case the sceptre and serpent are fully interlaced.

There is another point upon which this example differs from those given by Dr Stuart, and that is in the ears or horned appendages which are so distinctly represented at the back of the serpent's head; indeed all the details of the carving on this side of the stone have been minutely rendered and are in so far well preserved, a fact which can only increase our regret that it should have been subjected to so much injury.

A comparison of the localities in which stones bearing this serpent-symbol occur will also show that this example at Logierait is the most inland of those as yet upon record, the nearest approximations to it being the Bore-stone at Gask towards the south and the stone at Meigle on the extreme eastern confines of Perthshire. With these exceptions all the other instances are limited to two counties, Aberdeen and Forfar.

¹ "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," pl. ciii.

² *Ibid.* pl. cxiii.; *vide* also the illustrations to the Preface and Appendix, vol. ii. pl. xxv.

IV.

NOTE ON THE CAPRINGTON BRONZE HORN. By R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A. Scot.

The bronze horn or trumpet, of which an illustration is here given from a wood-cut presented to the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association, by Mr Smith Cunningham of Caprington,¹ was found some time before 1654² on the estate of Coilsfield, in the parish of Tarbolton, in Kyle.

It is thus referred to by Sir Robert Gordon, in the description of Kyle given in Bleau's Atlas, published at Amsterdam in 1654 :—

"In campo ubi decertatum lituus incurvus figura sua cornu referens, in primus canorus, multo post annis effusus est, quo comarchi Caprintonii, quorum ædes primariæ nostris Coilsfield dicitur, ad cogendos rusticos suos et operarios utuntur."³

Defoe says : "A trumpet resembling a crooked horn, which has a very shrill sound, was dug up in the field of battle, and is still kept in the Laird of Caprington's house, called Coilsfield."⁴

The writer of the "New Statistical Account" notes that "this horn, so minutely



¹ "Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological and Historical Collections," vol. i.

² "New Statistical Account of Ayrshire," p. 753.

³ Vol. vi. p. 50.

⁴ "Tour through Britain," vol. iv. p. 130.

described in Bleau's great work, and by Defoe, is carefully preserved at Caprinton Castle."¹

The horn is 25 inches in length, measuring from the mouthpiece to the aperture along the centre. The circumference 1 inch from the mouthpiece is 2 inches. At the lowest band the circumference is almost 8 inches. It is nearly 4 inches across the aperture.

It is the only instance of a bronze horn recorded as having been found in Scotland.

From an analysis made by Professor Stevenson Macadam, the composition of the bronze is as follows:—

Copper,	=	90·26
Tin,	=	9·61
Loss,	=	·13
		<hr/>
		100·00

Bronze trumpets are of very rare occurrence in Britain. Mr Franks records one found in England.² They are not uncommon in Ireland. For an account of the Irish specimens, reference may be made to the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. viii. p. 99, and also to the "Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," by Sir William R. Wilde (pp. 623–632), where the sixteen specimens of trumpets in the Academy's collection, comprising five distinct varieties of the instrument, are figured and described, and notices are given of the finding of these and other specimens in different districts of Ireland.

¹ "Ayrshire," p. 754.

² "Hornæ Ferales," pl. xiii. fig. 2.

MONDAY, 11th March 1878.

DR JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were unanimously elected Fellows :—

NORMAN MACPHERSON, LL.D., Advocate, Professor of Scots Law
in the University of Edinburgh.

J. B. BROWN-MORISON, Esq., of Finnerdie.

JAMES URQUHART, Esq., H.M. General Register House.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By JOHN STURROCK, Esq., Engineer-Surveyor, Dundee.

Cast in Plaster of Paris of a star-shaped Implement of Flint, measuring 17 inches by 13 inches, from Honduras.

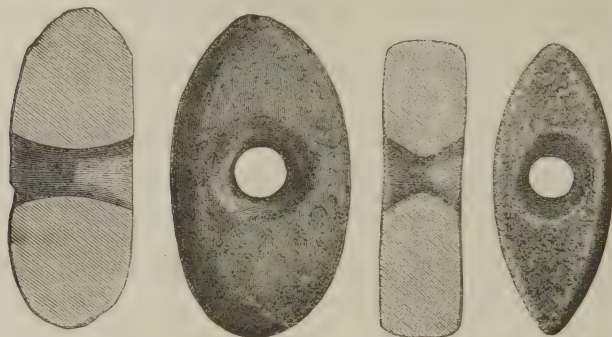
Cast in the same material of an oblong Implement of Flint, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, from the same locality.

These implements are remarkable for their great size and unusual form. The first is perhaps more properly described as of crescentic form, with indentations of unequal length on the convex side. The second is serrated on both sides in the middle and pointed at both ends. They were found in a cave in the Bay of Honduras, and have been repeatedly described and figured. (See Dr Daniel Wilson's "Pre-Historic Man," vol. i. pp. 214, 215; "Archæological Journal," vol. viii. p. 422, and vol. ix. p. 97; Stevens's "Flint Chips," p. 289).

(2.) By Rev. ANDREW URQUHART, Portpatrick, through Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

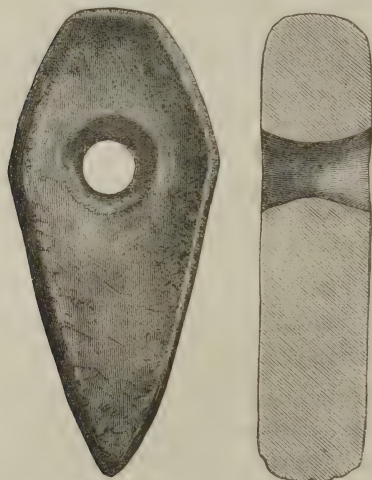
Perforated Hammer of Serpentine found near Portpatrick. It is oval in shape and wedge-shaped at both ends : it measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth across the centre. It is nearly of uniform thickness from end to end ; the flat faces slightly hollowed towards the centre, where it is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The perforation for the handle is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch diameter, narrowing to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in the centre.

Large oval Hammer or Maul of Greyish Greenstone, perforated for the handle, also found near Portpatrick. It measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length,



Stone Hammers found near Portpatrick.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and 3 inches in thickness. The form is a rounded oval with somewhat pointed ends, rounded edges, and flat sides. The perforation which is near the centre is 2 inches in diameter, narrowing in the middle of its length to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter.



Stone Hammer found at Torhouskie.

(3.) By Rev. DAVID C. A. AGNEW, Wigtown, through Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Large Wedge-shaped Hammer of Grey Sandstone, found on the farm of Torhouskie, parish of Wigtown. It measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 4 inches in width at the widest part, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. The hole for the handle is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, and is nearly of the same width throughout.

- (4.) By CHARLES WALLACE, Esq., of Dally, Kirkcolum, through Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Polisher or Burnisher of Hæmatite, found on the farm of Kirkcolum, Wigtownshire. It is a small block of hæmatite, roughly triangular in section, highly polished on the basal surface, which is quadrangular in shape, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches square. The sides and ends are rougher, but partially polished as if by rubbing some soft substance such as leather.

- (5.) By ROBERT GLEN, Esq., Musical Instrument Maker, Bank Street.

Fragment of a Sculptured Cross Shaft, with interlaced work on four sides. It seems to have been the terminal portion of the shaft, and measures 15 inches in length, by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It has been figured in plate ex. of the second volume of the late Dr John Stuart's work on "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," 1867 ; and it is there described as having been "recently discovered in the wall of a farm house in a field called God's Mount, which is part of Coldingham Hill, but its original site is unknown."

- (6.) By A. W. BUIST, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Iron Spike, partly enclosed in a concretion of gravel, found at Parkhill, parish of Abdie, Fife.

- (7.) By JAMES CHISHOLM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Manuscript Volume, entitled "Antiquitates Illustrium Gentium." 12mo.

- (8.) By JOHN SMALL, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., the Editor.

The Indian Primer. By John Elliot. Reprinted from the original Edition of 1669. With an Introduction by John Small, M.A., Librarian, University of Edinburgh. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1878.

- (9.) By ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq., of Carlowrie, F.S.A. Scot.

Photographs of "Bickerton's Tomb," Luffness Chapel, and of a sculptured Capital and Piscina in field walls near it ; also of an old dovecot at Luffness.

(10.) By Sir DENHAM JEPHSON NORREYS, Bart.

Observations on the mode of constructing a remarkable Celtic Trumpet in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, 8vo, pp. 3 and plate. 1878.

Kiltartan Church near Gort, County Galway, folio leaf with plate. 1878.

(11.) By CHARLES MORRISON, Jun., Esq.

Old Golf Ball of Feathers, in sewed leather. .

(12.) By PETER STEVENSON, Esq., Philosophical Instrument Maker, through WILLIAM BRODIE, Esq., R.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Two similar Golf Balls.

There were also exhibited :—

(1.) By Professor NORMAN MACPHERSON, LL.D.

A Collection of Antiquities found in the Island of Eigg :—viz., Sword Hilt of bronze or brass, partly plated and inlaid with silver, and finely decorated with interlaced work and ornaments in relief. Massive Foot of a Pot, in bronze or brass. Portions of a Sword Belt, with clasp of bronze or brass. Parts of the Blades of a Sword and Dagger, Whetstone, and portion of Leather Belt, with its Clasp. Portion of Woollen Dress, trimmed with Fur. Penanular Brooch, with thistle-headed Knobs of bronze or brass, plated with silver. Circular Brooch of brass. Small polished Stone Celt and Arrow-head of Flint. Oaken Stem and Sternpost of a Boat. (See the subsequent Communication by Professor Macpherson for a description and figures of these objects.)

(2.) By Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

A Collection of Implements of stone and bronze, from Wigtownshire, comprising—Flat Celt of Bronze, found near Craigcaffie. Socketed Celt of Bronze, from a Peat Moss half-way between Stranraer and Portpatrick. Polished Celt of Claystone, found near Castle Kennedy. Polished Celt, found at Croach. Large triangular Hammer or Maul of Sandstone, from Old Borland, Old Luce. Similar Hammer of reddish sandstone; two oval-shaped Stones, with indented hollows on their flat sides;

and a Hammer Stone from Machermore. One large triangular stone Hammer; a Polished stone Celt; and three weathered Stones, shaped like Celts, from Kirkinner.

(3.) By Mr JAMES WOOD, Galashiels.

Altar-Slab of Sandstone, marked with five crosses, found at Coldingham. It measures 11 inches by 10, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. The upper surface is smoothed, and marked by five crosses in circles, 2 inches diameter.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTES ON THE EARLDOM OF CAITHNESS. BY W. F. SKENE, LL.D.,
F.S.A. SCOT.

The earldom of Caithness was possessed for many generations by the Norwegian Earls of Orkney. They held the Islands of Orkney under the King of Norway according to Norwegian custom, by which the title of Jarl or Earl was a personal title. They held the earldom of Caithness under the King of Scotland, and its tenure was in accordance with the laws of Scotland.

We find from the Orkneyinga Saga that during this period the Orkney islands were frequently divided into two portions, and each half held by different members of the Norwegian family, each bearing the title of earl. We likewise find that the earldom of Caithness was at such times also frequently divided, and each half held by different Earls of Orkney, though whether both bore the title of Earl of Caithness does not appear.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to go further back than the rule of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, who died about A.D. 1056, and undoubtedly held the whole of the Orkneys and the entire earldom of Caithness for a long period.

He had two sons, Paul and Erlend, who after his death ruled jointly without dividing the earldoms, and their descendants may be termed the line of Paul and the line of Erlend.

After their death the islands were divided between Hakon, son of Paul, and Magnus, son of Erlend, each bearing the title of earl. The latter was the great earl known as St Magnus. After his death, Earl Hakon appears to have possessed the whole.

Earl Hakon had two sons, Harald and Paul, who again divided the islands, each having an earl's title, but Earl Harald appears to have held the whole of Caithness from the King of Scots. On his death Earl Paul obtained possession of the whole.

In the meantime the line of Erlend failed in the male line, in the person of Earl Magnus, but his sister Gunhild married a Norwegian called Kol, and had by him a son Kali, who claimed a share of the islands, when the King of Norway gave him the name of Rognwald, an earl's title, and divided the islands between him and Earl Paul.

Earl Paul's sister Margaret had married Madad, Earl of Atholl, and had by him a son Harald, and by a revolution which took place Earl Paul abdicated, and his nephew Harald was made earl in his place, and shared the islands with Earl Rognwald. The latter then went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and in his absence Malcolm IV. made Erlend Ungi, son of Harald Slettmali, Earl of Caithness, and gave him half of Caithness, Earl Harald Maddadson having the other half.

Earl Rognwald then returns, and on Erlend's death, Orkney and Caithness were shared between him and Earl Harald.

The line of Erlend again failed on the death of Earl Rognwald, who left an only daughter Ingegerd, who married a Norwegian, Eirik Slagbrellir, and had three sons, Harald Ungi, Magnus Mangi, and Rognwald, and three daughters, Ingibjorg, Elin, and Ragnhild.

Earl Harald now possessed both Orkney and Caithness, but soon after the King of Norway gave Harald Ungi an earl's title with the half of the Orkneys, and by agreement with Earl Harald, King William the Lion gave Harald Ungi the half of Caithness which had belonged to Earl Rognwald, but they afterwards quarrelled, and Earl Harald Ungi was slain by the other Earl Harald, who again possessed the whole.

Owing to the mutilation of the Bishop of Caithness by Earl Harald, he was attacked by King William in 1201, and only allowed to retain Caithness on payment of 2000 merks of silver, while the district of Sutherland was taken from him and given to Hugo Freskin de Moravia.

Earl Harald died in 1206, and was succeeded by his son David, who died in 1214, when his brother John became Earl of Orkney and Caithness. Fordun tells us that King William made a treaty of peace with him in that year, and took his daughter as a hostage, but the burning of Bishop Adam in 1222 brought King Alexander II. down upon Earl John, who was obliged to give up part of his lands into the hands of the king, which, however, he redeemed the following year by paying a large sum of money, and by his death in 1231 the line of Paul again came to an end.

In 1232, we find Magnus son of Gillebride, Earl of Angus, called Earl of Caithness, and the earldom remained in this family till between 1320 and 1329, when Magnus, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, died; but during this time it is clear that these earls only possessed one-half of Caithness, and the other half appears in the possession of the De Moravia family, for Freskin, Lord of Duffus, who married Johanna, who possessed Strathnaver in her own right, and died before 1269, had two daughters, Mary married to Sir Reginald Cheyne, and Christian married to William de Fedrett, and each of these daughters had one-fourth part of Caithness, for William de Fedrett resigns his fourth to Sir Reginald Cheyne, who then appears in possession of one-half of Caithness.

These daughters probably inherited the half of Caithness through their mother Johanna, and Gillebride having called one of his sons by the Norwegian name of Magnus, indicates that he had a Norwegian mother. This is clear from his also becoming Earl of Orkney, which the King of Scots could not have given him. Gillebride died in 1200, so that Magnus must have been born before that date, and about the time of Earl Harald Ungi, who had half of Caithness, and died in 1198. Magnus is a name peculiar to this line, as the great Earl Magnus belonged to it, and Harald Ungi had a brother Magnus. The probability is that the half of Caithness which belonged to the Angus family was that half usually possessed by the earls of the line of Erlend, and was given by King Alexander with the title of Earl to Magnus, as the son of one of Earl Harald Ungi's sisters, while Johanna, through whom the Moray family inherited the other half, was, as indicated by her name, the daughter of John, Earl of Caithness by the line of Paul, who had been kept by the king as a hostage, and given in marriage to Freskin de Moravia.

Magnus, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, the last of the earls of the Angus line, died before 1329, when "Caterina Comitissa Orcadiae et Cathanesiae" grants a charter "in viduitate." In 1330 we find a claim on the earldom of Caithness by Simon Fraser and Margaret his spouse, one of the heirs of the Earls of Caithness (Acta. Parl. vi.) In 1331 we find Malise, Earl of Stratherne, charged on the Chamberlain Rolls (p. 404) with the rents of the fourth part of Caithness; and in 1334 Malise appears as earl of the earldom of Stratherne, Caithness, and Orkney (Cart. Inchaffray). It is clear, therefore, that the half of Caithness which belonged to the Angus earls, had like the other half passed to two co-heirs, and that the title of earl, with one-fourth of the earldom, had gone to the Earl of Stratherne.

There is some difficulty in clearing up the history of the last few Earls of Stratherne, and of discriminating between them, as they all have the name of Malise. The first of the name of Malise was the son of Robert, Earl of Stratherne, and Fordun (Bower) fixes the date of his death when he says, in 1271, "*Malisius comes de Stratherne in partibus Gallicanis decessit et apud Dunblane sepelitur.*" In giving the death of Magnus, King of Man, in 1269, he adds, "*cujus relictam comes Malisius de Stratherne postea duxit videlicet filiam Eugenie de Ergadia;*" but the *postea* refers to after 1271, and this was the second Malise the son of the former, for we find in 1291, Malise, Earl of Stratherne, does homage to Edward I. at Stirling on 12th July, and twelve days after "*Maria Regina de Man et Comitissa de Stratherne*" does homage at Perth in presence of Earl Malise. He died before 1296, as among the widows who are secured in their possessions by the King of England in that year is "*Maria quæ fuit uxor Malesii Comitis de Stratherne.*"

In point of fact Malise (2d) must have died before February 1292, for in that year "*Maria Comitissa de Stratherne quæ fuit uxor Hugonis de Abernethyn*" is summoned to Parliament to show cause why Alexander de Abernethyn, son of Hugo, should not have his lands in Fyfe and Perth (Act. Parl. vi.); and that she was not the same Maria as the Queen of Man is clear from this, that she appears along with her in the list of widows in 1296 as "*Maria quæ fuit uxor Hugonis de Abernethyn.*" She must therefore have been the wife of Malise (3d), son of Malise (2d).

This Malise (3d) is said in Wood's "Peerage" to have been killed at the

battle of Halidon Hill in 1333; but he died long before, for we find that his second wife was Johanna de Menteith, whom he married in the reign of Robert Bruce, as that king confirms a grant by Malise, Earl of Stratherne, to Johanna, daughter to John Menteith, his spouse (Rob. Index), and she after his death married John, Earl of Atholl, for there is in Theiner a dispensation in 1339 for the marriage of Johanna, Countess of Stratherne, widow of John, Earl of Atholl, to Maurice de Moravia. Now this John, Earl of Atholl, was himself undoubtedly killed at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333. In point of fact Malise (3d) must have died before 1320, for King Robert also grants a charter to Maria de Stratherne, wife of Malise of Stratherne, of the lands of Kingkell, Brechin, which were David de Brechin's (Rob. Index.) She must have been therefore married to Malise (4th) during the lifetime of his father Malise (3d), as he is not termed earl; but this Maria is undoubtedly the Comitissa de Stratherne who was implicated along with David de Brechin and William de Soulis in a conspiracy in 1320 (Fordun), and Malise (4th) must then have been earl.

Malise (3d) had two daughters—Matilda, married to Robert de Tony, and Maria to Sir John Murray of Drumsagard; for in 1293 we find him contracting for the marriage of his daughter Matilda, then under 20, to Robert de Tony (Hist. Doc. i. 394); and in the chartulary of Inchaffray are two charters by Malisius Comes de Stratherne to John de Moravia and his heirs by Maria filia nostra; and his son Malise (4th) confirms a grant soon after 1319 by Malisius "pater noster quondam comes de Stratherne" to John de Moravia et Maria filia Comitiss.

In 1320, Malise, Earl of Stratherne, signs the letter to the Pope. This must have been Malise (4th); and in 1334, in a charter in which he styles himself earl of the earldoms of Stratherne, Caithness, and Orkney, he grants to William, Earl of Ross, the marriage of his daughter Isabel by Marjory his wife, declaring her his heir of the earldom of Caithness failing an heir male of the marriage of the said Earl Malise and Marjory (Cart. Inch.). She must have been his second wife. It has usually been assumed that Isabel married the Earl of Ross, but this is impossible, for in another deed in 1350 the Earl of Ross styles Marjory, Countess of Stratherne, his sister. He was therefore Isabel's uncle, and the deed was granted at the time of Earl Malise's forfeiture, when Isabel was

probably still a child, and was intended if possible to protect the succession.

Earl Malise (4th) had several other daughters. In 1353 Erngils, a Norwegian, gets from the King of Norway the title of Earl of Orkney in right of his mother Agneta, which he forfeits in 1357. In that year Duncan son of Andrew protests for Alexander de le Arde in right of his mother Matilda, called eldest daughter of Earl Malise. In 1364 Euphemia de Stratherne appears as one of the heirs of the late Earl Malise. In 1374 Alexander de le Arde resigns his rights through his mother Matilda to the King. In 1379 Henry St Clair and Malise Sperre claim the earldom of Orkney. Henry becomes earl and calls his mother Isabella St Clair in a charter of lands of which she was heiress. Matilda was probably daughter of Maria the first wife, and the little favour shown to her rights may have arisen from her brother's complicity in the conspiracy in 1320. The other daughters were probably children of Marjory, and the Earl of Ross appears to have married his niece Isabella to Sir William St Clair, the father of Henry.

It is clear the right to Orkney and Caithness could not have come to the Earls of Stratherne through the Queen of Man wife of Malise (2d), nor through either of the wives of Malise (4th), as his daughters by both wives claimed. He must, therefore, have derived his right through his mother, one of the wives of Malise (3d), but this could not have been Johanna de Menteith, and therefore Maria, widow of Hugo de Abernethyn, seems the only possible heiress of the Earldom of Caithness.

II.

NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ISLAND OF EIGG. BY NORMAN MACPHERSON, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF SCOTS LAW, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY, F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE XXX.).

The purpose of this paper is to record the circumstances in which certain objects of antiquity were found in the island of Eigg. But as an aid to determine their archæological value, it may not be amiss to state what is historically known of that island.

We find Eigg first made mention of in Irish ecclesiastical MSS., where it is spoken of as Egga, Ego, Ardegga, Egea, &c. Whether this name be derived from a Celtic or Scandinavian root, it has reference to the notched or serrated appearance of the island, when viewed from certain points. Eigg was known to St Columba, who there visited his countryman St Donnan, founder of the monastery, where eventually he and his fifty-two monks suffered martyrdom in the year 617.¹ The accounts vary as to who were the perpetrators of this deed. According to some, the

¹ Adamnan's "Life of Columba," p. 304. The commemoration of St Donnan in the *Felire of Aengus*, the *Culdee*, written in the early part of the ninth century, is thus given by Dr Reeves :—

With the festival of Peter the Deacon,
To glorious martyrdom ascended,
With his clerics, of pure lives,
Donnan of Cold Eig.

Donnan of Eig, *i.e.*, Eig is the name of an island which is in Alba, and in it Donnan is, or in Catt; et ibi Donnan sanctus cum sua familia obiit, id est LII.

This Donnan went to Columcille to make him his soul's friend, upon which Columcille said to him, "I shall not be soul's friend to a company (heirs) of red martyrdom; for thou shalt come to red martyrdom, and thy people with thee." And so it was fulfilled.

Donnan then went with his people to the Hebrides, and they took up their abode there in a place where the sheep of the queen of the country were kept. This was told to the queen. "Let them all be killed," said she. "That would not be a religious act," said her people. But they were murderously assailed. At this time the cleric was at mass. "Let us have respite till mass is ended," said Donnan. "Thou shalt have it," said they. And when it was over they were slain, every one of them.

The Martyrology of Donegal, at April 17th, has—"Donnan of Ega, Abbot. Ega is the name of an island in which he was after his coming from Erin. And there

queen of the country¹ massacred them; according to others, she had to call in the aid of "Latrones" to carry out her cruel purpose, because the people of the island were friendly towards the monks. The calendar of Marian Gorman simply says—"Donnan the great with his monks. Fifty-two were his congregation. There came pirates of the sea to the island in which they were, and slew them all. Eig is the name of that island." The event is also referred to as "Combustio Donnain Ega." (Tighernach).

As was to be expected, the site of this martyrdom soon was re-occupied; and during the first half of the eighth century we find mention in the Irish annals of six or seven successive superiors of the monastery. Towards the end of the eighth century the Norwegians and Danes began their descents upon the west coast, and from that time till the battle of Largs (1263) the Hebrides may be considered as subject to Scandinavian sway. But after that event down to the Union they were held by the Scottish crown—not always, however, with a very firm grasp.

In 1282 we find Eigg annexed by statute to the sheriffship of Skye.

In 1309 Robert Bruce granted Eigg, among other lands, to Roderic, son of Alan, for service of a ship of twenty-six oars, with its complement of men and victual. From that time to the present century the island remained in the Clanranald family; but to follow the details of its forfeitures and transfers would be tedious and quite unnecessary here.

Its position between Skye and Mull, between the mainland possessions of Clanranald and his insular domains, and the fact of its containing a safe haven for Highland gallies,² made it a convenient place of meeting,³

came robbers of the sea on a certain time to the island when he was celebrating mass. He requested of them not to kill him until he should have the mass said, and they gave him this respite, and he was afterwards beheaded, and fifty-two of his monks along with him. And all their names are in a certain old book of the books of Erin,—A.D. 616." The Martyrology of Tamlacht has—"Donnain Ega cum suis lii quorum nomina in majore libro scripsimus."

¹ It is suggested by Dr Reeves that this queen may have given rise to the custom referred to by Martin, who says—"The natives dare not call this isle by its ordinary name of Egg when they are at sea, but Island nim Ban More, *i.e.*, the Isle of Big Women;" and to this day a small loch, containing foundations of an island dwelling, and lying high up on the shoulder of the Scur of Eigg, is known as Lochan na Mna Moire.

² Sibbald MSS., Adv. Lib.

³ In the "Clanranald Gathering" allusion is made to the Braes of Corvein, one of the hills in Eigg.

whether for domestic or warlike purposes. Let us take one example of each kind, and first, of the meeting which was held when Ranald, the eldest son of John of the Isles, gave up his own claim and that of his brothers by his father's first marriage, and handed over the chiefship to Donald, the eldest son of his father's second marriage to Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert II. The ceremony is thus described in the *Leabhar Dearg*¹ of Clanranald, of which Mr W. F. Skene has obligingly furnished me with an extract from his MS. copy, and also with the translation :—

“Ranald, the son of John, was the high steward of Innsigall at the time of his father's death, he being of advanced age, and ruling them when his father deceased. He called a meeting of the nobles of Innsigall and his brethren to one place, and gave the staff of lordship to his brother at Kildonan in Eig, and he was nominated MacDomnall and Donald of Isla contrary to the opinion of the men of Innsigall.”²

¹ “Do bhi Ragnhall mac Eoin na ard stiubhord ar Innsibhgall an aimsir bas athair do beith na aois arsuigh agus ag riagladh os a cionn do ar neg do athair do chur tionol ar uaislibh Innsibhgall agus ar bhraithribh go haoinionadh agus tug se slat an tighearnais do bhrathair a ceil Donnain an Eige agus do goireadh mac Domhnuil de agus Domhnall a Hile an aghuidh baramhla fhear Innsigall.”

² Mackintosh, whose translation was given to Sir Walter Scott, and quoted by him in his notes to the “Lord of the Isles,” translates the passage underlined, “brought the sceptre from Kildonan in Eig, and delivered it to his brother Donald, who was declared.” The verb, however, here translated “brought and delivered” is *tug*, the preterite of *Tabhair*, which means “give.” Then the preposition is not *o*, from, but *a*, a form of *an* “in.” There is, however, ambiguity here; for while O'Donovan, in his grammar of old Irish, has *a* or *i* “in,” he also has *a* “from,” and adds, “this frequently occurs in old MSS. exactly in the same sense as the Latin *a*,” which it no doubt is. The proper preposition “from” in Gaelic is *o*.

Dr Stuart, in his “Note on the Coronation Stone” (“Proceedings,” vol. viii. p. 102), refers to the practice of inaugurating a chief, by placing a wand in his hand, and quotes (besides Martin, p. 102) O'Donovan's “Customs of Hy Fiachrach,” p. 451, where, among the requisites of a legitimate instalment or inauguration of an Irish chieftain, are found the following :—

“5. That after taking the oath to observe laws and maintain custom, the chief laid aside his sword and other weapons, upon which the historian of the district, or some other person whose proper office it was, handed him a straight white wand, as a sceptre and an emblem of purity and rectitude, to indicate that his people were to be so obedient to him that he required no other weapon to command them.

“7. That after the foregoing ceremonies were performed, one of the sub-chiefs

The last memorable gathering of the warlike type which took place in Eigg, was when Sir James Macdonald, who had just escaped from durance in Edinburgh Castle, met Coll M'Gillespie before their invasion of Isla and Cantyre in the year 1614—their last effort to make head against the growing predominance of the Argyles. The ceremony with which Sir James was received has been frequently described.¹

But perhaps the most notorious fact in the history of Eigg is the smothering of the whole of its inhabitants, in a cave, where they had hidden themselves, and were, on being discovered, smoked to death by their enemies.²

Considering how generally accepted and well-known this story is, it is curious to find how difficult it is to determine its date or to decide with certainty on whom the odium of this deed should lie.

The popular tradition ascribes the crime to Alaister Crotach, the well-known Macleod of Harris, who figured conspicuously in the history of the Hebrides from about 1490 to 1545, and whose infirmity, from which he derived the name of Crotach, is said to have resulted from an injury received in Eigg on an earlier expedition than that with which his memory is so unfavourably associated.

On the other hand, we find that in 1588 the inhabitants of the island were totally destroyed by Maclean of Duart. He was indicted by the Lord Advocate on a specific charge—to which he pled guilty—that when the "Florida," one of the Spanish Armada, was at Tobermory, he, with a party of a hundred Spaniards, sailed to the Small Isles and harried the four islands of Eigg, Rum, Muck, and Canna, burning the whole inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. The Records of the Privy Seal contain a remission granted to Maclean of the consequences of this act.

The oldest reference I have been able to find to any such event, except

pronounced his surname without the Christian name in a loud voice, after whom it was pronounced in succession by the clergy according to their dignity, and by his sub-chiefs and freeholders according to their respective ranks."

Have we in the *Leabhar Dearg*, in the mention of Donald being called "M'Donald," a trace of the custom of saluting a new chief by omitting his Christian name?

¹ "Gregory," p. 368.

² This cave is called *Uamha Raing*—a name of which no reasonable explanation has been given. These words are generally translated the Cave of Francis,—an etymology which connected them with the local physical features or with the event which occurred would be more in accordance with Gaelic topography.

in the judicial records, is in one of the MSS., belonging to the collection of Sir Robert Sibbald, in the Advocates' Library, in which the massacre is attributed to "M'Leod of Haris,"—the inhabitants "being in war against him for that tyme." In the account of the Hebrides, preserved in Sibbald's own handwriting, Macleod is not mentioned, but a specific date is given, and the precise number of victims stated.

" . . . Yr are many caves under y^e earth in y^e isle whilk the country people retire to with their *goods* when invaded which proved fatal to y^m in y^e yeer 1577 where 395 persons, men, wyfes, and bairns, were smoared with putting fyre to y^e caves."

Sibbald is known to have commenced making his collections about 1680, and he died in 1704. Martin, who published his book on the Western Isles in 1703, makes no mention of the tragedy, although he speaks of a large cave on the south side of the Island.

The story, as popularised by Sir Walter Scott and others, seems to have been first given to the world in Sir John Sinclair's statistical account in the end of the eighteenth century. It would be rash at once to reject the generally accepted tradition; but it is difficult to reconcile it with the real evidence as to Maclean of Duart and his Spaniards. It is not easy to believe that twice within a few years the whole population should have been destroyed by fire; and assuming the date, 1577, not to be a mere mistake for 1587, it would be more than thirty years after the death of Alaister Crotach.

Turning now to the antiquities of the island, and first as to those of Christian times.

The island can boast of few ecclesiastical remains, although its topography is strongly marked by its connection with the church.

There is the farm of Kildonan deriving its name from the church of the saint and martyr of the island. Another farm, Galmisdale, is in old titles called Callumscoull, which it has been suggested might be a corruption of Callum's (Columba's) school or his hole.

Several spots are known as set apart for the priest as "Airidh an t-sagairt," Cuith an t-sagairt.

The mound mentioned by Martin¹ as "Martin Dessil" is well known,

¹ Western Isles, p. 277.

and the custom referred to of walking round it sun-ways was only recently given up.

The memory of the existence of many crosses here as in other West Highland districts is preserved in such names as Druim na Cross at Houlin on the north-west of the island, and Cross Morag at Gruline on south, while near the old Chapel of St Donan two fields are known respectively as Cross More and Cross Beg.

Martin makes mention of several holy wells, and it is curious that in several of the ancient Irish MSS. when the name Ega occurs, the gloss "*fons*" is interlined. Whatever may have been the case in Martin's time, there is no well now known as dedicated to St Donan, but one about a quarter of a mile west from the ruins of the chapel, known as the Well of St Donan's Altar, where tradition has it that he used to celebrate divine service.

In the north end of the island at Cleadale is the Well of Callum Ceile; and near Cross Morag is Toper na Beanmha, the well of the saints; and still a mile further west the well of St Catherine, believed in Martin's day to be "a catholicon for diseases," and very lately reputed good for the falling sickness, but of which the neighbours were afraid to drink lest the waters should communicate to the whole the malady of which it had cured the sick.

"There is a church here," says Martin, "on the east side of the isle, dedicated to St Donnan." The walls, long roofless, still stand, except the upper half of the east end. It is without architectural features. There is a square-headed south door, and two very small lancet windows near the east end. It has long been used by the Roman Catholics as a burying-ground, unbaptised infants being buried outside along the north wall of the chapel. It contains one or two stones of the usual type, known in the west as "Iona stones." There is also a small, erect tomb-stone, with a cross, which has been figured by Muir.

Let into the wall on the north side of the altar is a round-headed tomb, belonging to the old Morar family, a branch of the Clanranalds, to whom part of the island for some time belonged. On the wall of this tomb there is a shield, and over it a cipher. Without attempting to determine who is intended to be designated by the cipher, it may be mentioned that the tomb is said to contain the bones of the prince of pipers, Raonall MacAilein

Oig, the author of the most celebrated pipe music in existence. He was a man of powerful frame and great personal courage and resource, and



Fig. 1. Recessed Tomb with Sculptured Slab, in the Church of St Donan, Eigg.

many of his pibrochs are known to have been composed as records of exploits in which he was personally engaged. This tomb affords an interesting example of Celtic notions of heraldry. It bears date 1641. The earliest Clanranald shields, which I happen to have seen, are on two seals engraved by Laing, in both of which is a hand on the left, and a galley

on the right, with a tree in the centre.¹ The Clanranald arms are found in the first volume of records in the Lyon Office, 1672, and the shield rudely sculptured on this tomb is arranged as if a quartered shield were intended to be represented, and contains all the elements of the matriculated shield—a hand grasping a cross crosslet in the first quarter, in the third a galley. There springs from the base a tree like a laurel, stretching to the top of the shield, with a bird on the highest branches. A lion and a castle occupy the places of the second and fourth quarters respectively, and between the galley and the castle there is what might be either the ground out of which the tree springs, or more probably the fish so common on Macdonald shields. From the matriculated shield the castle has disappeared, but it is used as a crest, while the tree, now surmounted of an eagle, is reduced to heraldic conventionality, and occupies the fourth quarter, the lion getting the first, and the hand holding the cross crosslet the second, the lymphad retaining the third, with a salmon under it.

After mentioning the church, Martin proceeds: "About thirty yards from the church there is a sepulchral urn under ground; it is a big stone hewn to the bottom, about four feet deep, and the diameter of it is about the same breadth. I caused them to dig the ground above it, and we found a flat, thin stone covering the urn. It was almost full of human bones, but no head among them, and they were fair and dry."

About 60 yards north of the chapel there now is a stone *basin*, rather than urn, covered, as that mentioned by Martin, with a flat thin stone of a different description from that out of which the basin is hollowed. The measurements given by Martin are quite inaccurate, if he is speaking of that now alluded to. The inside depth is but 6 inches at the sides, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the centre. The thickness of the sides at the upper edge is 3 inches, and the width over all at the brim is $36\frac{1}{2}$ inches measured in one direction, and $35\frac{1}{2}$ when the diameter is taken at right angles to the previous measurement. Similarly, the greatest internal diameter at the brim is $28\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the least $27\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It contained both earth and bones when I saw it last. This basin is now popularly reputed to contain the bones of St Donnan, yet that belief could hardly have existed in Martin's day without being noticed by him; and if

¹ Laing's "Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals," p. 113.

"combustio" was a true description of the martyrdom, the bones I saw were not St Donnan's. Moreover, the *reliquiæ* of the saint were translated to Auchterless very possibly for fear of desecration by the Northmen, and there also, down to the Reformation, was preserved his "baculus," "qui circumlatus a febris et morbo regio medebatur."¹

[Mr Anderson, the assistant-secretary of the Society, having come to Eigg in August last, and having expressed much surprise at the description of the stone urn as utterly different from anything he had seen of a sepulchral character, we resolved to examine the stone anew.

It lies so near the surface of the ground that it, or at least the flat thin stone that covers it, had been quite recently struck by the plough. Its site was pointed out by the ploughman, and we immediately had it dug round and measured.

On removing the thin red slab which covered it, we found a large basin of whitish sandstone (fig. 2), roughly chiselled into a circular form, and hollowed out also somewhat roughly into a circular form. The only portion that has been smoothed is the edge. The inside is hollowed out not quite perpendicularly, and the bottom is about an inch and a half deeper in the centre than at the sides, except where it has been perforated by an opening two inches wide at the inside and three at the outside. In digging round it we found some charcoal, a few small shells, and sea-rolled pebbles.

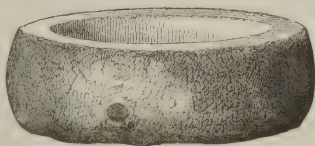


Fig. 2. Basin of Sandstone, probably an Ancient Font, now containing human bones, at Kildonan (36½ inches in diameter).

It was full to the brim of ordinary earth, and contained a few fragments of human bones, say ten or a dozen. Among these the shafts of two *femora* and one *ulna* and *radius* were still recognisable. It by no means answered the description of Martin, 170 years ago, of being full of bones. The fragments were all replaced, and the vessel with its covering stone restored to the earth as deep as the nature of the subsoil would permit,

¹ "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," Spald. Club, p. 505. Another stone urn is said to exist in the same locality.

marking the site by placing over it a long sea-rolled stone elliptical in form, about 22 inches in length and 10 in breadth. This, too, had been turned up by the plough on the same spot, and re-called the stone known as St Columba's pillow.

The conclusion we arrived at was that the stone had probably been a font at one time, or possibly a piscina, however it came to have had these bones deposited in it. With reference to the finding of charcoal and sea pebbles and shells as indicative of a sepulchral practice, it is proper to mention that Mr Allan Macleod, the innkeeper—now about eighty years of age—informs me that he remembers that this hollow stone and another made of the stone of Seuir—which contained many more bones—having both been found in the way of the plough, were dug up and removed to the edge of the field, but a few yards off, and there remained exposed to view for many months. My informant cannot say in what year this occurred, but he is sure it was soon after Mr John Macdonald came to be tenant of the farm of Kildonan, which was in 1818. In these circumstances, it can hardly be considered as certain that the place where we now found it was the place of its original deposit.

As to human bones being found where they could not possibly have been placed at the time of sepulture, whoever was some years ago familiar with Highland churchyards, whether in Protestant or Roman Catholic districts, must have been struck with the indifference displayed to the bones of the dead. If any were found in opening a grave, they would frequently be left exposed for years, being placed—say in the window of the old church, if such there was in the churchyard.]

With regard to the articles exhibited to the meeting.

1. The sword handle figured on Plate XXX. was, as far back as I remember, in my father's possession in Aberdeen. Recent inquiries, made through the Rev. J. Sinclair, the parish minister, regarding the finding of it, have elicited the information from a blind old man of very retentive memory, Donald Ban Mackay, that "it was discovered by his brother, Allan Mackay, when levelling a hillock a little below the division fence in the field called Dail Sithean, that is, the field of the tumulus or of the fairies, for the Highlanders called all mounds Sithean, the abode of the Daoine Sith. The spot is well known, half way between the chapel



SWORD-HILT OF THE VIKING TIME, FOUND IN THE ISLAND OF EIGG.

(7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.)

and the rocks to the east. A fine stone for sharpening was beside it. It seems two pieces of the blade were for some years in the possession



Figs. 3, 4, and 5. Ornamentation of Guard, edge of Grip, and Pommel of the Sword-hilt.

of Allan and others. Donald's wife remembers that the discovery took place about forty-eight years ago."

There were also found along with the sword (*a*) a few thin plates of bronze, (*b*) part of a buckle (fig. 6) attached to one of these plates, and probably connected with a sword belt, (*c*) a triangular piece of metal

(fig. 7), as to which Mr Anderson has made the irresistible suggestion that it must have been one of the feet of a large bronze vessel.



Fig. 6. Buckle or Fastener of Belt attached to a thin Plate of Bronze (actual size).

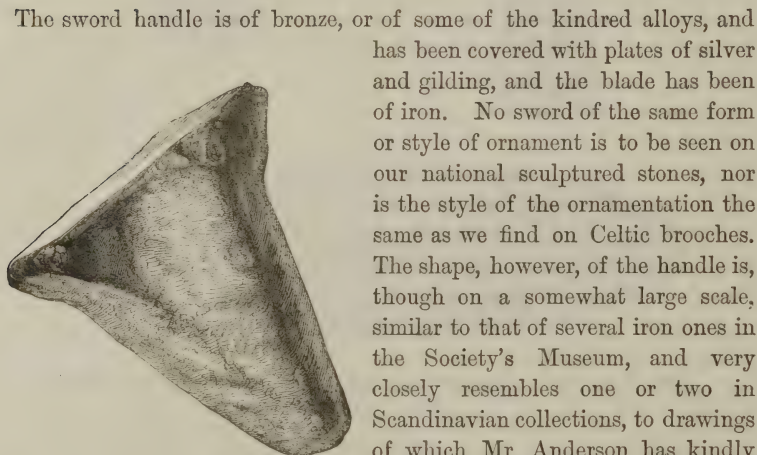


Fig. 7. Foot of large Tripod Vessel of Cast Bronze ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length).

has been covered with plates of silver and gilding, and the blade has been of iron. No sword of the same form or style of ornament is to be seen on our national sculptured stones, nor is the style of the ornamentation the same as we find on Celtic brooches. The shape, however, of the handle is, though on a somewhat large scale, similar to that of several iron ones in the Society's Museum, and very closely resembles one or two in Scandinavian collections, to drawings of which Mr Anderson has kindly directed my attention, more particularly one in the Bergen Museum, found with an axe and hammer of iron in a cairn at Halsenö, another

found in Romsdal, and a third found in Hedemarken, and now in the

Christiania Museum.¹ All of these were found, like this one, in grave-mounds, and the last-mentioned—which has been photographed—bears so very close a resemblance to it both in form and in the manner of distributing the ornaments in alternating panels, that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they belong to the same school of Scandinavian art, although the one now before the Society seems the more elaborately adorned. The accidental removal of the surface of one panel discloses that all the smoother ones are plates of silver, fastened with from two to four rivets, round which circles have been engraved and connected with each other so as to form a sort of *S*-shaped ornament.

From what has been said above of the history of the island it will be seen that remote as it lay, and insignificant as it was in extent, people from the British shores or Scandinavia might have been there on pilgrimage, or going to or returning from piratical expeditions, or special missions to the lords of the isles or the chieftains of Clanranald. So graves may contain relics of prehistoric days, or of any of the races, Irish, English, Saxon, Danish, or Norwegian, or even Spanish, whom adventure or misfortune brought to the west coast. In such circumstances unless the art expended on the sword-handle tells its birth-place, it were in vain to attempt to guess its history.

2. Some five or six hundred yards south from Kildonan were found the corroded fragments of an iron sword and a hone (fig. 8) as in the former case,—portions of a wooden scabbard, the wood with the fibre of cloth impressed on it—small fragments of woollen and linen cloth ornamented with, or at least in close contact with fur,—also a brooch of bronze, more or less silvered, of the well-known Thistle form (fig. 9),

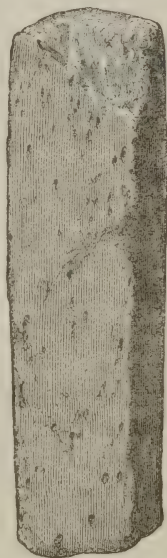


Fig. 8. Whetstone found with the Sword (actual size).

¹ Photographs "Fra Christiania Oldsamling" in the Society's Library.

but without any lines engraved on it to represent the Thistle more perfectly. This I understand is the first brooch of the kind that has been discovered on Scottish soil, as distinguished from that of Orkney.

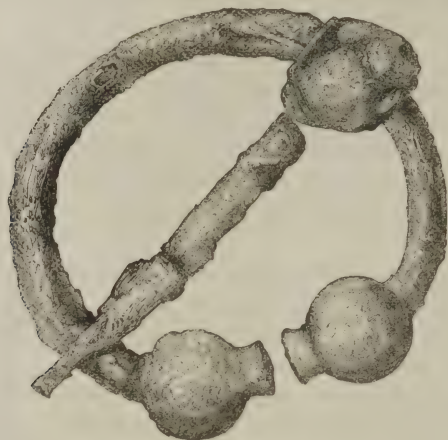


Fig. 9. Brooch of Bronze, silvered
(2½ inches diameter).

These articles were found in a tomb which I commenced opening in October 1875, with the assistance of Mr Arthur Joass, who feels a deep interest in antiquarian research, and has much acquaintance with ancient houses and tombs in Sutherland and other parts of the Highlands. It was after I left that the search was completed. Though the character of the mound was unmistakably sepulchral, a depression in the centre seemed to indicate that the tomb had been at some time disturbed; so it was with agreeable surprise that I heard of the find from Mr Joass, who sent along with the objects discovered a plan and section of the excavation made (figs. 12, 13). He wrote, "I found what I take to be fragments of a Claymore, also a Brooch and ornamental point of a scabbard. Along with the above I found bits of cloth (fig. 10) of coarser and finer texture. The point of the sword was about a foot long, but it went in three pieces when taking it out. There was no body found, only very small fragments of bone. I found no fragments of pottery or of flint. A

side and end of the tumulus seem to me to have been regularly built, and there were stones enough taken out that would have built the other side and end, which makes me think either the sides fell in or it has been disturbed at some other time, and that the large stones formed the boundary of the grave on that side." The object alluded to by Mr Joass (fig. 11) as probably the ornamental point of a scabbard, turns out, on further examination, to be the *agrafe* or fastening of a leathern belt, not unlike those found in Frankish graves of the Merovingian period. A small portion of the leather of the belt is still preserved, but part of the buckle is wanting. Further search and riddling of the soil has disclosed an iron axe-head perforated for a handle; a piece of wood in an iron

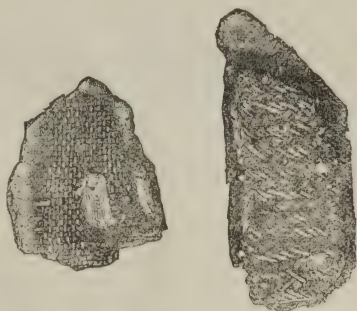


Fig. 10. Specimens of Cloth of coarser and finer texture found in the Tumulus.

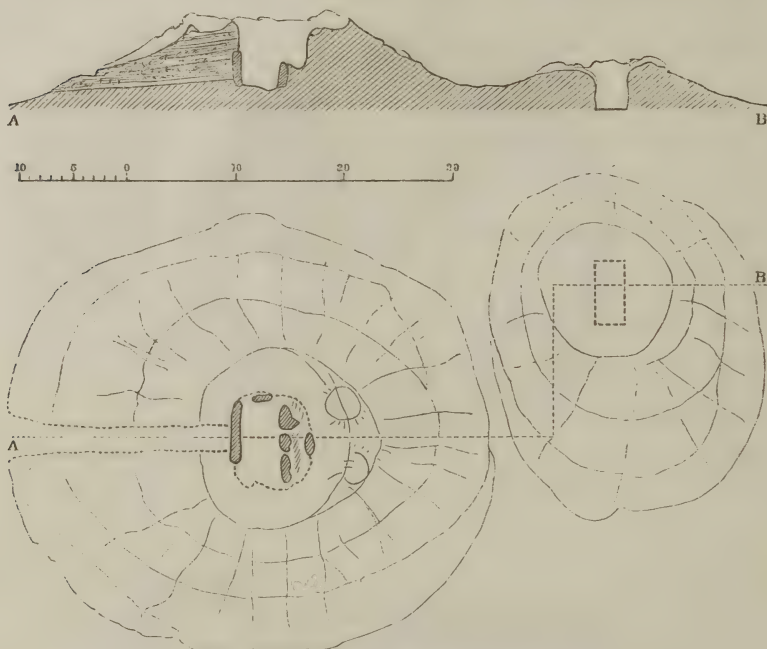


Fig. 11. Agrafe or Belt-Clasp (actual size.)

socket, the iron socket seems to have been pointed and also to have knobs on it, but is much corroded; a portion of a sickle, not unusual in graves of the Viking period, and also an amber whorl and beads.

3. Opening another tomb of much smaller size and but a few yards

farther south, has led to the discovery of another bronze brooch (fig. 14), but of inferior work, some splinters of flint, an iron sword, and beads



Figs. 12 and 13. Plan and Section of Tumuli.

of amber and jet; also a hone much worn with use (fig. 15), and with a hole bored at one end, as if the owner hung it by his girdle as an article he was certain constantly to want.

4. In 1861 some workmen asked leave to take a heap of stones to metal a road about 130 feet above the sea, and nearly a quarter of a mile from it. Being struck with the uniform circular form of the heap, the leave given was limited to taking enough from the outside to disclose the character of the mound. It was soon apparent that they had come upon a circular tomb made to a large extent of sea-rolled boulders filled up with gravel. There were three rows horizontally, and the inner row consisting of two rows

one above the other. In the interior was found a stone cist 16 to 18 inches deep, about 33 inches long, and about 19 inches broad. The sides were



Fig. 14. Bronze Brooch ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter).

made of thin stones; a thick flat rough stone formed the top. The bottom was covered with a fine earthy matter, containing some small pieces of charred bones, but no urn or ornament of any sort was found.



Fig. 15. Whetstone.

In ploughing a field some 250 yards to the west, the flint arrow-head exhibited was found.

5. On a rising ground on the shores of the bay of Laig, on the side of Eigg, next Rum, was a long cairn which bore the name of Sithean or

Sguman-nan-Cailleach. It was not distinguishable from many other heaps formed of stones gathered yearly from the adjacent furrows of cultivated ground. Stones being wanted twenty-five years ago to fill up a newly cut drain, the cairn offered a ready supply ; and the removal of the stones disclosed two cists, or stone coffins, made of flat stones set on edge and laid lengthwise. Some articles of stone and bone are said to have been found in them, but to have been immediately dispersed (the stone hatchet exhibited may have been one). Tradition is silent as to what Cailleach gave name to the mound.

6. The two pieces of carved wood about 6 feet long now exhibited, were



Fig. 16. Stem-Post (?) of a Boat, dug up at Laig (6 feet 4 inches in length).

discovered lying some 30 feet apart by men who were draining a moss also on the west side of the island. Their form at once suggests the idea of their having been the stem and the stern post of a boat ; there was found beside them a piece of wood, but it unfortunately was not preserved, the wood being quite soft when first found, and running in a slanting direction across the line of the drain, was cut across with a spade. It was stated to me that the sharpening of the end of what, until better informed, I shall call the stem, was done with his spade by the man who found it.

These pieces of wood (figs. 16, 17), if they really belonged to a boat, are quite different from anything that has hitherto been found in mosses. The stem has been carefully formed by some sharp instrument, and it evidently points not to a canoe but to a boat built of planks ; but instead of the planks being fixed on the outside of the stem, they seem to have been intended to be fastened inside so as to be protected by it as by a guard.¹

¹ It is stated that in some Yorkshire villages the stems of the fishing-boats are protected by sheathing on this principle.

The planks might have been nailed together, sharpened to a point, and inserted in the groove made in the stem, and what is called an apron could then have been put inside the planks and the whole bolted together; but it will be observed that there is no mark of any perforation either for nails or pegs or for thongs. The piece of wood which appears designed for the stern-post has never been so carefully finished as the other, probably the planks would have been attached to it in the ordinary way—no guard was needed. Clearly it was intended to rise like the stem two notches above the highest plank. It may be that the third piece of wood was intended for a keel, that the stem had been got ready, and the stern-post was in course of preparation when the operation was interrupted by some of the calamities which befell the island.

Hardly less interesting than these pieces of timber themselves is the fact of their having been found where they were.

Extending from the sea below the farmhouse of Laig is a low tract little above high-water mark, and once a moss. It is about half a mile long from west to east, and about quarter of a mile broad from north to south. It is separated from the sea by a ridge consisting chiefly of gravelly soil, rising gently from the sea-level at the west to from 30 to 50 feet at the east. At the west end, close by the sea, are parallel ridges of rolled shingle, storm-barriers, cast up by the waves—those next the sea without vegetation, those further removed now grass-grown. It used to be said that the whole flat was formerly a lake, which the Norsemen used as a winter harbour for their galleys; while a gap in the ridges of shingle, probably an old water channel, was pointed out as the canal by which they

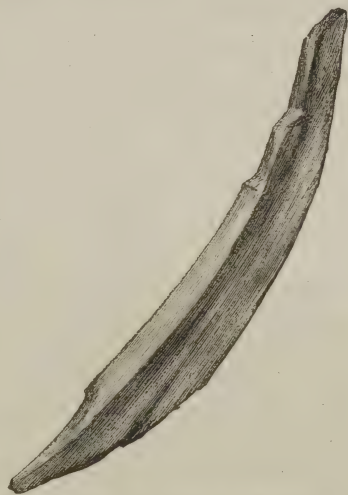


Fig. 17. Stern-Post (?) of a Boat, dug up at Laig (6 feet 7 inches in length).

drew them to the lake. In confirmation of this theory, a rock was pointed to which is called "Sron na laimhrig," or the landing-point. This rock, from the sea, looks quite unimportant, and is not of use either in guiding to a safe anchorage or in enabling any danger to be avoided; but its name derives new meaning from the discovery of the remains of the boat.

7. With the view to improving the outfall of the drains referred to, the channel of a stream, which has worked its way through the gravel where some 20 or 30 feet high, was being deepened and widened. The workmen came upon (a) the under jaw of a pig, (b) the antler of a deer, (c) a flat annular brooch of bronze, of singularly simple form, and unadorned.

I am not aware of any feature about the brooch that fixes its age, but it is of a late type.

There is still in the island an old blind man¹ who chaunts Ossianic poetry, never yet published, which he received by tradition. It would have been interesting to think that some of the wild boars and stags hunted by Fingal's dogs had been come upon. But of red deer there is not even a tradition, unless their memory be lithographed in a rock known as Cnoceildeig, or the Hillock of the young hind. My colleague Professor Turner, who has examined the pig's jaw, thinks it is probably that of a domestic pig, although, from the animal not having attained its full dentition, he cannot say with a feeling of absolute certainty that it may not have been a wild boar.

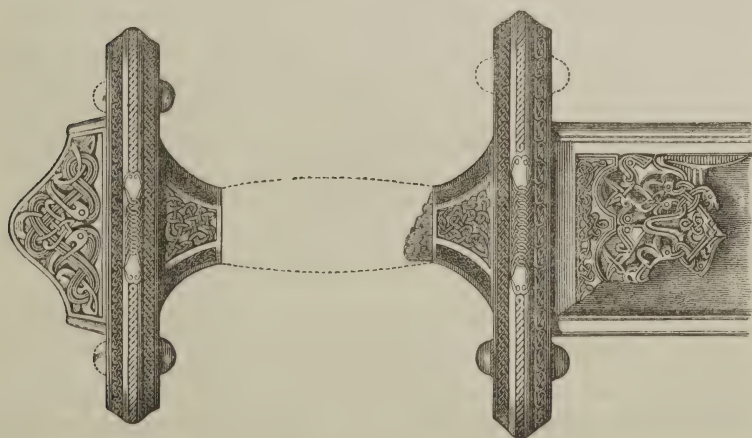
Thus have we glimpses of island history for a thousand years, from the martyrdom of St Donnan to the death of Ranald the piper. But who can assign their true dates to the flint, the iron, the bronze, the amber, the jet, the timber, not one of them products of the island²—probably not even one of them wrought by an island artificer,³ for it is more than likely that the boat-builder was a Norseman; yet they are not only all found in the island, but specimens of each are discovered in a single tomb.

¹ While this paper was passing through the press, this interesting old man died.

² Perhaps the arrow-head may not be flint, but formed of agate or chalcedony, which are found in the island.

³ The name of a little glen, "Lag a Gow," the smith's hollow, suggests a qualification of this remark, and may point to the time when the use of arms was so universal that the smith must have been an important artificer. There is also a rill of water known as the burn of the tanner. Both names may, however, be of quite modern origin.

These few remarks are suggested by the articles exhibited, but it would take a long time to describe all the traces of ancient life in this or any other locality. There are many artificial circular mounds unexplored; several stone monuments unsculptured, but doubtless recording some event in the island history; two circles of stones, either "Druidical" on a small scale, or indicating the sites of wooden tent-like huts; two enclosures on points of rock formerly insulated at high water, and one bearing the name of Ru na Crannag, indicating the days when the stockaded island castle was important, whether the water surrounding it was salt or fresh, as in the case of the cranogs that have recently attracted so much attention. There is at least one fresh-water dwelling, that above alluded to. But it is needless to enumerate them or suggest the existence of other such objects of interest till they have been explored and their true character ascertained.



Sword-hilt found in a Grave-Mound at Ultuna, Sweden.

MONDAY, 8th April 1878.

DR JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentleman was duly elected a Corresponding Member of the Society :—

Rev. JAMES GAMMACK, A.M., The Parsonage, Drumlithie.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

(1.) By ROBERT CARFRAE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., *Curator of the Museum.*

Pair of Bowl-shaped or Tortoise Brooches, of the Viking period, from Norway. These brooches are similar in size and form to that figured in the "Proceedings," vol. x. p. 551, which was found in a grave at the Longhills, near Wick in Caithness, except that they have only seven instead of eight perforated bosses. The bosses are disposed in two groups of three each, on the ends of the oval upper portion of the brooches, equidistant from the central boss on the apex of the brooch. The place of the middle bosses on the side of the Longhills brooch is supplied in these specimens by an engraved ornament representing two dragonesque figures. These brooches were brought from Christiania in 1872, and were dug up from a Viking grave-mound in that district of Norway.

(2.) By MR ALEXANDER THOMSON, farmer, Cleughhead, Glenbervie, through Rev. JAMES GAMMACK, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Oval Hammer of a Granite Stone, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. The ends are slightly flattened, and the implement is perforated for the handle in the centre, the perforation being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, and nearly of equal width throughout. It was found with burnt bones in a cist on the farm of Cleughhead, Glenbervie. (See the subsequent communication by Rev. James Gammack, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot.)

(3.) By Colonel BALFOUR, of Balfour and Trenaby, F.S.A. Scot.

Portion of the Hilt End of an Iron Sword of the Viking period, 9 inches long, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide in the blade.

Portion of an Iron Spear-head.

Axe-head of Iron, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, double-edged.

Comb of Bone, with bronze rivets and ornamentation of concentric circles.

Bronze Pin, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, with flat nail-like head, and having a band of chevrony ornamentation round the middle.

Bronze Bodkin, 2 inches long, pointed at both ends, and swelling to the eye, which is oblong, and situated at about three-fourths of the length of the implement from its point.

Bone Pin, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, broken.

Implement of Deer-horn, made from the end of a tine of the horn, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, having a notch on the inner side within an inch and a half of the point, and pierced at the wide end with a short hole in the centre, emerging at the side in a hole like that of a whistle.

Bone Implement, like a knife-handle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Bone Implement, made of the leg bone of a sheep, perforated by a small hole in the centre.

Bone Implement, 4 inches in length, perforated in the one end by a round hole about a quarter of an inch in diameter.

Three Spindle-Whorls of Stone, from 2 inches to an inch in diameter.

One Spindle-Whorl of Lignite, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter.

All found in digging at Lamaness, Sanday, Orkney.

(4.) By JAMES URQUHART, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Celt of Serpentine, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, roughly made and polished, found in the valley of Tingwall, near Scalloway, Shetland, in the end of last century. It was acquired by the donor from an aged peasant woman in Scalloway, who believed it to be a "thunderbolt," and of efficacy in averting evil from the dwelling in which it was kept.

(5.) By the KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. XI. 8vo. 1877.

VOL. XII. PART II.

2 Q

(6.) By the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Sussex Archæological Collections relating to the History and Antiquities of the County. Vol. XXVIII. 8vo. 1878.

(7.) By A. FITZGIBBON, Esq., M.R.I.A.

Unpublished Geraldine Documents. No. 4. The Sept of the Old Knight. 8vo. 1878. Privately printed.

(8.) By the Right Hon. the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Matthæi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora. Vol. IV. Imp. 8vo. 1877. Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1586-1588. Imp. 8vo. 1877.

There were also exhibited :—

(1.) By WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Esq., of Ballinaby, Islay.

The contents of two Viking Graves, found at Ballinaby, Islay (subsequently presented to the Museum by Mr Campbell) consisting of :—

From Grave No. 1.—Iron Sword in its Sheath. Iron Boss of a Shield, with its Bronze Handle. Iron Spear-head, and the Ferule of its Shaft. Two Axes, Hammer, Forge-tongs, Adze. The Bow-handle of an Iron Pot, and fragments of the Pot; and the other fragments, probably of a Helmet.

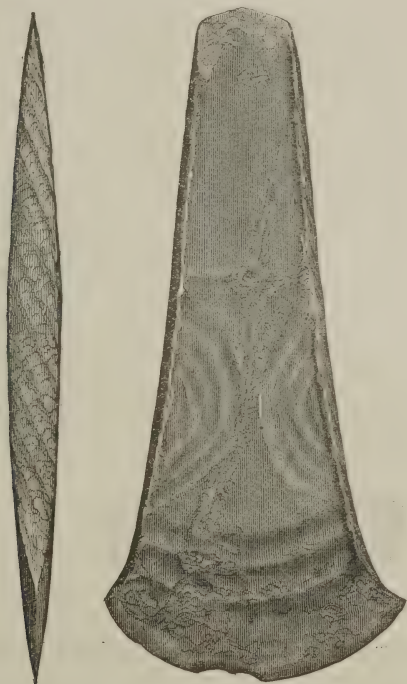
From Grave No. 2.—Pair of Bronze Tortoise or Bowl-shaped Brooches, finely ornamented with twisted silver wire, and their Pins. Portions of three large double Discs of Silver, connected by a Band, and ornamented with circular rows of Bosses. Silver Hair-pin, with round head, ornamented with filagree work. Silver Chain, of plaited or knitted Wire. Hemispherical lump of Glass, used for smoothing linen; and a number of enamelled Glass Beads. Needle-case of Bronze, silver-plated, and Needle of Bronze within it. Ladle of thin beaten Bronze, 17½ inches long. (See the subsequent communication by Mr Anderson, for the description and figures of the several objects in this interesting collection.)

(2.) By JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, M.D., Sec. S.A. Scot.

War Clubs, Native Pottery, and Wig of human hair, &c., from Fiji.

(3.) By the Lady JOHN SCOTT, Lady Associate, S.A. Scot.

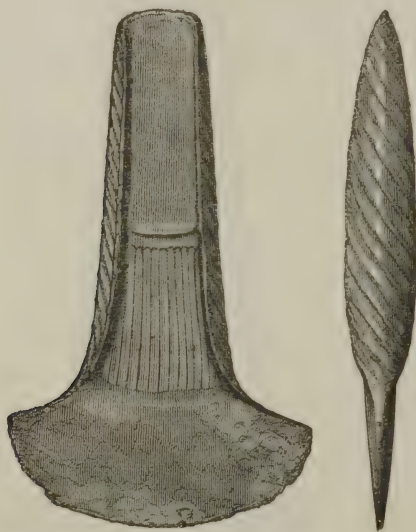
A Bronze Celt, peculiarly ornamented, found at Greenlees, near Spottiswoode, Berwickshire. It measures 7 inches in length, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across



Bronze Celt from Greenlees (7 inches in length).

the widest part of the cutting face, and has slight flanges on the sides, and a slight stop-ridge about a third from the top. Each of its flat faces

is ornamented by a peculiar pattern produced by hammering. Three concentric segmental hollows have been hammered in the surface parallel to each other and to the convexity of the cutting edge; and, immediately above them, three concentric hollows, which are segments of circles whose common centre is a little outside of the edge of the implement, fill up the space between the stop-ridge and the ornament on the lower part of the celt. Above the stop-ridge are slight traces of an ornament of thickly-set parallel hammer marks. On the rounded edges is an ornament of oblique lines. Instances of celts with hammer-marked ornamentation of zigzag or parallel lines are not uncommon, and the celt from Applegarth here



Bronze Celt from Applegarth ($5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length)

figured¹ and now in the Museum is a good example of its class. But the Greenlees Celt is the only one which exhibits segmental designs,

¹ The woodcut of the Applegarth celt is contributed by Mr John Evans, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., from his forthcoming work on the Bronze Age.

or an approach to the system of ornamentation in concentric circles so common among continental bronzes, usually ascribed to the later period of the Bronze Age.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE LETTERS PATENT SAID TO HAVE BEEN GRANTED BY KING WILLIAM THE LION TO THE EARL OF MARR IN 1171. By WILLIAM F. SKENE, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

This deed was first made known by the learned antiquary John Selden, who printed it in his "Titles of Honor" (p. 700) to illustrate his remarks upon the title of Thane. It is in the form of letters patent, and not of a charter; and is addressed by William, King of Scots, to all bishops, earls, abbots, priors, barons, knights, thanes, and provosts, and all other good men of the whole land, as well cleric as laic. It then narrates that Morgund, son of Gillocher, formerly Earl of Marr, had come before the king at Hindhop Burnemuthe, in his new forest, on the tenth day of the calends of June, in the year of grace 1171, demanding his right to the whole earldom of Marr, before the common council and army of the kingdom of Scotland there assembled: that the king had caused inquisition to be made into his claim by several men worthy of credit, who were barons and thanes of his kingdom, and who found that Morgund was the lawful son and heir of the said Gillocher, Earl of Marr; upon which the king granted and restored to Morgund the whole earldom of Marr, in which his father Gillocher had died vest and seized, to be held by the said Morgund and his heirs of the king, and his heirs in fee and heritage, with all pertinents, liberties, and rights, as freely, quietly, fully, and honourably as any other earl in the kingdom of Scotland; he and his heirs rendering to the king and his heirs the "*forinsecum servitium videlicet servitium Scoticanum*," as his ancestors had been wont to render to the king and his ancestors. Further, on the same day and at the same place, after doing homage before the common council of the kingdom, the said Morgund demanded that right should be done him for the whole

earldom of Moray, in which Gillocher his father had died vest and seized; upon which petition, inquisition having been made by several men worthy of credit, who were barons, knights, and thanes of the kingdom, they found that Morgund was the true and lawful heir of the earldom of Moray; and because at that time the king was engaged in the heavy war between him and the English, and the men of Moray could not be subjected to his will, he was unable to do justice to Morgund, he promised that, when he could terminate the war between him and his enemies, and subjugate the rebels of Moray, he would well and truly recognise the right of Morgund and his heirs to the earldom of Moray. And in order to certiorate to others this deed, the king gave these letters patent to the said Morgund. They then conclude with these words: "*Teste meipso eodem anno die et loco supradieto.*" This is undoubtedly a very remarkable production, if genuine; and Selden adds: "I have it writ in parchment in a hand of the time wherein it is dated, but without any seal to it." It is referred to by Lord Hailes in his additional case for the Countess of Sutherland, without any doubt being expressed as to its authenticity; and no suspicion seems to have attached to it till the late George Chalmers assailed it in 1819 in a paper printed in the nineteenth volume of the "*Archæologia*" (p. 241). In this paper he proposes to show that this document is supposititious. He states his objections to it under nine heads, and concludes that Selden had been imposed upon with a spurious deed. His first objection relates to the orthography of the document; the second to the formula of the address; the third to the history of the earldom; the fourth to the minuteness of the date; the fifth to the received services; the sixth to the claim to the earldom of Moray; the seventh to the allusion to the war with England; the eighth to the form of letters patent; and the ninth to the words "*teste meipso*," which is peculiar to letters patent as distinguished from charters, which at this period invariably have a list of witnesses. The form "*teste meipso*" first occurs, he says, in 1190.

Professor Cosmo Innes, in his preface to the first volume of the "*Acts of Parliament*," alludes to this document, "the authenticity of which," he says, "however, is very doubtful"; and he prints it in a note with the following remarks: "Selden's authority is not lightly to be rejected; and some of the reasons against the genuineness of this charter, urged by

the late Mr Chalmers in a paper in the 'Archæologia,' founded on the spelling, &c., are of no weight. But it is open to serious objections, whether we consider the narrative or the occasion, and the time and place of its granting and the manner of testing. For instance, it is almost certain that in 1171 there was no war with England. On the other hand, it is difficult to devise a motive for inventing such a document. If it should be considered a very early forgery, it is scarcely less important than if admitted to be genuine" (p. 13). Professor Innes' authority on such a question is of course very great; and not less so is that of the late Dr Joseph Robertson. He says, in the "Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," vol. iv. p. 691, that "Earl Morgund is said to have been the son of Gillocher, Earl of Marr. But this rests only on the letters patent of King William the Lion, first printed by Selden, which I think it is impossible to receive as authentic. The facts which they set forth may perhaps be true in part, but as a whole I don't see how they are to be reconciled with what is elsewhere recorded on undoubted authority. Nor do I think that the letters can be successfully defended from the objections to them on other grounds—such as their style, the time and place of granting, and the manner of testing. I must, therefore, believe them to be spurious. It is obvious, at the same time, that they were forged at an early period. The learned and accurate Selden thought them to be in a hand of the time, and they seem to be alluded to in the year 1291. They may have been forged at that time, or more probably during the contests for the earldom of Marr between the earl in possession and Thomas Durward before 1228, and between Earl William and Alan Durward in 1257. These contests supply what seems to have been thought wanting—'a motive for inventing such a document.'"

In the main I concur with the opinions of the late Professor Innes and Dr Joseph Robertson, and especially with that of the latter, which shows his usual acuteness and sagacity. I consider that the first and second objections made by Chalmers have no weight. With regard to the third, which is that the deed is inconsistent with the known history of the earldom, there is good reason for thinking that some such transaction really took place; for Sir Francis Palgrave prints, in his "Documents and Records relating to the Affairs of Scotland," preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer, an appeal prepared in the name of the seven

earls of Scotland, and of the community of the realm, to Edward the First of England, which concludes with the following memorandum: "That when William, King of Scotland, restored to Morgund, son of Gylocery, the predecessor of the Lord Dovenald, Earl of Marr, this earldom of Marr, according as the same is contained in a writing which Dovenald, Earl of Marr, possesses, there was wanting then to the said Morgund, and there is still wanting to the earl, three hundred pound land, partly in domain and partly in holdings and more, for which he claims that right should be done him" (Palgrave, p. 21). The writing here referred to seems to have been this very deed. The fourth and fifth objections have also no weight. Hindhop Burnemuthe is a hamlet on the coast about five or six miles south of Berwick, and there is no improbability in there having been a royal forest there while Northumberland belonged to the Scottish king. With regard to the sixth objection, that the Earl of Marr could have no claim to the earldom of Moray, the documents printed by Sir Francis Palgrave, in connection with the competition for the crown, do show that the earl at that time did claim to represent the earldom of Marr; for in the same document Dovenald, Earl of Marr, appeals in name of himself as one of the seven earls of Scotland, and *in name of the freemen of Moray*, and the other relations, connections, and friends of the said earl. But while I reject all these grounds of objection as not conclusive, I am obliged to admit that the seventh objection, which relates to the allusion to the war with England, and to insurrection in Moray, is fatal to the authenticity of the deed. The war with England did not commence till two years afterwards, in 1173; and the insurrection in Moray broke out after the captivity of the king in 1174, and Moray continued in a state of rebellion from that year till 1181. But during the first eight years of King William's reign he was at peace with England, and there was no appearance of the royal authority not having been recognised in Moray. Unfortunately it is during this period that the supposed letters patent are dated. Then as to the last two objections, which relate to the form of the deed as letters patent, and form of the testing, "*teste meipso*," there is no instance, so far as I am aware, of this form being used at as early a period as the reign of William the Lion.

It is somewhat remarkable, that while these distinguished antiquaries

were discussing the question of the authenticity of the letters patent as printed by Selden, it seems never to have occurred to any of them to endeavour to ascertain what became of the original, which Selden said he possessed, and whether it might not be recovered. Selden left his papers to Sir Matthew Hale, and Hale left his to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, by whom they were deposited in their library. The search was therefore not a difficult one, and on examining these papers the so-called original was at once found. I have had it photographed by the autotype process, and now present a copy to the Society. It is undoubtedly a very old document, but not so old as the reign of King William the Lion. The handwriting is, I think, that of the early part of the reign of King Alexander the Third, and it must have existed prior to the document printed by Sir Francis Palgrave already quoted. In this reign, too, there are frequent specimens of deeds in the form of letters patent with the form of "teste meipso." Three of them are printed in the National MSS. of Scotland, Nos. 62, 63, and 64, and dated respectively in 1261, 1275, and 1282, and if the handwriting is compared it will be seen at once that this document belongs to the same period. The Earl of Marr at this time was William, grandson of Morgund, by his son Duncan. He was one of the most powerful barons of Scotland at the time, and was chamberlain of Scotland in 1252. He was one of those who were removed from the administration of affairs in Scotland at the instance of King Henry the Third of England in 1255, being replaced, among others, by Alan Durward. He was recalled to the king's council in 1257, and took a leading part in Scotland till the year 1273, when he appears to have died. Now we find that in 1257 a question was raised between Alan Durward and William, Earl of Marr, as to the right of the latter to the earldom. A Papal rescript issued in that year, directing an inquest to be held, proceeds on the narrative that "Our beloved son the nobleman Alan called the Dorrward hath signified to us that, whereas the nobleman William of Marr of the diocese of Aberdeen hath withheld the earldom of Marr of right belonging to the aforesaid Alan, and the same doth occupy to the prejudice of him the said Alan, and that Morgund and Duncan deceased, to whom the said William asserts his succession in the said earldom, were not begotten in lawful matrimony." William, however, remained in possession, and certainly the

production of a charter finding that Morgund was the lawful son and heir of his father, and containing a grant of the earldom to him and his heirs, would be most opportune in determining this question, and, if a genuine deed of this kind did not exist, probably the earl would neither have much difficulty or much scruple in producing one that would pass muster. If the letters patent are a forgery, I think it must have been manufactured about this time, and I am not sure that we have far to seek for the forger. A charter by William, Earl of Marr, confirming a grant by his grandfather, Morgund, in 1267, is witnessed among others by "Magistro Ricardo Veyrement." This Master Richard Veyrement was one of the canons of St Andrews, and I have shown in the introduction to Fordun's Chronicle that he is probably the author of a "Historia" which existed in the Great Register of St Andrews, now lost; and the veritable Veremundus, from whom Hector Boece says he derived a great part of his fabulous history. His connection with William, Earl of Marr, at this very time, and his witnessing a charter confirming a grant by that Morgund whose legitimacy was challenged, certainly leads to the suspicion that the clever manufacturer of these letters patent was no other than the arch forger of the spurious history of Scotland, and that if he had not been unfortunate in the selection of his date, it might even now have escaped detection.

The following is the text of the document :—

Willielmus Rex Scotorum universis Episcopis Comitibus Abbatibus Prioribus Baronibus Militibus Thanis et Praepositis et omnibus aliis probis hominibus totius terrae suae tam clericis quam laicis salutem eternam in Domino : Sciatis presentes et futuri Morgundum filium Gillocheri quondam Comitis de Marre in mea praesentia venisse apud Hindhop Burnemuthe, in mea nova foresta decimo kalendarum Junij Anno Gratiae MCLXXI. petendo jus suum de toto Comitatu de Marre, coram communi Consilio et exercitu Regni Scotiae ibidem congregato. Ego vero cupiens eidem Morgundo et omnibus aliis jura facere secundum petitionem suam jus suum inquisivi per multos viros fide dignos, videlicet per baronias et thanos Regni mei per quam inquisitionem inveni dictum Morgundum filium et haerodem legitimum dicti Gillocheri Comitis de Marre per quod concessi et reddidi eidem Morgundo totum Comitatum de Marre tanquam jus suum haereditarium sicut praedictus Gillocherus pater suus obiit vestitus et saisitus ; Tenendum et habendum eidem Morgundo et haeredibus suis de me et haeredibus meis in feodo et haereditate cum omnibus pertinentis libertatibus et rectitudinibus suis adeo libere quiete plenarie

et honorifice sicut aliquis Comes in Regno Scotiæ liberius quietius plenarius et honorificentius tenet vel possidet; Faciendo inde ipse et hæredes sui mihi et hæredibus meis forinsecum servicium videlicet Servicium Scoticanum sicut antecessores sui mihi et antecessoribus meis facere consueverunt. Eodem vero die et loco post homagium suum mihi factum coram communi Consilio Regni mei prædictus Morgundus petiit sibi jus fieri de toto Comitatu Moraviæ de quo prædictus Gillocherus pater suus obiit vestitus et saisitus super qua petitione sua per quamplures viros fide dignos Barones Milites et Thanos Regni mei inquisitionem facere feci et per illam inquisitionem inveni dictum Morgundum verum et legitimum hæredem de comitatu Moraviæ et quod eodem tempore propter guerram inter me et Anglicos graviter fuisset occupatus et Moravienses pro voluntate mea non potuissem justificare dicto Morgundo nullum jus facere potui. Sed cum guerram inter me et adversarios meos complere et rebelles Moravienses superare potero et dicto Morgundo sibi et hæredibus suis promitto pro me et hæredibus meis fideliter et plenarie jus facere de toto comitatu Moraviæ. Et ut hoc factum meum aliis certificaretur prædicto Morgundo has literas meas dedi Patentis. Teste me ipso eodem anno die et loco supra dicto.

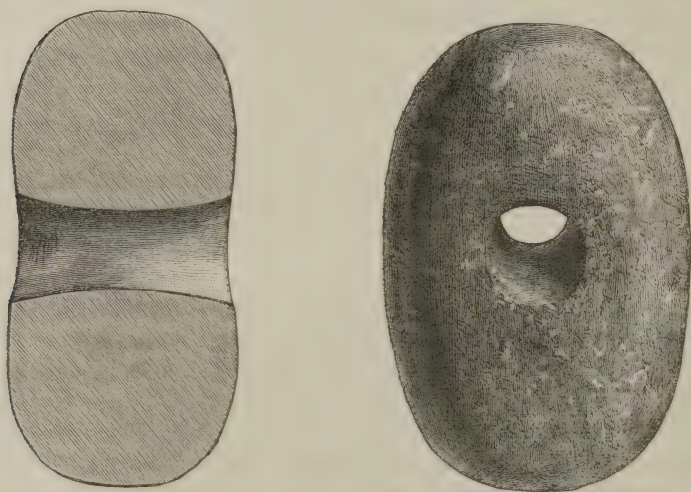
II.

NOTICE OF A CIST RECENTLY DISCOVERED ON THE FARM OF CLEUGH-HEAD, GLENBERVIE, CONTAINING BURNT HUMAN BONES AND A PERFORATED STONE HAMMER. By Rev. JAMES GAMMACK, M.A., CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

On the farm of Cleughhead, in the estate and parish of Glenbervie, a plough at work on lea land, on a southern slope, about three hundred yards from the farm steading, struck upon a hard, resisting substance, which, on being uncovered, proved to be the slab covering a stone cist. On this being opened by the removal of the slab, the cist seemed to be filled with the ordinary mould of the field, but on the end of the pick being brought down upon it without any special force, the pick and mould at once sank down as if an understratum had collapsed. Unfortunately no particular care was taken in the removal of the mould which was afterwards found freely mingled with bones, and when carefully examined about a fortnight after (on March 1st 1878) no trace could be found and no account could be got of how any bone or bones had lain. With the exception of part of the right upper jaw and small

parts of the cranium, and of the larger bones, no distinct traces could be found ; but the mould, which had been shovelled out of the cist, was largely mixed with the comminuted fragments of bone. Such as they are, the chief fragments are herewith sent. There were no teeth seen anywhere.

In the cist, but in what part or position is unknown, as it seems simply to have been turned out among the mould, there was a stone hammer, oblong in form, flat at the ends, which are much narrower than the body, and the whole form smooth and rounded : length, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, width, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; thickness at the eye, which is in the centre, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch ; the diameter of the eye, which is not exactly uniform throughout its length, but shorter in the middle, is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Beyond this stone hammer there was no vessel or implement found, no urn or celt. The



Stone Hammer found in the Cist at Cleughhead ($3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length).

stone hammer, with the fragments of bones, is herewith presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the tenant of the farm, Mr Alexander Thomson.

The cist is formed of slabs, and its length is 24 inches, width 13

inches, and depth 18 inches. The sides, ends, top, and bottom are formed of single slabs; but across the ends, with the inner edges resting upon the end slabs, there are two long narrow slabs, and again at the south-west corner another small broad slab, as if these latter three were required to make up the level of the ends and corner for the reception of the covering slab, and perhaps also in some measure to prevent the covering slab being moved, as the long narrow slabs are considerably longer than the width of the cist, being each 30 inches. The upper slab is a grey granite, 5 inches thick, and of an irregular rhomboidal shape, its extreme length being 3 feet 11 inches, its greatest width 2 feet 5 inches, middle 2 feet one inch, and least 1 foot 10 inches. The north side slab is also of granite 3 inches thick; the south side slab a blue slate 3 inches thick; the end slabs are slate $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick; and the bottom slab also slate 1 inch thick, but this last is broken recently by the stroke of a pick. It had been laid into the bottom of the cist after the sides and ends were placed, and beneath it there was only the shingly soil of the field. The cist lies directly east and west. No cists are known to have been got on or near the same field, or on the farm, but as the soil is probably sinking and other cists may be in the neighbourhood, a close watch is to be kept, and any found are to be at once reported that the contents may be minutely examined.

III.

NOTICE OF THE DISCOVERY OF STONE COFFINS AT CARNOUSTIE, FORFARSHIRE. By ROBERT DICKSON, Esq., SURGEON, CARNOUSTIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Extensive drainage operations in the village of Carnoustie, Forfarshire, have recently brought to light several interesting memorials of the past. The cuttings are from 7 to 5 feet deep and about 2 feet wide, and are in the middle of the streets. On Friday last (March 15, 1878), while excavating in Dundee Street, three stone coffins with human remains were discovered all within a distance of 50 feet. They were lying east and west, and the skeletons within had their feet to the east. The cists were about 5 feet 9 inches in length, formed of very rude slabs of sandstone, the tops

being of somewhat larger pieces than the sides, but there were no stone bottoms to any. The long bones in two cists were in tolerable preservation, as also portions of the skulls, jaws, and teeth. Two of the disinterments were made under my supervision, and I retained the best of the bones. One of the thigh bones is 18 inches long. The westmost cist contained a younger and smaller skeleton than the others—perhaps a female—and it was lying with its face downwards. The skull was perfectly entire when first exposed, but broke into fragments in the attempt to remove it. It was only one foot from the surface of the road, and like the others was imbedded in sand and shingle—the general character of the upper layer of the soil in the neighbourhood. The other cists were about 18 inches below the surface. A few weeks ago another cist with bones enclosed was found not far from those to which I have particularly referred; and I recollect seeing another exposed about twenty-three years ago, when the foundation of one of the houses at the Cross was being cleared. It is likely, therefore, that this particular locality is pretty thickly sown with human remains. In 1810, when a sandy mound was removed to make way for the erection of a small place of worship, not above 400 yards from the Cross, about 30 cists containing human remains were found, and at different times since then, in founding houses in the low part of the village, single cists have been exposed. In one a gold bracelet is said to have been got, and given to the then owner of the soil, the late George Kinloch, Esq. In the cists recently discovered no vessels or implements were seen.

The village of Carnoustie occupies the ground on which Boece states that Malcolm II. fought and defeated the Danish invaders under their general Camus. Our worthy historian is nowhere so minute as in his narrative of this engagement, describing the situation with all the vigour of an eye-witness. Although no written confirmation of Boece's assertions exists, yet he may have been giving what was likely a tradition in the district of which he was a native, and with which he was personally familiar. The tradition regarding the burn of Lochty having run three days with blood is well known; but while the numbers of ancient burials in the vicinity might be adduced in favour of the tradition, it is significant that no weapons of any kind have been found. The larger portion of the village (west of the Cross) has yet to be drained, and I will take care that

any further discoveries brought to light during the progress of operations will be at once made known to me.

MONDAY, 13th May 1878.

PROFESSOR JOHN DUNS, D.D., in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

JAMES BIRRELL, Esq., Uttershill, Penicuik.

JAMES FERGUSON, Esq., D.C.L., 20 Langham Place, London.

WILLIAM MACGILLIVRAY, Esq., W.S.

JOHN H. J. STEWART, Esq., Slodahill, Lockerbie.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were exhibited, and thanks voted to the Donors, viz. :—

(1.) By MRS JOHN STUART.

Twelve large drawings of Sculptured Stones and Crosses, viz. : The Forres Stone, the Dunfallandy Stone, two of the Meigle Stones, and two Irish Crosses.

Also five Diagrams of the Symbols on the Scottish Sculptured Stones.

(2.) By Mr P. COLLIER, 20 Randolph Crescent.

Oval-shaped Spear-head-like Implement of Reddish Flint, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, found at Forglen, Banffshire.

Implement of Bronze of peculiar form, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in width across the cutting face. Implements of this form are rare in Scotland, and this is the only specimen in the Museum. It is unfortunate that no record has been preserved of where it was found.



Bronze Implement (locality unknown).

- (3.) By GEORGE WALPOLE, Esq., through R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Collection of Flint Chips and Flakes from the neighbourhood of Helouan, Egypt. These are found mostly in the neighbourhood of the sulphur springs in that locality. "In all cases," says Mr Walpole, "the flints are found lying on the surface of the desert sand, the wind having left them bare by blowing the finer particles away, and in many cases the sun has chipped or broken pieces out of the manufactured flints. Most of the specimens are small. The largest I know of as having been found was a javelin head. I found along with it a lot of the saws. I have given my best specimens and some of the cores to the Royal Irish Academy." It is to be regretted that specimens of these new forms of perfect implements from such an interesting locality have not accompanied the chips and flakes now presented by Mr Walpole, as an opportunity would thus have been afforded for engraving a representative set of Egyptian flint implements from the originals.

- (4.) By WILLIAM FORBES of Medwyn, Esq., *Foreign Secretary*.

Brass Matrix of a Seal, with the figure of the Virgin and Child, and inscribed "S. FABRICE ECCLESIE METENSIS." (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Forbes.)

- (5.) By JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., Keeper of the Phrenological Museum.

Ball of Clay Ironstone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, having four circular projecting discs. It was found, Mr Henderson states, in or near the Water of Leith a good many years ago, and is the only specimen of the kind known to have been found in the district.

- (6.) By HUGH GORDON LUMSDEN, Esq. of Auchindoir and Clova, F.S.A. Scot.

Toaster or Baking Stone of Sandstone, with the date 1786, from Clova. In general form this implement resembles the one figured in the "Proceedings," vol. xi. p. 351, except that it is not ornamented, and bears the date on the projecting part at the bottom.

- (7.) By the Trustees of the late JAMES WILLIAM FLEMING, F.R.C.S.E.,
Edinburgh, Surgeon-Major, 4th Dragoon Guards.

War Medals, viz. :—Algiers; Jellalabad; Chilianwalla; South Africa; Baltic; Lucknow; and Belgian Medal to British Volunteers, 1866, in silver; Fairfax Medal, in silver; Good Conduct; Admiral Howe; Victory of the Nile; and Captain Cook, in bronze.

- (8.) By Rev. J. O. HALDANE, Minister of Kingoldrum,

Three Sculptured Stones from Kingoldrum, Forfarshire. Two of these are small, upright, cross slabs or head-stones, about 2 feet high and 15 inches broad. One of them bears a cross on one side and symbols on the other. The second has on one side a cross; the other has been defaced. The third is a fragment, with a very rude representation of the Crucifixion. These three stones are figured in the late Dr Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i. plates 49, 89, and 93.

- (9.) By Rev. WILLIAM FRASER, M.A., Minister of Blairgowrie.

Small "Incense Cup" Urn, and fragment of the large Urn in which it was found at Blairgowrie. (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Fraser.)

- (10.) By JAMES CHISHOLM, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Three Ancient Dagger or Dirk Blades, and Skull Cap of Sheet-iron, with lozenge-shaped openings cut out in rows between the straps of which it is composed.

- (11.) By EIRIKR MAGNUSSON, the Author.

On a Runic Calendar, found in Lapland in 1866. 8vo. Cambridge, 1878.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

NOTICE OF THE BRASS MATRIX OF THE FABRIC SEAL OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST STEPHEN AT METZ, NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM. BY WILLIAM FORBES, Esq., FOREIGN SECRETARY.

This matrix was found in the repositories of my brother, the late Bishop of Brechin. None of his friends know either how or when it came into his possession. It is probable that he may have acquired it on one of his occasional visits to Germany. The seal, which is here engraved of the full size, bears an image of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Christ. The Virgin has a flower in her right hand, and around the margin of the seal is the inscription, "S. Fabrice Ecclesie Metensis."



Brass Matrix of the Seal of the Fabric of the Cathedral Church of Metz, obverse and reverse (actual size).

The Cathedral of St Etienne is a noble Gothic edifice, which, although it presents anomalies such as the excessive height of the clerestory, which

Fergusson, our great authority, criticises, still justifies him in saying "that the result, however contrary to the rules of art, is most fascinating." It is cruciform, 370 feet long, 141 high. The nave was completed in 1332. It must have been a beautiful edifice at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many of the monuments, including tombs and painted glass windows, were destroyed in the great Revolution, but one tablet survives—a mural inscription to Pierre Perrat, the architect of the church, who died in 1400. I was at first inclined to think that the seal now exhibited was used by him; I have ascertained, as I shall presently show, that it must have been used at even an earlier date.

Not having directed my own studies to seals, I naturally brought myself into communication with experts, and I will now relate what they say on the subject. Our great Scottish authority, Mr Henry Laing, author of the well-known "Catalogue of Scottish Seals" (Bannatyne Club, 4to, 1850, and supplementary volume), regrets that he is unable to give any definite information regarding this seal. He adds—"I certainly consider it a foreign seal, and from the style of art think it must be assigned to about the fourteenth century, but the inscription is the greatest difficulty. I have never met any similar, and can offer no explanation."

Mr Cochran-Patrick, while saying that he can only offer a conjecture on the question, adds: "Fabrica and fabricatores will be sufficiently explained in Du Cange (ed. 1733, vol. iii. p. 257-9 [fig. 4]), and the seal certainly belongs to Metz, which is often called 'Metis' in early chronicles." He concludes, "I have never seen a seal with 'Fabrica' on it before, and should consider its age as fourteenth or early part of fifteenth century, but this is merely based on the lettering. It may be earlier. In conclusion, I *conjecture* it to have been the official seal of the body connected with the care of the Cathedral of Metz."

Mr Augustus W. Franks, of the British Museum, writes—"The seal, of which you have sent me an impression, is clearly that of the 'works,' (fabrica), of the Cathedral of Metz. It appears to me that the Blessed Virgin holds in her hand a flower, the leaves of which are very plain, though the flower itself is oddly drawn. I should think it must be late fourteenth century work, and it is a nice specimen of its kind."

I next applied to Mr William Stubbs, the professor of history in

Oxford, who is looked upon as a great authority on all matters bearing on his peculiar studies. He writes as follows:—"I have never seen a seal of the kind described, and there is no such seal mentioned in the list of seals given in Chassant's '*Palæography*,' or in my copy of Du Cange. But I think it can be easily accounted for as being the seal which that portion of the Metz chapter which managed the fabric accounts would use for the sealing of all business documents, especially contracts, and receipts for money collected by brief or indulgences. We might describe them as the fabric committee of the chapter, or the '*procuratores*,' as they are sometimes called in the indulgences granted by the bishops for the purpose of collecting money. The fabric was, I think, in ordinary times under the charge of the '*magister officiorum*,' but when any great repairs were wanted it was committed to a special body. As the seal '*ad causas*' was a particular seal for legal business, the seal '*fabricæ*' would be the official seal of this committee. Sometimes, as at Canterbury in 1188, a fraternity was instituted to pray and raise contributions, but I think if this seal had belonged to such a body the inscription would have had some dedicating words upon it. Fabric rolls form a large part of the muniments of old churches, like York, Windsor, and the like, and it is not impossible that there may be fabric seals in England, but I have never heard of any. (1) Copies of indulgences, and (2) receipts, and (3) contracts, would require a special sealing, and may have had a special seal."

The Dean of York also informs me that there is nothing in the registers of the minster there bearing on this type of seal.

Having exhausted all the sources of information open to me in this country, I was enabled through a friend to communicate with the Abbé Kraus, the professor of *Christliche Kunst Archèologie* in the University of Strasburg. He says: "The *Sig. Fab. Eccles. Metensis* is in the original at present preserved in the treasury of Metz Cathedral. I do not remember to have seen impressions of it on any documents, as the old cathedral archives unfortunately exist no longer. In the archives of the *Frauenwerks* at Strasburg there are numerous diplomas with the *Sigillum Fabricæ Ecclesiæ Argentinensis* (the Latin name for Strasburg). One such seal is of the beginning of the thirteenth, another of the fourteenth, century. They are both reproduced in my '*Kunst-Altherthumer in Elsass-*

Lettingen,' 1 vol., Strasburger, Münster, Biologen." It is unfortunate that the British Museum does not possess this book.¹

It would have been an unpardonable omission had I failed to communicate with the ecclesiastical authorities in Metz. I accordingly addressed a letter to the bishop, and received a courteous reply from his chancery secretary, who tells me that his lordship had referred my letter to a learned ecclesiastic, who informed him at a personal interview that the seal in my possession is of the fourteenth century; that it was not the seal of Pierre Perrat, but belonged to the fabric of the cathedral church; and that the original is now preserved, with seven other seals, in the museum of the town. He annexes the following description of these different seals:—

1. *S. Fabrice Ecclesie Metensis.* Sceau de la Fabrique de la Cathédrale de Metz. XIV^e Siècle.

2. *S. Procur Fabrice Eccle . . . ie SCI STE.* Sceau du Procureur de la Fabrique. XIV^e S.

3. *Sigillum Sancti Pauli Metensis Ecclesie. Magnus Scs Paulus.* Sceau du Chapitre de la Cath. de Metz. XIII^e S.

4. *Sancti Pauli Secretum.* Sceau secret du Chapitre, etc.

5. *S. Majoris Eccle Meten Ad Causas Magnus Paulus.* Autre Sceau du Chapitre. XIII^e S.

6. *Sigillum Nobilis Capituli Metensis.* Sceau du Chapitre noble, etc. 18^e Siècle. Écu du Chapitre.

¹ Since this paper was written the Abbé Kraus paid a flying visit to Edinburgh, and visited the Museum, in company with Dr Arthur Mitchell, the secretary. He examined the seal in question, and expressed himself in terms of high admiration of our Museum.

II.

NOTICE OF A BOHEMIAN EXECUTIONER'S SWORD. BY PROFESSOR
DUNS, D.D., F.S.A. Scot.

An interesting chapter of Bohemian history might be written in connection with a notice of the weapon now exhibited ; or we might take it as the starting-point for an inquiry touching Executioners' Swords in general. The former would be out of place at present ; the materials for the latter are scantier than past reading had led me to suppose. It seems to me that only at a comparatively recent date a separate place was assigned to the executioner's weapon among other swords. In decapitation, as in deadly combat, the most effective weapons readiest at hand were earliest pressed into use. Differentiations, to use a zoological term, in the direction of specific varieties, came slowly but surely with growing civilisation, or rather, perhaps, with the growth of artificial refinement. Arranging swords in two groups, namely, (*a*) weapons of war, and (*b*) symbolical weapons, we have the fighting swords of all times and nations—a countless variety, which, however, may be reduced to a few types—and those associated with occasions of state, as the sword of authority, of mercy, or of justice, under which last the executioner's has a place—symbolically as a terror to evil doers, and literally as the instrument of law.

For a good many years past several Bohemian students have come to Scotland to prosecute the study of theology. One of these, Mr Molinar, when passing along Hanover Street in the end of November last, turned aside to look at a collection of arms and armour about to be sold by auction at Mr Chapman's. The articles were part of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick's well-known collection. Under No. 160 of the catalogue was this entry—"Executioner's Sword with broad blade, *dated* 1621." The year, famous in the annals of the Hussite Church of Bohemia, caught Mr Molinar's eye, and he was greatly surprised and interested to find, in such circumstances, the weapon which he believed had been used at one of the most critical periods in the history of his church to give the death-stroke to some of Bohemia's noblest martyrs. Clubbing with his fellow-students, he purchased the sword for £9, on Saturday 1st December.

Fellows of the Society who have given much attention to swords, may be acquainted with many examples of this kind. The earliest notice I have found of a sword set definitely apart for the single purpose of decapitation occurs at p. 580 of M. Auguste Demmin's interesting and carefully-prepared work on "Arms and Armour," which has recently been translated by Mr Black of the South Kensington Museum. The sword figured by M. Demmin belongs to the collection in the museum of Sigmaringen, where it is labelled "Executioner's Sword of the Free Judges." This may approximately indicate its age. The allusion here is to the noted *Fehmgerichte*, or self-elected secret criminal tribunals which sprung into being first in Westphalia in connection with the widespread lawlessness which set in shortly after the death of Charlemagne (A.D. 814). In all but the shape of the guard and the ornamentation on the blade, this weapon bears a strong likeness to that now before us. The guard of the *Fehmgericht schwert* is horizontal, the bar comparatively thick and abruptly enlarged at each end; that of the Bohemian weapon bends slightly towards the blade, and broadens very gradually towards the end. The ornamentation on the blade of the Sigmaringen specimen consists of three ovals, near the hilt, in the line of length. The centre oval incloses a Greek cross *crescented*, one crescent being at each point. Each of the other two contains the letter S, read as *Sacrificium Sanctum*. The crosses on the Bohemian specimen are small, and occur on the leather which covers the "tang," and forms the handle. They are three in number, and seem to me crescented on one point only, the other three points having annulets or balls. Demmin figures another executioner's sword, from the Museum of Munich, whose blade has a gallows engraved on it, with the date 1407, and whose handle resembles that of the *lansquenets*, or German foot soldier's sword of the sixteenth century. On one side the blade of the Bohemian weapon is flat, the other side has a gently convex ridge passing down the centre to near the point. There is a mark on the flat side having somewhat the appearance of an old German U. This may be the maker's stamp. On the raised side the inscription is as follows:—

1621.

Andreas Schilk.

Wenzel Budowetz.

Christoph Harrant.
Kaspar Kaplirz.
Fridrich Bile.
Heinrich Otto Loos.
Wilhelm Koneczchlumsky.
Dionis Czernin.
Bohuslaw Michalowitz.
Leander Ra(?)ppel.
Georg Hauenschild.
Valentin Kochan.
Tobias Steffek.
Christoph Kober.
Johann Schultis.
Wenzel Wastierowsky.
Maximilian Hosstialek.
Heinrich Kozel.
Andreas Koczaur.
Georg Rzepitzky.
Michael Wittmann.
Simon Wokacz.
Johann Gessenius.
Johann Kutnauer.

I have identified twelve out of the twenty-four names as those of distinguished Bohemians who suffered martyrdom in 1621. The following sentence in Czech is stamped in gilt letters on the leather handle, and has been translated by one of three Bohemian students who attended my class in the New College last session,—*Posledm nessastuá práce byla dne 21 cervna 1621*, that is, "The last sad work was on 21st June, 1621." The initials, C. M., in the oval on the handle, are those of *C. Mydlar*, the executioner.

The sad work here referred to has been described in full detail by Protestant historians, and the dying testimony of some of the brave men whose names are on the blade has been carefully handed down. In 1619 Bohemia, believing that plans were being laid for the complete extirpation of the Hussite faith, elected, in the exercise of what was held to

be the nation's right, a Protestant prince to be their king. This was Frederick the Elector Palatine, husband of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of our James VI. The emperor refused to recognise the legality of the election, and war ensued. Frederick was defeated in a battle fought on the White Mountain near Prague, and lost both his own dominions and the realm over which he had recently been placed. Many who had sided prominently with him, and had distinguished themselves by devotion to religion and liberty, were arrested in one night and at one hour; twenty-seven of them were beheaded on the 21st of June 1621. Others, along with the great body of the pastors, were driven into exile. Comenius, a contemporary Bohemian historian, referring to the times, some of the darkest features of whose story the bright blade now before us recalls, says: "Nam obtentâ anno 1620 victoria, Procerumque primariis partim supplicio affectis, partim dispersis, Ecclesiarum Pastores universos universali mandato (quasi rebellionis authores) proscripserunt, tum Populum ad religionem mutandam primum blande allicere, mox terroribus et divexationibus variis adigere, tentarunt."—"Comenii Parænesis," p. 59, 1660.

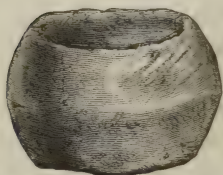
The scabbard of this weapon was afterwards purchased from Mr Pratt. On the plate surrounding the mouth is a crest—*lion rampant, crowned, dexter paw extended, double queued*—and on each side of the crest a laurel branch.

With Mr Molinar and others, I have assumed this weapon to have been the actual instrument of death. But its comparative lightness might suggest a doubt on this point. Possibly it may have been a representative of the weapon, formed for display on State occasions—a warning to all that "The Power" does not "bear the sword in vain." This, however, does not detract much, if anything, from its interest. In either case it brings very vividly before us the period of Bohemian history referred to above.

IV.

NOTICE OF A SMALL URN, OF THE SO-CALLED "INCENSE CUP" TYPE, FOUND WITHIN A LARGE URN AT BLAIRGOWRIE IN MARCH LAST, AND NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM. BY REV. WILLIAM FRASER, M.A., MINISTER OF BLAIRGOWRIE.

About a fortnight ago, that is in the last week of March, there was found on a detached field of my glebe, in the moor of Blairgowrie, and about a mile and a half from the parish church, a circular goblet-shaped urn containing bones. It was about a foot in diameter and about a foot deep. It lay in gravelly soil, on a large stone which seems to have been hollowed out, probably by the action of the water of the Ericht, which flows near by, and the bed of which contains many stones of similar size, on which the action of water is very marked. Over the urn (slanting) was a large, flattish, unhewn stone. The urn rested about two feet below the surface of the ground, and unfortunately it was much broken in being removed from its bed. The fragments have been almost all given away by Mrs Dickson, the feuar in whose feu off the glebe it was found. But it has been my good fortune to secure for the Museum the small vessel which was found along with the larger urn.



Small Urn found within a
Larger Urn at Blair-
gowrie (1½ inches high).

Antiquarians here tell me they have never seen so small an urn, and we are puzzled to know what purpose it could have been intended for. The interior of the large urn was black, as if from the burning of some substance in it, or from the substance within it having in long process of time imparted some of its blackness to the urn. But this small vessel is not darker in the inside than on the outside, although it bears on the inside at the bottom the prints of the thumb-nail of the person who made it.

A considerable number of stone weapons, &c., have been found in this neighbourhood.

[See the paper on these small urns, by Dr John Alexander Smith, in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 192.]

V.

NOTE ON LIGNITE BEADS FOUND IN AN URN NEAR STRANRAER, IN
1859-60. BY REV. GEORGE WILSON, GLENLUCE, CORR. MEM. S.A. SCOT.

The locality of this find is a little to the east of the signal-box at the railway station, Stranraer, where a cutting runs through the march-fence of Little Airds farm. The Rev. Daniel Conway, of St John's Chapel, Port-Glasgow, wrote me on December 4, 1877:—"Some navvies came upon a number of clay urns about the size of coffee cups, and having the herring-bone design marked on them near the rim on the outside. I had one of them in my hands, in which were found a small number of black beads. The urns were placed with mouths downwards, on a slate-like slab. . . . I do not think there was any notice of the discovery taken by the *Free Press*, the Stranraer newspaper, at that time, or since."

Mr Conway referred me to Henry O'Neil, a labourer in Stranraer, as able to point out the place. O'Neil described it exactly, but told me the pots crumbled to pieces, and he thought the beads were all lost.

Mr Conway then undertook to try to trace the beads for me, and on January 31, 1878, he wrote to me as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I herewith send you the beads; and I can give you every assurance that they are the very articles found at the railway cutting. I have not any doubt about them. There were ten; but they have got broken, excepting one or so.—Believe me, yours most truly,

(Signed) "DANIEL CONWAY."

VI.

NOTE OF AN UNDERGROUND STRUCTURE ON THE FARM OF ARDROSS, NEAR ELIE, FIFE, WITH GROUND PLAN OF THE STRUCTURE. BY CHARLES HOWIE, Esq., SECRETARY TO THE LARGO FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY.

I am instructed by the Largo Field Naturalists' Society to forward to the Society of Antiquaries a short description of an underground chamber found by one of our members in the East Cairn Park at Ardross, near Elie, which, together with the clearing out of the ruins at the Chapel Green of Earl's Ferry, may induce some of you in Edinburgh to visit Elie before this chamber is covered up again, as it is located in a cultivated field. The chamber is 13 feet in length, 8 feet in breadth, and 6 feet in height, walls rudely built of unmortared stones, some of which are buttressed inside to meet the requirements of the flat stone covers.

The whole building is entire, including covers. The stair of ten steps, being of undressed stones, varies in depth from 3 inches to 7, with a turn of wheel steps, none of which appear to be worn by continued use. There were three steps from out below the covers, presenting an entrance of 2 feet 6 inches in width and 2 feet 4 inches in height.

The sandstone of which the house is built is from the sea-shore; no mark of a tool is on any of the stones.

This is not the house we were in search of, which several persons in Elie had been in, but another one, by them unknown until the end of last week.

In using a boring-rod over this land, we find numbers of flat stones buried underground, evidently stones also from the sea-shore.

The authorities at Earl's Ferry are clearing out the ruins at Earl's Ferry Chapel Green. There is a small oblong building attached to a gable without windows, showing a door-way towards the north. Near the west end about two feet of this foundation is standing,—a limed building built on a foundation of round boulders. There is a stone coffin parallel with the north wall; the bones were entirely decayed; length of the coffin 5 feet 9 inches; sides of three undressed thin sandstones, head 1 foot 10 inches; the bottom paved; the covers thin sandstones, apparently from

the sea coast. There appear to be more foundations of unlimed round boulders, but nothing apparently of interest to encourage research, except on the part of the local authority to improve their ground.

The Rev. W. Wood, Elie, remarked that the field in which the underground structure was discovered was called the Cairn Field. Several finds appear to have been made from time to time in the neighbourhood, but as the precise localities have not been recorded, it is not easy to distinguish them from one another. In 1787 the plan of an underground structure discovered on the lands of Elie was sent to the Society of Antiquaries. The place where this structure was found is well known. It has been opened several times since, and is precisely on the highest point of the field, where the cairn must have stood, and in the closest proximity to the sight of the present discovery. It is understood that some of those persons who were engaged in this discovery declare that this structure is not the same one that has been opened on previous occasions, and which they have themselves had the opportunity of examining. It very closely corresponds, however, with the verbal description given of that former one; and this much is certain, that this one has been opened before, for the figures 1200 have been carved on one of the stones in modern characters. If there are *two* subterranean structures in the same place, it might be worth while to search for more.

As these subterranean structures have never been found associated with burials, we are led to suppose that other finds in the neighbourhood which have been recorded have been different from either of the two now spoken of. The old statistical account mentions that a tumulus was opened on the Elie estate "some years ago, in which were found some bones of a remarkably large size, which were sent to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries." This might possibly be the discovery of 1787, in which the bones were probably those of animals. Another discovery was made in 1740, the particulars of which do not seem to have been recorded. A very old residenter in the place, now dead, spoke of an underground cave having been come upon in cutting down and uprooting some trees, in which were a number of stone coffins ranged in the shape of a horse shoe, and piled one above another. Such burial-places have been discovered, both at Aithernie and near Crail on the east coast of Fife.

MONDAY, 10th June 1878.

DR JOHN ALEXANDER SMITH, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows :—

ALEXANDER CRAWFORD LAMB, Esq., 8 Garland Place, Dundee.

GEORGE ANDERSON MILLER, Esq., W.S., Knowehead, Perth.

HORACE SKEETE, Esq., Solicitor, Perth.

JOHN STURROCK, Esq., Engineer-Surveyor, Dundee.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors :—

- (1.) By ADAM J. CORRIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.; WILLIAM BRUCE CLARKE, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.; ARTHUR R. HUNT, M.A.; and RANDALL J. JOHNSON, Esq.

Collection of Stone and Bone Implements, Objects of Bronze and Iron, Glass and Samian Ware, Bones of Animals, Human Bones, and Specimens of the Breccia and Stalagmite from the Borness Cave, Kirkcudbrightshire, excavated by the Donors. (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Bruce Clarke, and also the previous Communications in vols. x. pp. 476-507 and vol. xi. p. 305.)

- (2.) By A. G. REID, Esq., Auchterarder.

Urn of Drinking Cup type, 5 inches high, found in a cist near Kincardine Castle, Strathearn. (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Reid.)

- (3.) By JOHN SHEDDEN DOBIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Small Urn of the so-called Incense Cup type, found at Barnfauld, Threepwood, parish of Beith, Ayrshire. (See the subsequent Communication by Mr Dobie.)

- (4.) By JOHN S. GIBB, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Arrow-Head of Reddish Flint, 1 inch in length, with barbs and stem, found on the farm of Wandershiel, Auldbar, Forfarshire.

(5.) By HENRY LEASK, Esq., Board House, Birsay, Orkney.

Pair of Bronze Shears, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, found in a moss in the parish of Birsay, Orkney.

(6.) By JAMES DALGARNO, Esq., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Slains.

Hank of Woollen Yarn and Wooden Implement found in a moss at Slains, Aberdeenshire. The wooden implement somewhat resembles the blade of an oar, but is smaller and more convex. It was probably used in connection with the dressing of steeped flax.

(7.) By ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq., of Carlowrie, F.S.A. Scot.

Celt of Granite, 4 inches in length, with a constriction round the upper part for the handle, from Ontario, Canada.

Oval-shaped Implement of Flint, and four Arrow-Heads of the same, also from Ontario.

(8.) By JAMES TAYLOR, Esq., Starley Hall, F.S.A. Scot.

Bill-Hook, one of a number recently found at Montrose.

(9.) By ALEXANDER BEGG, Esq.

Wooden Cup in process of manufacture, found in a moss in Watten, Caithness.

(10.) By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

The Abbey Church of St Albans, Hertfordshire, illustrated by James Neale, Esq., F.S.A., Architect. Large folio. London, 1878.

(11.) By ROBERT HUTCHISON, Esq., of Carlowrie, F.S.A. Scot.

Fifteen Photographs of Sculptured Stones at Dunfallandy, St Madoes, Aberlady, and Abercorn.

(12.) By the SOCIETY.

Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, &c. February to May 1877.

(13.) By Dr FRANZ XAVER KRAUS, the Author.

Das Spott Crucifix vom Palatin und ein neuentdecktes Graffito. 8vo, pp. 27.

- (14.) By PROFESSOR DR GEORGE STEPHENS, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Author.

Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian Font of about the year 1000. The first yet found God-Figure of our Scando-Gothic Forefathers. Folio, pp. 58.

- (15.) By JOHN EVANS, Esq., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot., the Author.

On Three Roman Medallions of Postumus, Commodus, and Probus. Svo, pp. 6, and plate.

The following Communications were read :—

I.

ON THE NORWEGIAN ORIGIN OF SCOTTISH BROCHS.

By JAS. FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.S.A. Scot., &c.

In the autumn of the year 1876 I wrote a short essay on the "Brochs in the North of Scotland," which was originally intended to have appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. When, however, it was in type, the editor decided it was too long for his pages, and refused to admit it unless it was cut down to an extent that would have rendered its arguments unintelligible. Under these circumstances I had no alternative but either to allow the type to be distributed or to publish it on my own account as a pamphlet.¹ I chose the latter course, because, though too short for an independent publication, it still stated my views with sufficient fulness to be generally intelligible, while these appeared to me so clear and irrefragable that I could not understand why they had not been generally adopted. I was at the same time most curious to know what could be urged against them, and hoped that, by publishing a distinct statement of the case, as I understood it, I might provoke a rejoinder, and that the discussion thus raised might tend towards the settlement of one of the most disputed but most interesting questions of Scottish archæology.

¹ "On the Age and Uses of the Brochs and the Rude Stone Monuments of the Orkney Islands and the North of Scotland." By James Fergusson. London: W. Mullán & Son, 34 Paternoster Row. 1877.

In this hope I have not been disappointed, inasmuch as in the last number of the "Proceedings" of this Society there appeared (pp. 314-355) a most exhaustive reply to my arguments by the learned Curator of your Museum. From his personal experience and previous writings on the subject, there is probably no man living who is better qualified than Mr Anderson to speak authoritatively on such a subject; but, so little do his arguments appear to me to settle the question, that if my paper had also appeared in your "Proceedings," it might not perhaps have been necessary for me to revert again to the subject; but, as very few indeed of the hundreds who possess and read your publications have access to my isolated pamphlet, I am anxious that a re-statement of the main points at issue should appear in the same place, so as to be accessible to the same parties.

I have, however, no wish on the present occasion to reiterate what I have already said, nor any intention of attempting to answer Mr Anderson's objections in detail. All I desire is to be allowed to state the principal reasons which induce me still to believe that the Brochs were erected by the Norwegians, in order that the two sides of the question being stated in the same place, all who have access to the Society's publications may be able to form their own opinion as to which view is most consonant with the facts of the case.

I am the more anxious to be allowed to do this, because Mr Anderson, though stating his case with perfect fairness, seems to me to base his argument on analogies and details which appear to me comparatively unimportant, while he does not seem to appreciate those main features which, from my point of view, are all-important. So far as my experience goes, the great tendency of controversies of this class is to get smothered in details, and to such an extent as to obscure the main facts at issue. When there is no direct evidence there must be difficulties, as a matter of course. To some persons these appear insuperable, and the case is judged accordingly, though the real importance of these details often depends very much on the way they are stated, or on the previous tendencies of the person who states or of those to whom they are addressed. The great difficulty is to keep steadily in view the main points at issue; when they are decided, either one way or the other, the details will generally be found to be easily explicable on either side, and may

consequently, at first at least, be put aside for future examination. In the present instance, by confining attention to the essential peculiarities of the Brochs, and ignoring all arguments, except those derived from the internal evidence they themselves afford, we will probably arrive at clearer conceptions on the subject than by any other process.

In the case of the Brochs, the difficulties would be nearly insuperable, if an appeal did not lie to the principles of common sense. In every part of the world human nature may be calculated upon as pretty much the same. Men in the same situations, or impelled by the same necessities, will be guided by similar motives, and their architectural performances, at all events, will be so like those of others that they may be compared with certainty, and their history and uses obtained without much fear of error.¹ In the present instance, if it can be ascertained that the Brochs are more suited to the position and purposes of the Celts than to those of the Norwegians, it is hardly necessary to look further. Nothing certainly is known that would induce any one to reject the inevitable conclusion, if arrived at with sufficient care. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that they are more appropriate to the wants and conditions of Viking life, we need hardly perplex ourselves with analogies or details that may or may not have any real bearing on the subject.

The one great fact which it is indispensable should be borne in mind, in order to appreciate what follows, is, that the Brochs are essentially works of fortification, and can only be understood when treated of according to the known principles of military science. Fortunately, whether plied to castles, citadels, or towns, these are few and simple, and

¹ A curious illustration of this proposition will be found in a work on Peru,¹ just published by the celebrated American antiquary E. G. Squier. One-half of his architectural illustrations are so similar, both in the polygonal form of their masonry and even in their architectural details, that they would hardly excite criticism if described as taken from the Etruscan cities of Italy or the Pelagic remains in Greece, while many of the others are so like the rude stone monuments of Europe, that he does not hesitate to call them Druidical. It need hardly be added that no possible connection between Europe and Peru can be traced in historical times before the time of Columbus, and that the coincidence can only be explained by the hypothesis that men all over the world, possessing similar materials, use them nearly in the same manner when required for the same or nearly the same purposes.

¹ "Incidents of Travel and Exploration on the Land of the Incas." By George Squier. Macmillan London, 1877.

nearly identical in all ages and countries. Forms have altered to resist new weapons of attack, but the principles have remained unchanged throughout. If, in consequence, it is ascertained that the principles on which the Broch system was designed differed from those adopted anywhere else, we may feel certain that it was because it was applied to some purpose of which we have no other example; but, being thus exceptional, there ought to be no difficulty in ascertaining what these changes in principle were, nor of explaining the causes that led to their introduction. When we have eliminated these, the residuum ought to contain the truth we are seeking, and there is probably now no other mode available by which it can be reached. My conviction is, that the origin and uses of the Brochs can be ascertained with certainty by this method, and the object of the following remarks is to try and make this as clear to others as it appears to myself.

If the Brochs had been either Sepulchres or Temples, the case might have been different. If the former, we might be obliged to investigate the funereal usages of all the races who may have erected them; and if unable to acquire a perfect familiarity with these rites, we might be puzzled by survivals we could not account for, or led astray by false analogies arising from imperfect knowledge. In like manner, had they been Temples, unless we were intimately acquainted with the mythology of all those races who may have been their builders, we should have no means of judging how far their forms were due to artistic or constructive necessities, or what was due either to religious sentiment or traditional association. We are saved, however, from all such difficulties from the fact that the Brochs being wholly and solely utilitarian works of fortification, and as such governed by the same laws which dictated the forms of all works of defence in all ages and in all parts of the world.

From the earliest times to which our knowledge extends, through all the Middle Ages, and down to the curiously complex system of the present day, none of man's architectural works have been subject to such rigid and unchangeable laws of utilitarian use, as works of fortification. Nothing has been added from caprice or from feelings of any sort, and very little indeed for the sake of ornament. Use, and use only, governs every form and every detail. To such an extent is this carried that a military engineer can tell at a glance the purpose of every form and detail,

and in almost every instance can detect at once the reason why a fort was placed where it stands. If consequently the Brochs are works of fortification—which no one doubts—their age and uses ought to be easily ascertainable by the application of the same rules which govern all other works of their class, and it is, I believe, because they have not hitherto been looked on from this point of view that any uncertainty exists regarding them.

If there were any form or feature in the structure of the Brochs whose date or origin could be ascertained with certainty from extraneous evidence, the case would be different; or if it could be shown that the objects sometimes found in the Brochs really belonged to their builders, and if the character of these things was such as enabled us to recognise the race who introduced and used them, it might modify our conclusions. Nothing of the sort has, however, yet been done in such a manner as to invalidate the inevitable conclusions derived from the study of the art of fortification, whose principles are as immutable as its forms are varied. But through all its mutations, there is no single exception, so far as I know, to the few ruling and easily intelligible principles that govern the design and location of all works of this class, and which consequently, if applied to the Brochs, ought to lead with certainty to a knowledge of their age and uses.

Before attempting this, however, it may be well to say a very few words on two points which have been considered most important in their bearings on the origin of the Brochs. It is argued they cannot be Norwegian, because there are no Brochs in Norway. This is admitted; but the same argument applies to all other countries. It may be argued with equal force that they are not Celtic, because there are none in Celtland except four, to be alluded to hereafter; there are none in Pictland, though that was inhabited by Celts much more nearly approaching in condition and position to the inhabitants of Brochland than the Norwegians. There are none on the Isle of Man, nor in Ireland, unless the Round Towers be considered as such, nor in those parts of England which we know were in historic times inhabited by Celts; and none are found in any part of France, though that was undoubtedly a Celtic country. By a parity of reasoning they were not erected by Saxons or Teutons, nor in fact by any one else. If, indeed, we are to wait till a Broch is found

elsewhere before determining who their builders were, we may wait a very long time yet,—the truth of the matter being, they are a local invention and not a foreign importation nor copied from anything found elsewhere. As no Brochs are known to exist in any part of the world beyond a certain district in the north-western parts of Scotland, their origin must be due to some circumstances peculiar to that district, and no argument, either direct or negative, can, I conceive, be based on the fact that no analogous structures have been found elsewhere.

In like manner it is said the Norwegians built all their halls and homes in their own country in wood, at the time when the Brochs must have been erected in Scotland, if erected by them. This also may be freely admitted, but the explanation seems obvious. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were, in all historic times, covered with forests, and timber most suitable for building purposes was everywhere available ; while, as I have frequently had occasion to remark, timber is, in all cases, a building material infinitely superior to stone, where great durability is not a consideration, nor fire much to be feared. So they certainly thought in Norway where almost all the ancient churches seem to have been in wood ; and many ancient ones, as at Burgund, Urnes, and Hitterdal, exist to the present day.¹ In Japan, at the present day, all the palaces and temples are in wood above the foundation ; and in India till the Greeks, after Alexander's time, taught them the use of stone in architecture, everything they erected was in wood. We know in fact that, though a highly civilised people, the Indians did not possess a single architectural building in stone till after 300 B.C.² Stone, and not wood, was the original type from which the architecture of Egypt was derived ; but in Lycia, and on the other shores of the Mediterranean, we know from their tombs and other building that they used wood down to the time of Alexander. They used wood in Scandinavia, because it was everywhere available and of the most suitable quality. It was not used in those parts of Scotland where the Brochs are found, whoever built them, simply because these regions are, and always were, so far as we know, absolutely treeless in all historic times. They had, however, on the other hand, rocks of self-faced sandstone or of schistose slates, forming the most excellent building materials,

¹ See my "History of Architecture," vol. ii. p. 116, &c.

² *Loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 47, *et seq.*

and which were also easily fashioned for building purposes with less trouble and expense than almost any materials of the sort to be found elsewhere.

Neither of these arguments therefore, nor, so far as I know, does any reasoning derived from extraneous sources, throw any important light on the investigation. From whatever point of view the question is looked at, we are forced back on the conclusion that the origin of the Brochs is due to some distinct local peculiarity. There must have been something either in the race or institutions, or political position of the people inhabiting the region where the Brochs are found, which necessitated the adoption of this form of architecture. That peculiarity seems undoubtedly to have been the presence of the Northmen, or Norwegians, in these countries, and, though this does not decide the question as to who the builders were, it narrows it down to a very simple proposition. Either it was that the Brochs were built by the Celts to defend themselves and their country against the attacks of the Norwegians, or they were erected by the northern people to defend themselves and their property against the Celts; and also, it may be, against their own countrymen.

To Mr Anderson is due the credit of rescuing the Brochs from the dustbin of prehistoric antiquity into which the antiquaries of the present day are too apt to sweep everything that puzzles them.

His dates are distinct and well defined. "They were all," he says, "erected by the Picts not earlier than the fifth, nor later than the ninth, century."¹ It may be possible to carry them down a century later. Some on the main land, I fancy, may have been erected as late nearly as 1000 A.D.; but this is of little consequence. It is a great thing that all are agreed they were erected in the five centuries that elapsed between 500 and 1000 A.D. It may be a little more or less, for the Celtic theory presupposes the ravages of the Northmen to have commenced before the erection of the earliest Brochs, and we have as yet no proof of their raids having commenced in the fourth century. Certain it is at least that the Brochs were not erected in anticipation of attacks that had not then taken place. These must have been long continued and become intolerable before men could have been forced into inventing and adopting this peculiar mode of forti-

¹ "Archæologia Scotica," v. p. 146.

nification. It is, however, of little use attempting to argue this question. If a Broch can be shown to have been erected in the fifth century, the Northmen must have been troublesome in these seas in the fourth; and, on the other hand, if the Northmen can be proved to have infested these seas at so early a period, there is no improbability, according to the Celtic theory, of the Brochs being as early as Mr Anderson supposes. I am afraid the materials do not exist at present for settling the exact age of the earliest Broch.

A much more important point is their distribution. That, fortunately, is ascertained within limits quite near enough for any argument that can be based upon it, and the main facts are fairly represented in the following table, compiled from the data furnished by Mr Anderson in the fifth volume of the "*Archæologia Scotica*" (p. 198):—

		Brought forward, 322	
Shetland,	75	Inverness Mainland, . .	6
Orkneys,	70	Inverness Islands, . .	41
Caithness,	79	Forfarshire,	2
Sutherland,	60	Perthshire,	1
Ross Mainland, . . .	10	Stirlingshire,	1
Island of Lewis, . .	28	Berwickshire,	1
Carry forward, 322		374	

This, however, he adds, "is exclusive of a large part of the west coast of Ross-shire, of the whole of the mainland of Argyll, of the whole of the outer Hebrides south of Harris, and of the islands south of Skye." In other words, if we assume the line of the Caledonian Canal as dividing Scotland into two not very unequal parts, we have 400 or 500 Brochs on its northern side,—or, more correctly, north-western side; and four, or at the utmost five, on its southern side. I have already explained why I do not consider Eden Hall, in Berwickshire, as a true Broch, and tried to account for the existence of the four in Pictland, so I need not recapitulate the facts.¹ It is of the least possible importance whether I am correct in this or not; the existence of the four or five is exceptional, and has no real bearing on the argument.

¹ "The Brochs," &c., p. 13.

I am not aware of the existence of any map that quite correctly represents the possessions of the Norwegians in Scotland; that published by Mr Skene in his "Celtic Scotland" (p. 396) is the best I know, and though that is objected to by Mr Anderson as not quite correct, it is at all events quite sufficiently so for the purpose of our argument. It represents the parts occupied by the Northmen as so nearly conterminous with the region of the Brochs as to leave no doubt that the presence of the Norwegians was the intrusive element that gave rise to their erection. To me it appears to make it clear that they must have been built by the Northmen themselves, because I cannot understand what essential difference existed between the Celts on the two sides of the valley of the Caledonian Canal that would induce those on the one side to cover the country with Brochs, while the opposite side is without any signs of their existence. The east coasts of Scotland, as well as those of the southern islands and Ireland, were equally exposed to their ravages; and if the Celts in the north and west found them so effective that they built 400 or 500 of these towers, it seems strange that only four or five should be found in all the rest of Celtland, assuming that they were the produce of that race. Besides this, as the problem the Celts had before them was the very simple and usual one—How best to defend themselves against a foreign invasion—it seems even more strange that instead of adopting the principles of fortification used by all other nations for that purpose, they should have gone out of their way to invent and so long adhered to the Broch system, which any one could have foreseen would be as ineffectual for that purpose as it afterwards proved to be. As this, however, does not strike others in the same light, it need not be insisted on at this stage of the argument. I think it final; but putting it at present on one side, all I wish now to point out is, that Norwegian Scotland is practically identical with the land of the Brochs, and consequently that either they or the Celtic inhabitants of that region, whom they ultimately dispossessed, were the persons who built them.

It would clear away a great deal of the difficulty that now besets the argument, if we could attain any distinct idea of the state of civilisation to which the Celts in the north-west of Scotland had reached during the Broch period, 500 to 1000 A.D. From all I can learn or have seen, I consider that they were then in about as low a stage as it is possible

for any race of men to exist in. Not that I for one moment doubt the capabilities for civilisation of the Celtic race. On the contrary, I believe them to be susceptible of a more rapid and certainly more brilliant, perhaps even of a higher degree of civilisation than their Saxon or Teutonic rivals. But they are eminently gregarious, and it is only when congregated in cities, or on fertile plains, where the conditions of life are easy, that they advance. They have never, so far as I know, shown that steady self-reliant independence which renders the Saxon everywhere so invaluable as a colonist, and has enabled him to people uninhabited islands, and to build noble cities and establish flourishing communities where the forest and the swamp were only inhabited, before his advent, by wild animals, or by a few wretched savages living on the verge of starvation. My conviction is, that in so rugged a country as the Western Highlands of Scotland, and with so inhospitable a climate, a sparse population of Celts never could have risen to anything like the degree of civilisation to which they attained early, in more favoured lands; and all we know of their history confirms this impression.

Even at the present day, nothing can be more wretched than the miserable bothies or beehive huts in which the inhabitants are content to dwell,¹ and before the "45" there is reason to believe that the state of the clansman was even worse than it now is. What towers or stone buildings were found in the Northern Highlands were erected by chiefs or lairds who had access to such centres of civilisation as Inverness, Perth, or Edinburgh, who were in fact educated men, and required a style of living superior to that of their dependants, which, so far as I am able to judge, must always have been miserable in the extreme.² If, however, there is anything to be said in opposition to this view, it has not, so far as I know, been yet given to the public. No one has yet been able to point to any city built, any community founded, or any organisation for any civilised purposes among the Celts in the country of the Brochs during the five centuries

¹ "Proceedings Scot. Ant." vol. viii. pp. 192 *et seq.*

² In the preface to the "Book of Deer," the late John Stuart gives an account (page cli.) of Sir Ewen Cameron bringing home his bride at the end of the last century to a wattled house near Kingussie, and throughout that treatise argues, with a learning that it would be difficult to surpass, that this was only a fair example of the Scotie work of that age, and *à fortiori* an improvement on an earlier one with which we are at present concerned.

of which we are now treating. What civilisation they possessed was due to Irish priests, who taught them the principles of the Christian religion, and planted among them the rudiments of ecclesiastical institutions, which shed a dim ray of light through the darkness of the surrounding barbarism. It was, however, a foreign light, and can in no instance be traced to be a national source.

This, however, is not the place to argue such a question. If it can be shown that the Celts in this land reached a degree of civilisation between the years 500 and 1000 sufficient to render it probable that they were the builders of the Brochs, it has not yet been done, and till it is, it seems more probable that the men who could build ships and organise fleets which were the terror not only of the north of Scotland, but of England and Ireland, and even of France, were a superior race, and, in so far at least as constructive necessities were concerned, more likely to be the builders of the Brochs. Even, however, if a better case can be made out for the civilisation of the Celts in Brochland than I am willing to admit, it must I think be conceded that the Norwegians were their superiors, not only for the reasons just stated, but because they conquered and occupied their country, and finally extirpated or expelled the Celts from those islands and the parts of the Continent where they first and most frequently settled. We know their position and prowess; we wait for an account of that of the races they conquered and annihilated.

These preliminary remarks might easily be extended to any length, and ought to be to a very much greater extent than is here attempted, if it were intended to base any argument upon them. This, however, is not the purpose for which they are brought forward, but merely to clear the ground so as to admit the main points at issue being clearly stated, so that a decision may be obtained regarding them, free from the incumbrance of any collateral topics:—

Broadly these may be stated as follows:—

- 1st. The Brochs were erected between 500 and 1000 A.D.
- 2d. They are found only in those parts of Scotland that were first infested by the Norwegians and afterwards occupied by them.
- 3d. Consequently they were either erected by the aboriginal Celtic population to protect themselves and their country against the attacks of the Northmen, or they were built by the Vikings, first as a basis for

their operations further south, and afterwards to hold the country till the establishment of a settled government among them enabled them to dispense with these fortified posts.

What we have now to determine is which of these two theories accords best with the local position or structural peculiarities of these towers. In the absence of any direct testimony on either side, I know of no means by which the question can be so satisfactorily settled as by carefully examining first one typical Broch and then a group of them, and trying to ascertain how far they agree with or differ from the conditions involved in these two categories.

For a single example there can be little hesitation in selecting that at Mousa, not only as the most perfect of all those remaining, but also because it is the best known, and, in describing it, because we have the invaluable assistance of Sir Henry Dryden's beautifully correct and detailed drawings, which leave nothing to be desired as to the facts of the case. It is also an immense advantage that these were published in the fifth volume of the "*Archæologia Scotica*," so that they are accessible to all Fellows of this Society, and that they are quoted and relied upon by Mr Anderson in his paper in the last number of your "*Proceedings*."

The island of Mousa on which this Broch is situated is about one mile and a half long, north and south, and three-quarters of a mile wide at its greatest breadth, and may contain some 300 acres of indifferent land.¹ It is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait less than a mile in width. It is on the shores of this channel, close to the waters edge, that the Broch is situated. It is a tower 50 feet in diameter at its base, and even now in parts upwards of 40 feet in height. Internally, at what may be called the floor line, its court is 20 feet in diameter, and its walls, 15 feet thick, are honeycombed with galleries and beehive apartments. There are three of the latter on the ground floor and six of the former, one above the other, with a staircase in the thickness of the walls giving access to each, and also to the bartizan on the top of the walls.² Altogether it is a most

¹ As the Ordnance Survey of these islands has not yet been published, it is not possible to speak exactly on these points. The best accessible map I know is the Admiralty Chart, but that is on a very small scale.

² These particulars are quoted in round numbers from Sir Henry Dryden's plates xxi. and xxii. in vol. v. "*Arch. Scot.*," to which the reader is referred for further details.

imposing structure, showing a very great degree of constructive skill, and capable of accommodating a considerable garrison and a large amount of stores.

The island is now entirely devoid of inhabitants of any sort, though when Hibbert wrote his "History of the Shetland Islands" there were apparently on it some farm cottages, though whether they were permanent residences, or merely the abode of shepherds who brought their flocks over in the summer to pasture on the grass, is by no means clear. A very different state of affairs must have existed in the pre-Viking period, if the Celtic theory of the building holds good. The island must not only have been populous, but wealthy, or the inhabitants would never have undertaken to build this great tower to protect themselves and their property against the Northmen.

What then were the inhabitants of this island when the Broch was built? Hardly fishermen, for a tower of this sort is singularly ill-adapted for defending either the boats or the nets, which are generally the only property of men following that vocation. Besides, fishermen generally congregate round the shores of some bay where their boats can be secure, and where they can afford each other mutual comfort and assistance. The sea is open to all, and there is no reason why they should seek a solitary island as a fishing station, while any part of the mainland would be equally convenient; nor is it likely, on the other hand, that the Northmen would seek to destroy an industry of this sort, but rather to encourage it, for their own convenience and possible profit.

Were they addicted to pastoral pursuits? Of all places in the world a Broch is the least suited to shelter sheep and cattle in a time of invasion. In this instance the true floor of the Broch is practically cut in the rock, 4 feet below the level of the sill of the entrance, and probably this part was used either as a store or as a water tank; and a few sheep or cattle huddled together in a circular court about 20 feet across would very soon defile anything that was there, and in a very short time breed a pestilence that would render the tower untenable.

Were they agriculturists? The Broch could not protect their corn while standing, nor their stacks when reaped; and even when threshed out a Broch would prove a singularly inconvenient granary.

Perhaps it may be said the inhabitants of Mousa, in the Celtic period,

were all these, and having prospered and become rich did not hesitate to abandon what was outside to the Northmen, and only cared to protect themselves and their personal property against their ravages. In that case they certainly would have erected their castle as near the centre of their possessions and as far from the sea as they possibly could get, that all might have a chance of getting inside on the appearance of a hostile bark and carrying with him what he could gather up in his haste. But this is exactly what has not been done. The Broch is situated within 80 feet of the shore, and with its entrance turned towards the sea, so that the crew of the attacking bark could command the entrance with their arrows from the deck of the vessel, and after their appearance ingress and egress were alike impossible. Had the tower been situated on the edge of a cliff, with only a passage 2 or 3 feet in width between it and the tower, it might be intelligible, for in that case only one or two of the attacking party could approach the door at a time; but in this instance there is an esplanade 18 to 20 feet wide, and beyond that, not a cliff but a sloping bank sufficiently steep to protect the besiegers, when approaching the tower, from the fire of the defenders, but not in any way to hinder their approach.

We all know from examples on the Continent or in border counties what a fortified farm is. One side or one angle may be occupied by a tower in which the family reside, and the cattle may occupy the lower story; but one indispensable feature is a "*basse cour*," which covers the entrance and into which the cattle may be driven, and where fodder and food may be stored to enable them to live during a siege.

In none of the Brochs is there anything of the sort. On the contrary, if the Celts built this tower to protect themselves or their property from invaders coming from the sea, they did it in a manner never, so far as I know, attempted before or since, and very unlikely, so far as we can judge, to have been successful.

It is necessary, however, according to the Celtic theory, to assume that they were perfectly successful. The Brochs were not all built at once. One or two were, no doubt, first erected; and when it was found that they were sufficient to protect their builders against the Northmen, others were erected, and the system gradually extended itself, till in the course of two or three centuries, the 400 or 500 Brochs we know of covered the face of the country. If during that long period it had been found out that

they no longer sufficed to protect their owners, no more would have been erected. We may consequently confidently assume that the Broch at Mousa did protect its owners and prevent the Northmen from getting possession of the island for a very considerable period, say a century or so, but eventually either by force or by fraud it fell into their hands. When it did, any other people in the world would have sent their ships' crews with crow bars to the ramparts, and in the course of a few days, perhaps hours, they would have tumbled its inner walls into the court and the outer walls to the bottom, so as to reduce this stronghold of the pestiferous Celts to a mere cairn of stone which we should not now be disputing about. "Pu down the nests and the craws will flie awa" is a piece of practical wisdom found effectual in later times in Scottish history, and which would, I have no doubt, been put into practice in this instance, when the Northmen at last got possession of the coveted island which, it is assumed, the Celts with their tower had so long held against them.

When from this jumble of improbable, not to say impossible, suppositions, we turn to the hypothesis that the Broch on Mousa was erected by the Norwegians, all seems clear and reasonable. When the Northmen first perceived the advantage of making the Shetland and Orkney Islands a stepping-stone on which to base their further expeditions against the British Islands, no spot could have appeared more suitable for a settlement than this little islet. The narrow strait between it and the mainland afforded a secure anchorage for their *keels*, and the island was just large enough to afford pasturage for the sheep and goats or cattle which were indispensable for the support of the inhabitants of the Broch when all were at home, and the sustenance of its garrison when the bulk of them were away. The inhabitants of the island, if any, could offer no resistance to the well-armed warriors who invaded them, but could be made most useful in assisting in building the Broch, and in tending the cattle or in cultivating the land, when occupied by the invaders, and it is probably the hut circles of the Celtic dependents that are said to have existed around the tower in former days.¹

Under these circumstances, nothing seems more probable than that the Viking should proceed to build a tower which would not only accommodate himself and his followers when residing on the island, but which

¹ "Archæologia Scotica," v. p. 208.

would secure his possession of it and protect his property when absent, and do this with the smallest possible expenditure of men and material. So far as I know, no fortifications were ever more ingeniously contrived to meet these exigencies than the Brochs. Not only were they capable of accommodating a large number of persons when they were at home, but they were capable of defence by a smaller garrison than any similar work of the same importance. Three or four trusty retainers left behind were sufficient to hold the tower against any insurrection of the Celts, even supposing it to be on the mainland, but also against any brother Viking who might take a fancy for the plunder the Broch might contain during the absence of its owner on business on the high seas. It is this, in fact, which is the leading characteristic of the Viking's life and the most important feature in Broch construction. Had its defenders been always at home, a very different class of fortification would have been requisite, more like the fortified villages or camps adopted by all other nations, and which would have been adopted by the Celts had they ever attempted to defend their country by fortifications. It was because the circumstances of the Vikings were exceptional that their fortifications differed from all others. Their towers were designed to accommodate thirty or forty, but to be defensible by three or four, and so perfectly were they constructed, that they answered both purposes with a success not surpassed by any fortifications found in any other part of the world.

It would, of course, be in vain to look for any written record of the founding of a Broch. The Vikings were a singularly illiterate race, and the building of this or of any other of the 400 Brochs must have been so common an occurrence as hardly to be noted even by those most given to recording events. The tower of Mousa is, however, twice mentioned in the Sagas in a manner that renders it extremely improbable it was built by the Celts, or was ever in their possession. The first occasion was in about the year 900, when "Bjorn Brynulfson, fleeing from Norway with Thora, Roald's daughter, was shipwrecked on the island of Mousa, landed his cargo and lived in the Borg through the winter, celebrating his marriage in it, and afterwards sailed for Iceland."¹

From this narrative we learn that, at that time at all events, the tower had passed out of Celtic hands, if they ever had possessed it, for it is

¹ The "Orkneyinaga Saga," p. cxi.

impossible to suppose that a shipwrecked crew could obtain possession of a tower that had been built to defy the Norwegian power, and *ex hypothesi* had done so for centuries. It does not, however, follow from this that it was uninhabited, on the contrary, from the context it seems more probable that Bjorn was the guest of the owner of the tower than that he could have celebrated his marriage and lived comfortably throughout the winter in a deserted ruin. Be this, however, as it may, the second occasion on which Mousa is mentioned is somewhat similar to this: In 1150 A.D. Eilend Ungi carried off the mother of Earl Harold, and took refuge in this Broch, and successfully resisted all attempts of the Earl to capture the tower either by active force or by blockade.¹ On neither of these occasions is there an epithet or hint that this tower had ever belonged to the Celts or any other foreign people; on the contrary, it seems to be assumed as the most natural thing in the world that the Northmen should take refuge in this tower, and on both occasions they showed at once that they perfectly understood its peculiarities and availed themselves of them with complete success.

Every form and every historical indication seems to me to point to the fact that this Broch, at all events, was erected by the Northmen, and not by the Celts; but its circumstances may be exceptional, and it will not, consequently, be till we have examined the whole group of Brochs existing in the Shetland Islands that we can form a definite opinion on the subject.

According to Mr Anderson, the sites of 75 Brochs can still be traced as existing in the Shetlands, and according to his map in the fifth volume of the "Archæologia," on which I implicitly rely, all these, with one or two unimportant exceptions,² are, like that on Mousa, placed on the sea-shore. Some are on promontories, some in bays or fiords, but all easily accessible from the sea. The first presumption therefore undoubtedly is, that they were erected by a people whose business was on the great waters; and unless they belonged to a race of fisher-

¹ The "Ockneyinaga Saga," p. 161.

² As far as I can make out, two are situated about one mile from the shore; but in the map the scale of the Brochs is so much exaggerated in order to make them conspicuous, that it is difficult to be precise.

men, which, I presume, nobody will contend they were, their owners must either have been merchants or pirates. They could not have been an agricultural people, at least it does not seem possible to assign any reason why they should have left their farms and possessions in the interior to seek localities on the shore, where they were singularly exposed to the attacks of the only enemies they dreaded, and who, it is admitted, had during the Broch period complete command of the sea. The only thing at all analogous to this, that I am aware of, is the position of the Oppida of the Veneti, which, we learn from Cæsar, were situated on promontories along the shores of the Morbihan, in Brittany. He further tells us that when pressed by attacks from the shore, and no longer able to resist, they embarked with their property in their ships, and sought some other "Oppidum" where they might renew the struggle.¹ The conditions of the problem here, however, are exactly the reverse of what we find in the Shetlands. The Veneti were a maritime people possessing large ships with leather sails and chain cables, who did not fear to cross the Channel to Cornwall at all seasons, and who had complete command of the sea till after a very severe struggle the Romans wrested it from them.² The attacks on the Oppida were also from the land, and this mode of defending themselves was reasonable, and would have been successful had the Romans not been able to destroy their fleets. The Celts in the Shetlands had, on the contrary, nothing to fear from the land; and the enemies against whom, on the Celtic theory, the Brochs were built to defend them, had complete command of the sea, so that when pressed they had no possibility of escape in that direction. All the possessors of the Brochs could do would be, on the appearance of a hostile squadron in the offing, to dive into their towers like rabbits into their holes in a warren, and close their doors and wait in patience till the danger was past, leaving their crops, their cattle, and their country at the mercy of a single ship's crew. It need hardly be said that no such system of defence has been attempted by any other people in any other country or age, for the simple reason that it would have been so ludicrously ineffectual. No two Brochs being situated near enough to each other to afford any mutual support, a single ship's crew was at liberty to direct its whole energies against any one at one time without fear of interruption. All they had

¹ "De Bello Gallico," iii. 12.

² *Loc. cit.* 15.

to do was to carry a few slabs of schist 3 or 4 feet long, and, placing them across the doorway, to heap behind them a pile of stone so heavy that the inmates could not push them away, and might then have left them to starve when their provisions were exhausted. A single crew, carrying with them the materials for forming a *testudo* sufficiently strong to resist the impact of stones thrown from above, might in this manner have hermetically sealed up all the Brochs in Shetland in a very short time. Indeed, one of the first elements of defence by Brochs is that the people to whom they belong shall be masters of the open country. They are absolutely useless for active defence by sorties or by combination; and though nearly perfect for passive defence, they are consequently so easily blocked and blockaded, that unless they are relieved by their friends outside, starvation is the inevitable fate of their garrisons. So self-evident doth this appear, that unless the owners of the Brochs had felt they could command access to them and be able to carry succour to their imprisoned friends before hunger pressed them, they certainly would have grouped their towers together for mutual defence in some secure and appropriate position—in other words, have adopted a mode of fortification more like that of other people all the world over.

So far is this from being the case in Shetland, that no two Brochs are situated within a mile of one another, some are two, some three, and in one or two instances a Broch is so situated that its nearest neighbour is five miles away, and they are dispersed in this manner throughout the whole group of islands from Burrafiord, in the extreme north, to Sumburghhead, the southern headland of the islands. The only mode in which it seems possible to account for this singular dispersion of these towers is, that they were erected not only to protect their inmates and their property against a hostile, half-subdued people, but to hold the land around them, which, as at Mousa, was indispensable not only for the comfort of the possessor of the tower, but for the maintenance of his retainers. The possession of the tower was, in fact, the title by which the land around it was held, and it was mainly for that purpose that it was erected. In short, the only inference that seems to be possible from a careful study of the mode in which the Brochs in Shetland are situated is, that they were not erected to defend the islands from an external foe coming from the sea, but by a people possessing command of the sea, to hold a con-

quered country against the restlessness of its imperfectly subdued aboriginal inhabitants. For the first purpose they were absolutely worthless; for the second, better adapted than any other work of this class I am acquainted with.

If, however, the local circumstances tell heavily against the theory that the Brochs in Shetland were built by the Celts, the historical facts seem equally difficult to account for on that theory. We may, I fancy, assume as a matter of course that there were no Brochs on these islands till the visits of the Northmen were so frequent, and their intention to settle there so evident, that the inhabitants were roused to take some measures to protect themselves, and to prevent their country being permanently subdued by these warlike rovers. To effect this we may assume they built four or five brochs—Mousa probably among them—and after some years' experience these being found to be effectual, they determined on the erection of the 70 others; not at once, of course, for the erection of a Broch in a sparsely inhabited country, and where there was no wood for scaffolding, is a serious undertaking, and the 70 would probably take as many years to complete. But what were the Northmen doing in the meanwhile? They were certainly very unlike any other conquering race we know of if they sat still and saw a race they could, and did afterwards conquer, quietly erecting fortifications to debar them from the possession of the coveted land. All the Brochs being situated on the shore, nothing was so easy as at any time to send a boat's crew to drive away the workmen and to throw down the unfinished walls, which had no defensive power till complete. They certainly would have let the Celts understand that any one building a Broch with the intention of keeping them off the land would, if caught in the act, be hung, drawn, and quartered, and his family sold into slavery. But instead of this, we are asked to believe they stood quietly by while the 70 Brochs on Shetland were completed, and the 300 or 400 in different parts of their dominions were erected, without their ever interfering to prevent them.

If the Northmen were thus supine, all that can be said in their excuse is that their indifference was fully justified by the result, for there is no reason for supposing that the existence of the Brochs retarded the conquest of either the islands or the mainland of Scotland for a single hour. In no Saga is there a hint that any Northmen ever condescended to besiege

a Celtic chief in his Broch. No bard ever composed a couplet in honour of the brave defenders of one of these towers, and no Papa ever muttered a moan over the faithful of his flock who had been slaughtered by the pagans for daring to defend their fortified posts against the northern invaders. In fact, neither in history nor in tradition are the Celts ever mentioned in connection with these towers, either as their builders or their defenders. Still they could have been no mean people who built these 400 towers and spread them over so vast a space; and if they were the Celts, it is strange they left their country to the invaders without fighting a battle worthy of being recorded, and resigned their fortifications without ever standing a siege.

All this appears to me so singularly improbable that I prefer infinitely the belief that the fashion of building Brochs arose from the fact that the north of Scotland was not conquered by either a regular army nor by a royal fleet from Norway, capable of completing it at once and establishing a regular government, but from the fact that it was accomplished gradually by buccaneers, each of whom had not only to conquer but to hold the estate he coveted, and to do that by the prowess of his own right hand, thus giving rise to what may be called an infinity of Broch tenures. With the establishment of a settled government the necessity for the maintenance of the Brochs passed away. Some were converted into farm houses by a process usually called secondary occupation, the materials of others were utilised in the construction of neighbouring buildings, but the bulk of them, as would naturally be the case under such circumstances, were merely deserted, and left to crumble, without violence, into decay from natural causes.

Besides the local and military consideration just alluded to, which seem so clearly to indicate that the Brochs were built by the Northmen and not by the Celts, there are others, of a political nature, which seem to point as distinctly in the same direction. According to the Celtic theory, there must at one time have been some 70 or 80 coequal and contemporary chiefs—a Celtic republic without any paramount chief or kinglet among them. At least, no hint of any such potentate is found either in history or tradition, and no trace of Dun or Cathair is found on the islands where he could have held his court, or where the chiefs could have assembled either to enact laws or settle their disputes, or even at annual fairs to

exchange the produce of their lands or of their industry for arms or other products they themselves were incapable of manufacturing. The extensive mounds at Tara, Aileach, and Emania, and elsewhere, which still remain, sufficiently attest the political organisation of the Celts in Ireland in early ages; and the Dun on the banks of the Ness, which was inhabited by King Bruide when he was visited by St Columba,¹ is a perfectly intelligible form of fortification. Its remains are still to be seen on a narrow neck of land called Craig Phadric, the summit of which is enclosed by a stone wall some 240 yards in extent, within which there is ample room for the palace of the king, probably of wood, and for the huts of his most immediate followers. It is in fact just such a fortification as we would expect such a king to erect in such a situation, in his stage of civilisation, and just such as one would expect to find in Shetland had it been inhabited by a people of the same race and with similar political institutions. Nothing of the sort has, however, been found there, nor, so far as I know, in any of the counties where the Brochs are found.

In like manner Dun Aengus, Dun Conor, Dun Oenacht, and the other forts which the Celts erected in the isles of Aran, on the west coast of Ireland, to defend themselves against either foreign invaders or their enemies from the mainland, are all fortifications of the ordinary types, designed on principles adopted by all nations, and perfectly intelligible to all.² They are, however, essentially not Brochs, and are in fact constructed on principles so diametrically opposed to the Broch system that the two must have been designed for totally different purposes. Few, I believe, will dispute the fact that the Irish Duns were erected for purposes of defence by the ordinary means, which are easily understood, and for which they are admirably adapted. It consequently remains for some one to suggest some other purpose for which the Brochs were erected; for if it were not by the Northmen, to hold the half-conquered land as above suggested, it still remains a mystery. They are so unlike any other fortifications in any part of the world.

At present the only place in Shetland that can be called a town is Lerwick. From its central position and the excellence of its harbour,

¹ Reeves' "Adamnan's St Columba," p. 151.

² "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Lord Dunraven, 1875, pp. 1-12.

sheltered as it is by the isle of Bressay, it probably was a town before the Northmen thought of settling in these islands; and had the Celts been actuated by the same motives as other people, when they found their visits troublesome and the intention of conquering the country manifest, their first care would have been to fortify their capital. What property they had most worth protecting must have been found there, and there alone were a sufficient number of inhabitants collected together to offer anything like a successful resistance to the invaders. But though it probably was and remained throughout the Norwegian times the commercial capital of the country, no attempt seems ever to have been made to fortify it, and for very obvious reasons. Had it been surrounded by walls, its Celtic inhabitants might, during the absence of the Normans, have overpowered the feeble garrison they had left behind, and closed the gates against them on their return. They might, in fact, have found themselves in the same difficulty that we were in during the Indian mutiny, when the rebels got hold of Delhi and nearly deprived us, for a time at least, of our hold on India. The Northmen were wiser; they left the town open, but they erected at a distance of a mile from it the largest and most strongly-fortified Broch in these islands. Not only is the Broch at Clickemin 17 feet more in diameter, and with a court 10 feet wider than that at Mousa, but it is situated on an island in a small loch which can only be approached by a causeway 140 feet in length, and the whole island is covered by outhouses and fortifications extending 150 feet north and south, and 154 east and west,¹ thus affording accommodation for a very large garrison in a perfectly impregnable position. It thus occupies a position precisely analogous to that of Fort-William with reference to Calcutta, or Fort St George relatively to Madras; but with the same advantage as compared with the last, that it has a perfectly independent communication with the sea, which could not be interrupted by the townspeople even if they were to attempt it. Clickemin was, in fact, designed to keep the urban population in check, just as the smaller Brochs dispersed over the country prevented any possible rising of the rural Celts, and with the smallest possible garrison enabled the conquerors to retain their hold on the country.

¹ These particulars are of course taken from Sir H. Dryden's description of the Broch, "*Arch. Scot.*" vol. v. pp. 200 to 207, pts. xvii. to xx.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the conquest of the north of Scotland by the Norwegians—"si magna licet componere parvis"—resembles in all essential particulars our conquest of India. In both instances it was by a less numerous, but more warlike people, having the command of the sea, gradually subjecting the native races to their sway. We have fortified certain points on the coast to keep our communications open, and if we had compelled the servants of Government up the country, and planters, to fortify their dwellings, the mutiny could never have made head, and the agony of the small house at Arrah would never have occurred. As it is, our neglect of the Broch system nearly cost us our empire there, and may be the cause of our losing it any day, if another insurrection occurs under more favourable circumstances. The Northmen appreciated more clearly the true use of fortifications. Not only did they prevent the natives from having any Cathairs, or fortified enclosures, but they studded the land with numerous fortified posts, easy of access and capable of indefinite resistance with the smallest possible garrison, but of absolutely no value to the natives if they fell into their hands. By this means without any standing army, and though occasionally their numbers, from their avocations, were very much reduced, they held the conquered country without a struggle till their increasing numbers and improved organisation enabled them to dispense with these fortifications, which then fell into desuetude and decay.

It may be from want of knowledge, or of imagination, but turn and twist it as I may, I cannot conceive any circumstances under which the Brochs in Shetland could have been built by the Celts, or under which they could have been of any use to them if in their possession. On the other hand, if built by the northern invaders, the motives for which they were erected, and the purposes which were successfully accomplished by their aid, appear to me distinct and obvious, so much so that I cannot for one moment admit that the testimony of a few bits of bone or of rude pottery of very doubtful origin can be allowed for one moment to weigh against the testimony, local and political, just brought forward. If any one likes to argue from these doubtful relics that they must be Celtic, we have no common ground to stand upon. I am quite content to rest this part of my argument on Mr Anderson's distinct statement, that, "judging from the general character of their included remains, the people who lived

in these towers possessed a considerable degree of civilisation. There is abundant proof that they were not only expert hunters and fishers, but that they kept flocks and herds, grew grain, and ground it by handmills, practised the art of spinning and weaving, had ornaments of gold of curious workmanship, and were not unskilled workers in bronze and iron, &c. ;” and he adds in a note, “no flint arrowheads, or flint celt, or polished stone axe, or perforated stone hammer has yet been found in a Broch.”¹ Whether this description is more applicable to the Norwegians or to the Celtic inhabitants of these islands, either then or indeed down to the present day, I must leave it to others to judge. To me this testimony in itself seems fatal to the claims of the Celts, and when coupled with the circumstances stated above, leaves no doubt in my mind either as to the age or use of the Shetland Brochs.

Having said so much about the northern group of Brochs, a very few words will suffice to dispose of all the rest. If what has been said above is sufficient to prove that those in the Shetland Islands were built by the Norwegians, all the rest are so similar in construction and position that it follows as a matter of course that they were erected by the same people ; while, on the other hand, if the arguments above adduced are not sufficient to prove this, nothing, I fear, that I can say will obtain an opposite verdict, and it is needless to attempt it. There certainly is nothing either in the construction or in the situation of the 70 Brochs, whose foundation can still be traced in the Orkney Islands, which indicates any difference either in their age or use. Like the Shetland group, they are all situated on the sea shore, with the exception of five or six which are found at a distance of from one to two miles from the water's edge. All these exceptionally situated Brochs are clustered together at distances not exceeding from four to five miles from Stenness, where all the principal rude stone monuments and tumuli are found.² The first inference to be drawn from this is, that the neighbourhood of the loch of Stenness was a more favourite resort of those who erected the Brochs, whoever they were, than any other part of

¹ These statements, like those referring to the Shetland Broch, are derived from Mr Anderson's map of the distribution of the Brochs, in the fifth volume of the “*Archæologia Scotica*,” p. 198.

² “*Orkneyinga Saga*,” Introduction, p. cx.

the island, and though it may not be sufficient to prove the case, it certainly raises a very strong presumption that all the monuments belonged to the same people. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the Broch builders left all these remains of another race standing undisturbed, and did not utilise them for their more utilitarian structures. It is, indeed, as difficult to understand this as the fact,—too much overlooked in this controversy,—that if the Brochs were built by the Celts, we have now existing the remains of 400 or 500 fortified dwellings of the inferior and conquered race, but not one trace of the dwellings, or temples, or tombs of the superior and conquering people, not one at least, that could have been erected before their conversion to Christianity in the eleventh century. I cannot conceive this possible, but as others do not see it in that light, its bearing on the age of the Brochs is so slight that I shall not attempt to argue it here.

As in the Shetlands, there is no trace of a Dun or Kaer, or fortified enclosure, in the Orkneys, where a chief could have resided, or where the natives could have assembled for mutual defence, or to resist an invader. According to the Celtic theory, they preferred, as before mentioned, a mode of defence different from that of any other people in any part of the world, and so far we can judge so opposed to all principles of common sense, that it is little to be wondered at that it was found so inefficient when brought to the test of experience.

The disposition of the Brochs on the mainland is somewhat different from that found in the islands. The greater number of them are not on the sea-shore, though many are, but are situated frequently at distances of several miles inwards, some ten and even fifteen miles from where they could be approached by ships. Still their disposition can only, I conceive, be accounted for on the supposition that they belonged to a people who, basing their scheme of conquest on the sea, first made their footing sure by building towers on the shore and fortifying point after point, as they crept up the straths or occupied strategical points further inwards. From the great number of them—79—found in Caithness, and the mode in which they are located, we may gather that the natives were more numerous and more difficult to keep in subjection than those in the islands, and also that there was more to be feared from their combining with the inhabitants of neighbouring districts. Yet both from their

disposition and construction they are evidently aggressive, not defensive works. Most numerous near their base on the coast, or creeping up the straths and valleys, but gradually thinning out, till in the neighbourhood of Loch Shin they can only be regarded as the outposts of the invading army. Still if the Norwegians ever possessed or settled in this country, it could only be in fortified dwellings, capable of being defended by the smallest possible numbers, that they could have existed or held their own in these remote situations among a hostile population. Their out-houses or farm buildings may have been of wattles or of turf and stone, and have disappeared, but it was indispensable that the hostile possessor of the land should with his family be protected by some such permanent building as these. Had they, on the contrary, been defensive buildings, as we must assume they were intended to be if erected by the Celts, a totally different system would have been pursued. The principal group would certainly have been in some strong central position in the interior favourable for defence. The natives might in that case have pushed their Brochs as outworks towards the shore, to resist a landing—though singularly unsuited for that purpose—and have connected these shore works by a chain of posts to retard the advance of the invaders towards the interior; but when these were taken, they must have had some fortified central position to fall back upon when pressed. If they had not, their attempts at defending these isolated outposts would have been devoid of common sense, and exactly the contrary of all the principles of defence adopted by any other people. It need hardly be added that no such fortified position exists anywhere in Brochland.

These considerations may not at first sight appear so self-evident to those who have not been in the habit of studying these questions as they appear to me. It has, however, been my fate both to read and to write a good deal about fortifications and military matters of this sort; and the forms of the Brochs and their disposition appear to me so admirably adopted for aggression, and so utterly useless for the defence of a country, that I feel it almost insulting to the intelligence of my readers to insist more on this aspect of the question. There is, however, one other point of view in which the Brochs should be considered before leaving this branch of the subject.

The people who built these 400 or 500 Brochs, pretty evenly spread

over a country extending 400 miles north and south from Burra Fiord to the Mull of Cantyre, and 200 miles east and west from the Dornoch Firth to Harris, whoever they were, must have been a singularly homogeneous and united people, if we may judge of them from their works. Had they been Celts they certainly would have been heard of on the southern side of the valley of the Caledonian Canal as well as on the north. With such a fortified basis, and possessing this organisation, they would have made Perth and Forfar singularly uncomfortable abodes; but nothing of this sort was ever heard of, and there is no record of any invasion of the eastern and southern counties of Scotland by any northern hordes of Celts. If, however, we assume that the builders of the Brochs were the Northmen, Ireland, and all the coasts of Scotland and England between Brochland and the south, can tell a fearful tale of their ravages during the whole period within which, it is assumed, the Brochs were built. Even France was not free from them, for they conquered some of her finest provinces; and Scotland felt their power down to the time at least of the battle of Largs (A.D. 1263), though that was at a time when the Brochs had ceased to be inhabited, having been superseded by the more regular government of the Jarls, though that was based on the foundations laid by the Broch-building Vikings.

Secondary Occupation.

As I believe all arguments as to the origin and use of the Brochs must ultimately be decided on military considerations such as those brought forward in the preceding pages, it hardly seems necessary to say much on such minor points as that of "secondary occupation," which has very little direct bearing on the real points at issue. As, however, it has been frequently adduced, it does not seem possible to pass it over completely in silence.

So far as I can understand it, there are four forms that the argument may take. First, that the Brochs were built by the Celts, and when they were found to be of no use for their purposes, or ceased from the change of times to fulfil the original condition for which they were erected, that then the Celts added those outhouses and divisions which are called evidences of secondary, but which in this case ought to be considered as of continuous, occupation. It is a perfectly logical and by no means

improbable conclusion to draw, if it can be proved that the Brochs were originally erected by the Celts. But even then it is hardly likely that the Norwegians when they conquered the country and drove the Celts from their fortifications would have allowed any of them to remain standing and in their occupation. It is far more probable they must have made a clean sweep of the whole, and not to have allowed them to surround their old towers with outworks which, for anything they knew, might eventually have been turned against themselves.

A second hypothesis is that they were built by the Northmen, but when no longer required by them for purposes of security that these deserted ruins were occupied by the subject Celts, and that their keeps were then altered to suit their new inhabitants, and the outhouses added to afford them the accommodation they required for their more peaceful purposes. This, though really a case of secondary occupation, appears to me equally improbable. It must have been so much cheaper to have utilised the same amount of material, in forms more suited for modern purposes, and the results so much more convenient, that this mode of utilising them is hardly likely to have been adopted. Besides, though ceasing to be actually inhabited by the Northmen, these towers, if built by them, were the symbols of their power, and the titles by which they held the lands in the centre of which they stood; and it is hardly probable they would have ceded possession of them to an alien though subject race, till at least a time far more modern than these secondary additions indicate, and when title-deeds on parchment had superseded more material evidences of possession.

A third hypothesis, that they were built by the Celts but afterwards occupied by the Northmen, seems even more untenable; for we can hardly fancy the conquering race condescending to occupy buildings belonging to the people they had just subdued, and who, if from that cause alone, they seem always to have despised. Besides this, any works the Celts might have erected and designed for the defence of their country against a foreign invader must always have been unsuited for the purpose of another people who we may assume were trying to conquer it, and to hold it with the fewest possible men till such time as an organised government could be established sufficiently powerful to hold it, without fortifications, against their own native subjects, and to protect their own people against any

rising of the subject races. Under these circumstances it seems hardly possible that the Brochs could have served the purpose of the two peoples, or at any time have been occupied by one after the other.

We seem thus driven into accepting a fourth hypothesis, which has at least the merit of being a usual one, and occurring everywhere else. It is that the Brochs were erected, as explained above, by the Northmen for the purpose of protecting themselves against the Celts and holding the country they were gradually wresting from them. Nothing appears more natural than that when under the Jarls the subjection of the country became so complete that personal security could be guaranteed, that their old attitude of defence should be abandoned, and the Brochs either allowed to go to decay or were so modified as to suit the altered condition of the country, when the warlike Viking was enabled to forsake his wandering piratical life, and became a peaceful Udaller. Then if the old tower which he and his ancestors had long occupied was pleasantly and conveniently situated, there was no reason why it should be abandoned, if by alterations and additions it could be made suitable for the altered circumstances of the times.

Any one who knows Scotland can call to memory hundreds, it may be thousands, of fortified mansions belonging to the Middle Ages which have in more peaceful times been modified to suit the purposes of their present inhabitants. Those which were situated on cliffs or inaccessible places have generally been abandoned, like the Brochs, and left to crumble into decay; but those that have been situated in fertile or convenient situations have been so altered and added to—like the Palace at Holyrood—as to be hardly distinguishable. Others have been furnished with wings, and smothered up in additions to a greater extent than even the Brochs of Lingrow or Yarhouse quoted by Mr Anderson ("Proceedings," 334–36), and bearing about the same relative likeness both in plan and in construction. Continuous occupation by the same people indeed seems to me the only reasonable solution of the difficulty, and the only one in accordance with the facts as at present known. There may be instances in some parts of the world of one race, like hermit crabs, occupying the deserted dwellings of another and a different race, but I do not know of them, and till they are brought forward must be allowed to adhere to the doctrines of continuous occupation by the same race, which appears to me to account

perfectly for all the phenomena of the case as at present known. If this is so, that race was undoubtedly that of the northern invaders, who certainly—it I am not very much mistaken—originally erected them.

These remarks on the Brochs have extended to a length so much greater than I intended, that it is not my intention, at present at least, to discuss the relative age of the stone circles or chambered tumuli or other rude stone monuments that are found in connection with them. In my previous publications I have already said all that I care to say regarding them.¹ The Brochs are so essentially the principal and governing class of erections in that country, that whoever built them may fairly claim to be the authors of all the rest. If they are ascribed to the Norwegians there is no difficulty in the matter—they remained pagans down to the eleventh century, and as such may very well have erected the megalithic circles, either to mark battle-fields or to enclose the spots where those who fell in battle were buried; and the tumuli are only a continuation of thousands of similar monuments which in pre-Christian times were raised in honour of the dead in all the countries of Europe and of Asia.

The case would, however, be different if the Brochs were ascribed to the Celts. We know that being Christians they did erect certain rude cells or oratories which are found dispersed all over the northern islands. These have been partially described by Captain Thomas in the fifth volume of the "*Archæologia Scotica*," and more in detail by Mr Muir in his "*Characteristics of old Church Architecture in Scotland and the Western Isles*." They are as rude as any buildings ever erected for sacred purposes in any part of the world. Such erections as Teampull Sula Sgeir, or Teampull Rona,² are both in design and construction infinitely inferior to such a Broch, for instance, as that of Mousa, and are not to be mentioned in the same category, with such a tomb as that of Maeshow. Centuries must have elapsed and enormous progress have been made before the builders of these rude Christian edifices could even have conceived anything so grand as some of the larger Brochs, or anything—both artistically and constructively—so perfect as Maeshow. Yet even these rude cells could not have been constructed before the conversion of

¹ "*Rude Stone Monuments*," pp. 241-257; "*The Brochs*," &c., p. 25, *et seq.*

² Muir, pp. 195, 205.

the Celts to Christianity, A.D. 563-597.¹ And, even assuming that they progressed sufficiently in the succeeding centuries to build the Brochs, being Christians, they certainly did not require the tombs nor the circles, the erection of which shows a degree of mechanical skill very much greater than that found in the early Christian oratories. Consequently, if these were erected in the seventh or eighth centuries, Maeshow could hardly have been attempted before the tenth. But the Celts had long before that been converted to Christianity, and only a pagan jarl could have required such a tomb.

These, however, are collateral issues, having only an indirect bearing on the main points in dispute. The great point which, as mentioned above, must never be lost sight of in arguing this question is, that the Brochs are works of fortification, and it is in consequence only when looked and examined from a military point of view that their forms can be understood or their purposes ascertained. It was, perhaps, because I had spent so much of my time and thought on questions of that nature, that it struck me so forcibly, at first, that they must have been built by the invaders and not by the defenders of the country in which they are situated. I am quite free to admit, however, that when I first wrote on the subject, I neglected to enforce this view of the case with the urgency I ought perhaps to have employed in addressing those with whom subjects connected with strategy or military engineering are not necessarily familiar, and the main object of this essay is to supply that omission. As the case now stands, I feel perfectly confident that any military engineer who will study the construction of the Brochs with sufficient care, together with their geographical distribution, must arrive at the conclusion, first, that they were not erected to defend the countries where they are found against a foreign enemy of any sort; secondly, that they were erected by some people who, in the first instance at least, had such a command of the sea as to have undisturbed access to them at all times, and afterwards such command of the lands in which they are situated as to be able to move freely among them whenever it was thought worth while to concentrate a sufficient body of men, either to succour one that was in distress or to extend the system further. The Northmen in Brochland were always in a position to do this; the Celts never were so; and it is, consequently, I

¹ "Book of Deer," Preface, p. lxxiv.

believe, to the former that the erection of the Brochs must certainly be ascribed.

It will be time enough to discuss the bearing of M. Lorange's researches on our present subject when these are published, with plans and illustrations sufficiently extensive to make them intelligible. At present, so far at least as I have seen, they are only known through verbal descriptions, capable of the most diverse interpretations—as all mere verbal descriptions of antiquarian and architectural objects must necessarily be; and it is probably from this cause that Mr Anderson takes so different a view of their bearing and importance from that which I have adopted. It is not, however, worth while stopping to inquire who is right in this matter, as their bearing on the age and use of the Brochs is absolutely nil, and they throw only so dim and uncertain a light on the age of the sepulchres in Scotland, that it would be a waste of time trying to ascertain what this amounts to, till we can do so with better prospects of success than the present very scant materials afford the means of attempting. Meanwhile, however, there is a class of sepulchre in Scandinavia which does appear to have a direct bearing on the subject, but which has been too much overlooked in this controversy, while as I happen to have woodcuts

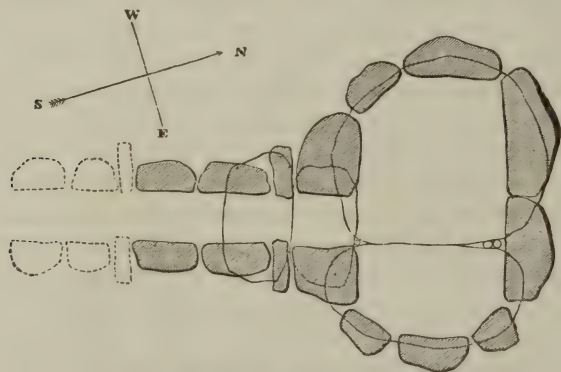


Fig. 1. Dolmen at Uby. Ground Plan.

of several of them by me, it may interest the Society to have them as a means of comparison.

They are generally known as *gang graben*, or, as Sir John Lubbock translates it, "passage graves,"¹ and are, I believe, numerous throughout Scandinavia, though they have not yet been illustrated to anything like the extent they might be. One found at Uby, in the isle of Zealand, is a fair specimen of its class. It consists of a chamber of an elliptical form (fig. 1), measuring 13 feet by 8, and with an entrance gallery 20 feet in length.² As will be observed, its walls and roofs (fig. 2), are composed

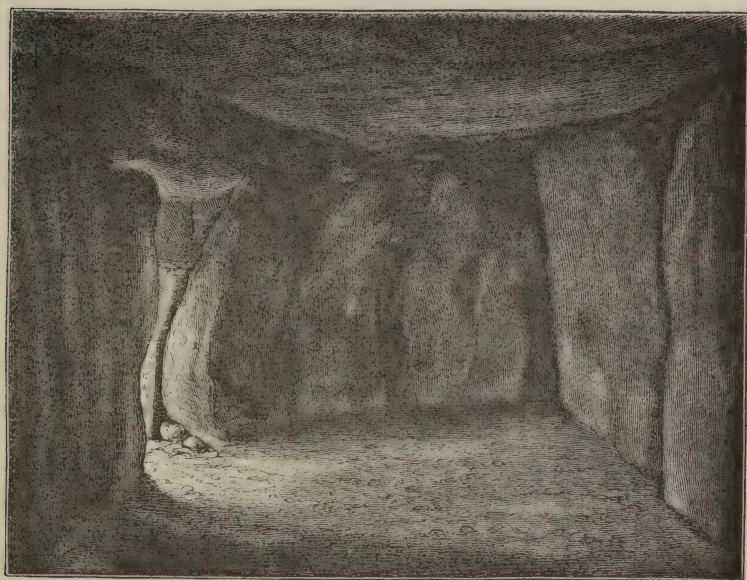


Fig. 2. Dolmen at Uby. View of Interior.

of large boulder stones, and only the packing done with smaller materials. In the Orkneys, and generally in the north of Scotland, where there are few, if any boulders, but abundance of self-faced stones, the whole would

¹ "Prehistoric Times," pp. 131 and 163, 3d edition.

² *Antiquités Préhistoriques de Danemarke*, p. A. P. Madsen, Copenhagen, 1869.

have been like the tombs and *eirde*-houses constructed with flat stones, the roofs being formed by approaching stones forming false arches. That peculiarity, however, arises wholly from the difference of material in the two countries, not from any difference in age or use. Another example (fig. 3) is from Axevalla, near the Wener Lake, in Sweden.¹ It consists

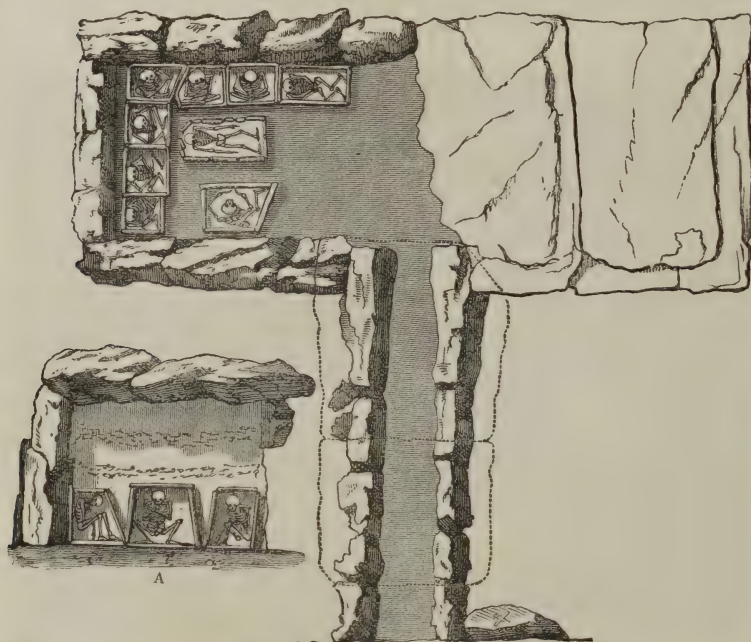


Fig. 3. Sepulchre at Axevalla.

of a single apartment 24 feet by 8 and 9 feet high, with an entrance in the centre of one side. In many respects the tomb resembles that known as Kevik's tomb (fig. 4),² near the southern extremity of Sweden, which is generally assumed to be connected with a battle fought there by Ragnar

¹ Sjöborg's *Samlingar För nordens fornälskare*, vol. i. pl. 7.

² Sjöborg, vol. iii. pls. 9 and 12.

Lothbrok in A.D. 750. These again are connected with a dolmen at



Fig. 4. Head-stone, Kevik's Grave.

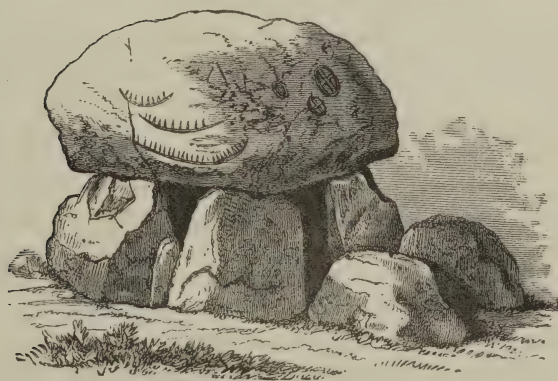


Fig. 5. Dolmen at Herrestrup.

Herrestrup (fig. 5) in Zealand,¹ which, when dug out of the tumulus that

¹ *Annalen für Nord. Aldk.* vol. vi. pl. 10.

originally covered it, was found covered with representations of long ships and other emblems which there seems very little doubt belong to the Viking age, and which must have been put there before it was covered up, though, as that was a part of the original design, it must have been done in the same age.¹ If this is so, it lends considerable probability to the conclusion I have arrived at from other circumstances, to the effect that Maeshow is a monument of the tenth century, which indeed appears to me so nearly certain that I must be excused if I adhere to it till at least something more pertinent is urged against it than has yet been brought forward.

Round Towers of Ireland.

In the second volume of the late Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture," so admirably edited by Miss Stokes, there is a chapter of upwards of forty quarto pages—pp. 147 to 188—devoted to an attempt to prove that the celebrated Round Towers were first erected by Irish ecclesiastics, in the ninth and tenth centuries, in order to protect themselves and their property against the attacks of the marauding Danes, as the Vikings were then called, in that country.

Whether the premises are or are not sufficient to bear out the conclusions arrived at in this chapter others must decide. To me they seem ample. But whatever the result, it is interesting, as the most successful attempt, to apply to these hitherto mysterious Towers those principles of common sense, which it is the main purpose of the preceding pages to advocate, as applied to the Scottish Brochs. The late George Petrie was the first to show the way, and my conviction is, that if the truth is ever to be arrived at regarding their origin or use, this is the path, and the only one, by which it can be reached.

It is also interesting to us, on the present occasion, for its direct bearing on the age and use of the Brochs which we are now discussing. It will of course be objected that the round towers are not Brochs. Very far from it; but neither were Irish ecclesiastics Vikings. But on careful examination, I feel confident it can be shown that exactly in the ratio in which the priest and his requirements differed from those of the warrior, do the

¹ For further particulars of these monuments, see my work on "Rude Stone Monuments," Murray, 1872, pp. 303, 311, and 313.

Round Towers differ from the Brochs ; and if any one will sit down with a pencil and pair of compasses, and try how he can best adapt the aggressive fortifications of the Norwegian invader to the defensive purposes of a peaceful ecclesiastic, he will almost inevitably arrive at something very like an Irish Round Tower. In the Broch the doorway was always on the level of the land outside, as it was almost indispensable it should be, for convenient ingress and egress in a building always used as an habitation. In the Round Tower the doorway was always raised to a considerable height above the ground—at Kilmacduach, 27 feet—thus affording an immense gain of defensive power, but at a very considerable loss of space internally, and still greater loss of convenience. The tower, however, was never meant to be constantly inhabited. It was only intended to be of use on the rare occasion of a Danish invasion or of a local insurrection ; and then only by one or, it may be, two priests, till such time as the storm blew over. The Broch had no external windows. These were, however, indispensable in the tower, which had no internal court, and they are generally arranged one on each floor ; and if there are four storeys, one window looks to each quarter of the heavens ; and there are always four at least, if not more, in the uppermost storey, where they were safest from the arrows or missiles of the attacking party. The imprisoned priest could thus watch the whole horizon, and observe and answer the signals of his friends outside, and learn when the enemy had departed, and he might safely descend. No battlements were needed—at least in the earlier towers—as the priests were essentially non-combatants, and passive resistance was all that was attempted. The Towers were, in fact, ecclesiastical safes, and were as admirably adapted for such purposes as the priests required, as the Brochs were, as above explained, for those of the Vikings, who by their means conquered and held the whole northern provinces of Scotland.

The map that forms the last page of Lord Dunraven's noble book, like Mr Anderson's maps in the fifth volume of the *Scottish Archæologia*,—so often referred to in the preceding pages,—makes the argument regarding the purpose for which the Round Towers were erected clearer than could be done by any amount of description. From it, it appears that by far the greatest number of these towers were erected to protect ecclesiastical establishments, which had been attacked by the Danes, and were conse-

quently exposed to a recurrence of a similar misfortune, though many, of course, were erected in places exposed to be attacked, but only in anticipation of an event which may never have occurred. Like the Brochs, however, besides serving the original and primary purpose for which they were erected, the towers may also have served to protect the church plate and valuables against such of their own lawless countrymen as, in a rude state of society, may not have hesitated to lay their lawless hands on even the most sacred things.

The truth of the matter appears to be that, when looked at by the light of recent researches, the Cloictheach, or Irish Round Tower, turns out to be nothing neither more nor less than a Scottish Broch, modified according to the principles of common sense, to meet the antithetical purposes for which they were employed. At the same time, it seems tolerably clear that if the Celts erected these towers all over the interior of Ireland, generally on sites as far removed from the coast as possible, in order to protect their property against the Norwegians of the Northern Sea, it was not they who built the Brochs on the sea-shore to protect the isles and their property against the attacks of the same dreaded enemy. The purposes for which the two classes of buildings were erected were as antagonistic as their forms, though their origin is the same.

Though originally erected for purposes of defence, the Cloictheachs, or Round Towers, may have been afterwards used as belfries; though it is extremely doubtful if, before the tenth or eleventh centuries, the Irish were capable of casting such bells as would be audible from their summits. Such hand-bells as we know they had would be much more effectual if rung on the ground. They may also have been used as *fanaux de cimetière*, as Mr Hodder Westrupp suggests, or as beacons, or for many other uses; but their primary purposes were those of fortification. It is by the laws of that science, and by that only, that they, like the Brochs, can be judged, and their age and uses be determined.

Looked at from this point of view, all that the late George Petrie wrote on the subject of these towers, in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture," and elsewhere, becomes perfectly clear and intelligible. But not so much so, as when studied with the aid of the concluding chapters which Miss Stokes has added to Lord Dunraven's "Notes." It would take infinitely more space than could be afforded here, to restate their arguments, with

the necessary elucidations, in accordance with this new light; and this is not the place to attempt it. Meanwhile, however, it need hardly be remarked that it must add immensely to the interest of our present subject if it can be shown—as I believe it undoubtedly can—that a proper investigation into the age and uses of the Scottish Brochs contains the key, and probably the only one now available, for the solution of the mystery that has so long hung around the origin and uses of the cognate and nearly contemporary Round Towers of Ireland.

III.

FINAL REPORT ON THE BORNESS CAVE EXPLORATION. By
W. BRUCE CLARKE, M.A., M.B., F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATE XXXI.)

After a lapse of nearly three years the excavation in the Borness Cave has been again commenced, and was, after nearly two months' work, brought to a successful termination.

The mode of working, based as it originally was upon that which is employed at Kent's Hole, near Torquay,¹ has undergone considerable modification, not to say complete revolution. The hardness of the materials to be worked upon, their mode of formation, and the impossibility of accurately adhering to such minute subdivisions, coupled with the experience of the exigencies of this particular cave, may perhaps be considered as a sufficient excuse for the departure from so excellent a model.

Up to the year 1876 only 3 feet had been removed from the surface of the cave, and each square yard had been kept separate. But last summer, all that it was possible to ensure was that not more than a foot in depth should be removed at one time; in other words, that articles from different levels should not be placed together.

An additional layer, 1 foot in depth, was removed to start with. This, curiously enough, seemed to exhaust almost entirely the cave earth

¹ In the case of Kent's Hole, the mode of working by subdivisions was applied to the cave earth situated below the stalagmite, and not to the more recent soil above the stalagmite, which probably corresponds more nearly with that of the Borness Cave.

properly so called—that is to say, the dark mould which contained so large a proportion of organic matter.

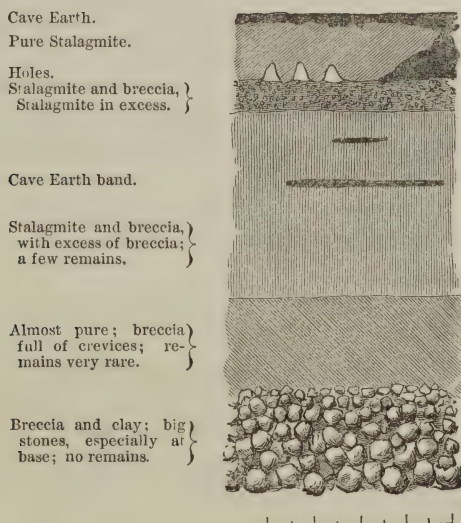
No sooner was this completed than all energies were immediately directed to the large rampart of breccia and stalagmite, which blocked up the mouth of the cave, and had before defied all efforts to remove it successfully. However changeable the rampart was in appearance, or varying in its mode of formation, in one point it remained unalterable, viz., in the difficulties which its removal presented. Here and there, it is true, occasional bones, pieces of charcoal, and even bands of cave earth an inch or more in thickness occurred, but by far the greater portion was composed of a most intractable stalagmite and breccia, and it was only after repeated blasting with dynamite and cotton gunpowder that it was able to be broken up.

In the cave earth, which was removed during the earlier excavations, several bands of stalagmite, varying in hardness, but usually soft and friable in character, had been noted; but it was only in the course of blasting the rampart and breccia that the significance of these bands was brought more forcibly into notice. In the rampart, this state of things was quite reversed; instead of cave earth with very thin intervening bands of soft stalagmite, the hard stalagmite was here and there separated by thin bands of cave earth usually very limited in their extent. The most remarkable, however, of these bands occurred at a depth of about 7 feet from the surface of the rampart; but inasmuch as this band was approximately horizontal, and as the cave earth originally sloped backwards from the mouth, it was only 5 feet from the original surface of the cave earth further in. It reached some 15 feet back into the cave, and was by far the most important of these layers which were encountered. Altogether about seven or eight of them were met with during last year's excavations, at intervals varying from about 4 to 18 inches apart.

As the work at the rampart was by no means rapid, and in order first to test the nature of the rampart, one-half was only attacked to begin with. Soon the level of the terrace in front of the rampart was reached, but the cave bottom showed no signs of an appearance, and so the excavation was continued further. Instead of finding, as was at first anticipated, that but 9 feet of rampart had to be removed, when the excavation had reached a depth of 20 feet still no bottom was discovered. Long before

this, however, all organic remains showing signs of previous inhabitation had ceased to be discovered. After passing below a depth of 7 feet, charcoal and other signs of human occupation became rare, and at length, when a depth of 14 feet was reached, not a trace of implement, bone, or charcoal was discovered. No implement has occurred at a greater depth than 5 feet.

How the rampart varied in structure is best seen by the annexed vertical section.



Scale, eight feet to an inch.

It is perhaps remarkable that the transitions of structure are in most cases so sudden. This is most markedly so where the pure stalagmite at the top gives place to a mixed form of stalagmite and breccia, but to a less extent where the stalagmite passes into the pure breccia.

At this part of the deposit, viz., at a depth of about 12 feet, holes were of frequent occurrence, the rampart was anything but homogeneous in structure, so much so that once a broom handle could be passed downwards to a depth of over 3 feet.

It may be well to bear this fact in mind, since it is quite possible that some of the scanty remains which occurred at these levels may have found their way down by the aid of these crevices. Below a depth of 7 feet only some thirty or forty pieces of bone have been discovered, and not one of them varies in any degree from the forms which occur at the higher levels. That they have not found their way to the situation in which they were discovered during the course of the actual excavation is shown by the fact that they form part and parcel of the breccia itself, and were found without any exception cemented in their places; but this fact does not militate against their having dropped into the crevices during the period of cave occupation.

With a view to determine as far as possible the origin of the cave earth, and to throw further light upon the deposit, some analyses of the cave walls and stalagmite have been made, of the former by Mr W. Keep, and of the latter by Mr E. Smith, F.C.S.

Analysis of the Cave Walls.

Specimen A contained—

(1.) A large proportion of CaCO_3 . (This occurred chiefly as a white efflorescence.)

(2.) Silicates of alumina, lime, and magnesia (chiefly, if not entirely, from fragments of the wall attached to the specimen in question).

(3.) FeO and Fe_2O_3 . (Protoxide in great excess.)

(4.) Traces of P_2O_5 and SO_3 , probably in combination with Ca and Mg and a considerable quantity of free SiO_2 .

Specimen B contained—

(1.) Silicates of alumina, lime, magnesia, potash, and soda.

(2.) A large quantity of Fe_2O_3 .

(3.) A trace of P_2O_5 , and a considerable quantity of free silica.

N.B.—This specimen was yellow and ochreous in colour, and crumbled up readily.

Specimen C.—A soft, grey, clayey substance, greasy to the touch, very similar in composition to the walls of the vein, and probably nothing but a decomposed clay slate. It contained—

Silicates of Al_2O_3 , MgO , &c.

Specimen D.—A dark, red, brown crumbling substance, the powder of which was of a buff colour, and had a slight coating of crystalline matter. It contained—

- (1.) A trace of CaCO_3 .
- (2.) Silicates of Al_2O_3 , CaO , MgO , &c.
- (3.) A large proportion of oxides of iron.
- (4.) A considerable quantity of MgO (as silicate).
- (5.) Considerable quantities of SO_3 , P_2O_5 , and SiO_2 (free).
- (6.) Arsenic (responded readily to Marsh's test).

Specimen E.—An undecomposed clay slate, hard and compact. It contained—

- (1.) Silicates of Al_2O_3 , MgO , CaO , K_2O , Na_2O .
- (2.) A small proportion of Fe_2O_3 .
- (3.) P_2O_5 not in large quantity.

The Fe_2O_3 here present is contained *in* the specimen and is not adherent.

(Signed) WILLIAM KEEP.

Analysis of Stalagmite.

	<i>a.</i>	<i>β.</i>
Carbonate of lime,	94·80	99·10
Water,	2·50	...
Carbonate of iron,	·85	...
„ magnesia,	·34	·36
Chloride of sodium,	·15	...
Silica,	·50	·54
Organic matter and loss,	·86	...
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100·00	100·00

The organic matter is quite amorphous.

(Signed) EDWARD SMITH, F.C.S.

From the analysis of the stalagmite, it appears that it does not differ essentially from ordinary stalagmite. It may well have had its origin in the veins of the rock which were alluded to in a former paper.

Several of the rock specimens, it will be seen, were in a crumbling condition, that is to say, they were already in an advanced stage of decom-

position, and on their way to form the cave earth, which so largely owes its origin to similar decompositions.¹

In a previous paper the suggestion was thrown out that the Borness Cave was situated on the 25 feet beach line. This was based upon the supposition that the cave earth reached only to a depth of 9 feet. But as has been shown by last year's work, the cave floor is far deeper. Instead of being reached at a depth of 9 feet, when the excavations were carried to a depth of 20 feet, and that on the side of the cave where from the dip of the strata the bottom would be soonest discovered, the native rock was not struck.² At this level the stones and rocks were just such as would be washed into a cave exposed to the full violence of the waves. It appears, then, that the age of the formation of the cave is more recent than was originally supposed.

Implements.

The implements which the excavations of the past year have brought to light differ but little from those which have already been described in their general character, though a few display individual peculiarities. One point must be laid special stress upon.

During the first year's excavations in the A layer, half a bone implement³ was discovered; this year in the D layer, close under the right hand wall of the cave, the other half of the same implement was turned out. It fitted the previously found half exactly. In reference to this fact the following note was made at the time of the discovery, and is quoted verbatim from the working note-book: "It must be borne in mind that this part of the right wall of the cave is somewhat fissured, and that possibly the separation of the two halves of this implement is to be accounted for by this, the second half, having slipped down into the crevices at the side of the cave." However, be the explanation what it may, the fact is a certainty.

¹ For further information on this subject consult Bischof's "Chemical Geology (translated by the Cavendish Society), vol. i. p. 53 *et passim*.

² The excavation on this side of the cave was so barren in its results that it was not considered necessary to carry the operations any further.

Vide "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot." vol. x. pl. xxi. fig. 6.



IMPLEMENTS of BONE & STONE From the BORNESS CAVE.
(Actual Size.)

Explanation of Plate.

- Fig. 178. Net weight of brown sandstone.
,, 188. Link or handle (so-called).
,, 190. Implement. Use ?
,, 196. Perforated bone. Use ?
,, 198. Perforated head of femur.
,, 208. Cut and rubbed piece of antler.
,, 209. Polished bone.

Bones.

The bones, too, present no peculiar features. They are much the same as those already described. It is, however, worthy of remark that no pig bones were found in the lower levels, those of ox and sheep being the principal ones.

Another portion of human skull has been discovered about 4 feet under the original surface of the cave floor, and almost vertically under the datum peg, consisting of the parietal bone of a child. The bone evidently belonged to a child differing little if at all in age from that to whom the previous skull bone belonged. The previous portions, it will be remembered, were found at a depth of 3 feet 8 inches and 4 feet 2 inches respectively, and within a few feet of the same spot. They all three are undoubtedly contemporaneous with the stalagmite, and could by no possibility have fallen through cracks and crevices into the positions in which they were found.¹

¹ It may be well to mention here that there are several caves along the shores of Kirkcudbrightshire analogous in many respects to the Borness Cave. Some of them are far finer in dimensions and far grander in their situation than this. In every one of some six or seven along the Muncraig shore some sheep or ox bones similar to those from the Borness Cave have been found. It needs but five minutes' examination to assure oneself that they, like the Borness Cave, were formerly the home or refuge of some ancient Scottish family. These remarks are made in the hope that some one may perhaps be induced to make further investigations in them, and so throw more light on the cave inhabitants of the south-west of Scotland.

Charcoal.

Several more species of wood have been identified by Professor Carruthers, F.R.S., of the British Museum. They are here appended :—

Quercus Robur.	Corylus Avellana.
Salix (sp. ?).	Fagus sylvatica.
Pinus sylvestris.	Erica vulgaris.
	Fraxinus excelsior.

It remains, now, to consider more in detail the facts that have been elicited during the Borne Cave explorations.

Since the excavations have been carried to a depth of 20 feet, it is evident that the bottom of the cave cannot be situated much above the level of the present high-water mark, and may perhaps be far below it, so that no great antiquity can necessarily be inferred from its position.

But there are some caves along the shore into which the sea at present finds a ready access, and others also in process of formation. The circumstances which have led to the filling up of this cave, and to its subsequent habitation, are undoubtedly due to the local peculiarities of its position.

Situated at the extremity of a shore ravine, which is bounded at one end by the cave itself and at the other by the sea, this cave enjoyed advantages which have ensured the perpetuation of its remains. The fragments of rock which have from time to time fallen from the sides of the ravine have by degrees blocked it up and formed a breakwater, which has protected the cave from further inroads of the sea.

Thus protected, the rock remains and beach pebbles, such as have been found at the lower levels, accumulated at its mouth, *débris* fell from the roof, and a soil was formed, the natural resultant of such material. When this was partially cemented together by the drippings from the roof, man first selected it as a place of habitation, as is shown by the layers of charcoal and bones which occur even in the middle of the rampart. A period of cessation from habitation then occurred, during which time more rampart was formed and more soil was accumulating. And this process was several times repeated, until at length man took it up as a fixed place of residence. Before this, however, the majority of the present rampart was formed, and stood out above the rest of the cave

floor. The cave then remained inhabited for a considerable period of time, long enough to accumulate three or four feet of cave earth, with its necessary accompaniments, in which soil the bulk of the remains have been found. And this, be it remembered, is darker and more like peat in character; it owes its origin only to a very small extent to cave roof *débris*. Stones found in its middle were evidently used to make a fire, and their shape and form proclaims that they were brought in from the neighbouring beach.

But what age can be assigned to these materials is the next question for inquiry.

The bones themselves afford no great indications of age. They might, so far as the animals go, have been deposited certainly within the last hundred years. The sheep which occurs in the cave was probably a native of the Lowlands a hundred years ago, as it certainly was of the greater part of the Highlands so late as 1820 or 1830.¹

The ox is almost identical with the Galloway cow of the present day. The pig, though hardly the domestic pig of the present, does not necessarily imply any great antiquity; and similar remarks apply to the other animals.

The graphic descriptions of the smuggling in the Scottish caves in "Guy Mannering" might tempt one to place a date as late as the last century for such remains, more especially as Brighthouse Bay, but a mile off, was a noted smugglers' rendezvous; but the rest of the remains tell a different tale. Nor can the Covenanters, little more than a century further back, lay claim to the accumulation of any large share of the cave remains, if indeed they can to any.

To the argument of antiquity, derived from the accumulation² of

¹ I state this on the authority of a Perthshire shepherd, from whom I gained much information as to the Scotch sheep breeds. I am at present engaged in further investigations on the same subject.—W. B. C.

² It must here, however, be added that Mr Hunt, after a most careful examination of the case, has come to the conclusion that the amount of stalagmite is an evidence of considerable antiquity; and that it is so, because there is not sufficient lime in the rock of the district to account for the rapid formation of the stalagmite. That this is a difficulty I admit; but the occurrence of stalagmite in nearly all the caves of the neighbourhood affords, I think, evidence of lime sufficient for its rapid formation.

stalagmite, I attach no great importance. Whatever value may be attached to depth of deposit over large areas as a test of age, but little reliance can be placed on deposits over small spaces of ground. The phenomena observable at numerous so-called dropping wells should place us on our guard against any such error. Sticks at such places are coated an eighth of an inch in thickness in a few months. And, as tending to show that the deposit of stalagmite in this instance was not of slow growth, the occurrence of a cast¹ of a piece of stick in its centre may be mentioned. Had the deposit been a slow one, the stick not submerged in water, but exposed alternately to wet and dry, damp and cold, must have rotted long before it could become embedded. As it was, it became rapidly covered over, and by the subsequent percolation of the water through the porous stalagmite, was gradually dissolved out, leaving only a cast to mark its former situation.

The argument for antiquity rests on other grounds than these.

The analogy with the remains of the Settle caves has been pointed out in an earlier paper.

The enamels of which the Borness Cave shows but a trace have been shown to have their nearest analogy in the Irish illuminated gospels;² and this, coupled with the remarks of Philostratus, to the effect that such enamels were made by barbarians living near the ocean, forces us to place the bulk of the remains in no very recent times. And the same remark applies equally to the Samian ware.

But though an analogy exists with the Settle cave remains, it is only with the deposits of the upper part, those to which Professor Boyd Dawkins has given the name of Brit-Welch, and which afford evidence as to a considerable amount of civilization. The Neolithic and Palæolithic periods are here unrepresented; because, as has just been pointed out, the cave itself, which is among the later remains of the post-Glacial period, is not old enough for such deposits.

It remains, then, only to examine the historical evidence of civilization.

The resumé of the early history of Britain given by Professor Boyd Dawkins³ is almost as applicable to the history of Scotland as it is to

¹ This specimen is sent to the Museum.

² *Vide* "Cave Hunting," p. 103 *et seq.*

³ *Vide* "Cave Hunting," 1874, p. 103 *et seq.*

that of England, with this exception only, that the further north we go the less is the mark of Roman civilization to be seen.

Let us briefly survey the history of Scotland¹ of this period.

During the years A.D. 43 to A.D. 79 the subjugation of England, as we now understand the term, was advancing. The Brigantes, Silures, and Ordovices were each in their turn brought under subjection; but it was not until the summer of 79 A.D., in the second campaign of Agricola, that Scotland was entered. Agricola then entered the south-west parts of Scotland by the way of the Solway Firth, the expression of Tacitus, "*oestuaria ac silvas ipse proctentare*," undoubtedly referring, as Mr Skene remarks, to these shores. But this passage has a peculiar interest in connection with these shores, as the nature probably of these woods has been elucidated by an examination of the charcoal from the cave. Further than this, the numerous camps and stations of Galloway, both Roman and British, testify to the struggle which was then being fought out.

By A.D. 81 Agricola had fortified the line from the Forth to the Clyde. In A.D. 86 he was recalled, and from this time till the time of Hadrian, in A.D. 120, no serious attempt was made upon Scotland. It was in that year that Hadrian constructed his wall between the Tyne and the Solway. Thus up to this time Galloway had tasted but little of Roman civilization.

In A.D. 139 the wall of Antonine was constructed from the Forth to the Clyde, and Galloway was placed once more under Roman rule. No sooner was this wall constructed than it was again broken through by the incursions of the Picts.

In A.D. 208 the wall of Severus was constructed; but, notwithstanding its prodigious dimensions, the Scottish lowlands were often ravaged by their northern neighbours.

In 409 A.D. the Roman legions were finally withdrawn, so that it must have been mainly during the two centuries comprised between 208 A.D. and 409 A.D. that the inhabitants of Galloway were imbued with the Roman civilization.

But it was most probably, as Professor Boyd Dawkins has shown in the

¹ For this account of Scotland I have made frequent use of "*Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban*," by W. F. Skene, vol. i. 1876, p. 33 *et seq.*

case of England, about the early part of the fifth century that the inhabitants of the country, which was evacuated by the Romans, had to betake themselves to caves to escape from their enemies; and the peculiar advantages of the Borness Cave for such a purpose, invisible as it is alike by sea or land, have before been alluded to. It is at this period, as Mr Skene¹ remarks, that "deserted almost entirely by continental historians, and deprived of the clue which any connection with European events could afford, we are left for the history of this interval to the uncertain guide of tradition," &c.

Four nations at this time vied for the possession of Britain,—the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. Of these the two latter were foreign settlers. The Saxons, or Angles, broke in upon England from the Continent; and the Scoti came from Ireland, assailing Scotland from the north-west, *i.e.*, Ulster, which at that time went by the name of Dalriada. For the fact that the Scoti were not the original inhabitants of Scotland we are indebted to the chronicles and memorials of Scotland.²

But other facts speak to an Hiberno-Scottish invasion; it will be remembered that the flint flake which was found in the cave was suggested by Professor Geikie to be probably of Irish origin. And, in addition to this, the undying testimony of language speaks in the same direction. The Dalriadæ have left the name Dalry to testify to their former presence in south-west Scotland.

In 606 A.D. Bede informs us that Galloway was inhabited by the Niduari Picts; and, according to the same authority, it was about the year 650 A.D. that Osuiu, king of the Angles, defeated the Picts and Scots, and possessed himself of what is now Kirkcudbrightshire.

In 672 A.D. the Picts revolted with some success in the more northern parts, but Galloway remained in the possession of the Saxons.

It appears, then, that we must fix the date of occupation of this cave as most probably between the year 409 A.D., the withdrawal of the

¹ *Post cit.*

² "Legimus in historiis et in cronicis antiquorum Britonum, et in gestis et annalibus antiquis Scottorum et Pictorum, quod illa regio, que nunc corrupte vocatur Scotia, antiquitus appellabatur Albania," &c. *Comp.* "Chronicles and Memorials of Scotland," by W. F. Skene, p. 135; "Description of Scotland," MCLXV.

Roman legions, and 650 A.D., the Saxon conquest of these parts, since the former date was the latest at which Roman civilization could have been introduced, and the latter date must most probably have witnessed its final overthrow and destruction.

To such a conclusion, too, as we have just seen, the remains point as well. Coins are not present to aid us as in the Settle cave. The enamels are scarce, and present but the barest trace of any such substance ; and of bronze inlaid with silver there is none. Of iron, merely rusted fragments have been discovered, which have lost all trace of their original shape. But the Samian ware, though one piece only has been found, affords a world of evidence : it undoubtedly places the date as Roman, or shortly post-Roman, and to a similar conclusion the bone implements and enamels also lend testimony.

The paucity of such remains need not be a cause of surprise, if the frequent incursions of the Picts, even throughout the Roman occupation, be recalled ; we shall rather be surprised that so much has survived as to enable us to form even an approximate estimate of the cave date, when we reflect on the Pictish ravages and the subsequent occupation of Galloway by the Saxons.

IV.

NOTICE OF AN URN, FOUND IN A CIST NEAR KINCARDINE CASTLE, STRATHEARN, IN MARCH 1876, AND NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM. BY A. G. REID, Esq., AUCHTERARDER.

The tomb in which the urn now presented to the Museum was discovered was one of those of the early inhabitants, and from the style of sepulture it was evidently formed previous to the introduction of Christianity. From the size of the cist, the body must have been



Urn found in a Cist near Kincardine Castle
(5 inches high).

deposited in a contracted position, with the head to the south, and after the decay of the ligaments, the bones had fallen down and were found lying regularly on the floor of the cist. By the side of the skull, which was perfect, with the exception of two teeth, the urn was placed. There was nothing in it except some black earth. There had been no

burning of the body, and the urn consequently did not contain the ashes of the dead.

The cist itself was formed of flagstones at the bottom, sides, and top. At the side, boulder stones, such as are used for causewaying, had been placed to give stability to the structure. On the floor there was a layer of gravel which appeared to have been laid at the time, covering the bottom flagstone. The size of the cist was about 3 feet long, 21 inches broad, and 15 inches high. It was about 6 feet from the top of the knoll. Below the bottom flagstone the remains of another skeleton were discovered.

The vase was taken away for preservation. The writer was anxious afterwards to get the skull in order to send it to Edinburgh to ascertain its type. The place was covered up, and endeavours were used to prevent people disturbing the remains, but in the meantime the story of the discovery got abroad, and some of the Auchterarder youths went up and disturbed the cist, breaking the skull and removing the teeth.

About twelve years ago a cist similar to the one found at Kincardine was discovered on the adjacent farm of Barns, near to a so-called Roman camp. The same care was not displayed in its construction as was apparent in the one at Kincardine. It was only about 2 feet under ground, and the bones had crumbled into a mass, but from the size of the cist the body must have been deposited in a similar position.

By the kindness of James Johnston, Esq., of Kincardine, the proprietor, the urn has now been presented to the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

V.

NOTICE OF A SMALL URN, OF THE SO-CALLED "INCENSE-CUP" TYPE, FOUND AT BARNFAULD, THREEPWOOD, PARISH OF BEITH, IN THE EARLY PART OF THE PRESENT CENTURY, AND NOW PRESENTED TO THE MUSEUM. BY JOHN SHEDDEN DOBIE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

The small urn which I have herewith the pleasure of presenting to the Society was in the collection of my father, the late James Dobie of Crummock, F.S.A. Scot.

A pencil note in Mr Dobie's handwriting, which accompanied the urn, is here transcribed :—

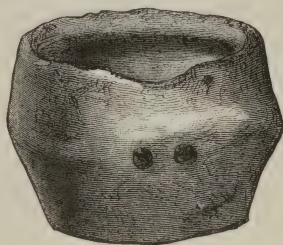
"Thirty years ago Hugh Stevenson was ploughing in Barn-fauld on his lands of Townend of Threepwood (in the parish of Beith), when his plough went through a quantity of loose stones, exposing to view a pig (pot, or vase) of burned clay, which would contain about six gallons. Hugh put his hand in it and found a quantity of bones. The pig broke on being handled, but at the bottom of it there was an urn found which I have now got. Charred wood was found among the stones around the pig. In a short time afterwards another and smaller urn was found, but no pig along with it."

In the "New Statistical Account of Scotland" (1839), Ayrshire, parish of Beith, p. 578., *sub voce* Antiquities, Mr Dobie, the writer, after noticing Cuff-Hill, and, *inter alia*, the discovery of several stone coffins under a large cairn of stones on the south side of the hill, makes mention of this urn as follows :—

"To the north-east of the hill, on a field in the adjoining lands of Townend of Threepwood, about thirty-five years ago, there was found a large vase of burned clay, of a size capable of containing about six gallons. In it there was a considerable quantity of burned bones. The vase broke on being handled and exposed to the air, and soon crumbled into dust. Within it there was found a small open urn of hard burned clay, and at a short distance from it another small urn was found by itself; probably the larger one in which this last had been placed was destroyed without being noticed. They indicated no knowledge of art, and seemed as if

formed with the finger and thumb. The small urns were perhaps for receiving the ashes of the brain and heart, while those of the body were lodged in the larger vessel. In one of them were two perforations as if for fixing it to some other body, probably to the larger urn in which it was found, or for receiving fastenings for its own lid or cover."

In the work entitled "Cuninghame Topographized, by Timothy Pont, A.M., 1604-1608; with continuations and illustrative notices by the late James Dobie of Crummock, F.S.A. Scot.," edited by me, Glasgow, 1876, this information has been repeated in Appendix No. III., and a representation of the urn, engraved from a photograph, is given on page 403.



Small Urn found at Barnfauld, Threepwood, (2 inches in height).

The dimensions of the urn itself are as follows:—Height, 2 inches; width at mouth taken from the highest circle of the rim, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width at bottom, 1 inch and $\frac{7}{10}$; distance between the inner edges of the perforations, $\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch. The engraving mentioned above is on the scale of a little more than half the size of the original.

Note.—Hugh Stevenson of Townend of Threepwood was succeeded by his sons, and some years thereafter the lands were divided and sold. The portion containing that part of the field called Barn-fauld, wherein, it is believed, was found the urn above referred to, was acquired by the late John Love, Esq., of Threepwood, and about the year 1847 was surveyed and divided off from the other portion of the property which was purchased by the late Robert Shedden Patrick, Esq., of Trearne and Hazlehead.

P.S.—Along with this urn were found in Mr Dobie's repositories two packets, labelled "Ashes got from the Cuff graves—4 July 1819," and "Ashes got in the Cuff Hill Tumuli." On the inside of the sheet of paper enclosing the latter is also the following note: "The enclosed were given me as part of the ashes got at opening the tumuli at Cuff Hill." Of the two pieces of bone (parts of a skull, apparently), there is no account given, but they were enclosed in the same common wrapper with the packets.

These and the two packets with their labels and note are now also presented to the Society.

[A Notice of the small urns of this type, found in Scotland, is given in the "Proceedings," vol. ix. p. 192, by Dr John Alexander Smith.]

VI.

NOTICE OF A BRONZE SWORD (EXHIBITED BY JOHN L. STEWART, Esq. OF COLL), AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES, FOUND IN THAT ISLAND. BY WILLIAM M'GILLIVRAY, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.

In a letter to Mr MacGillivray, Mr J. L. Stewart of Coll has given the following notice of the circumstances in which the bronze sword now exhibited was found :—

"I send you the hilt-end of a sword which a drainer found lying upon a bed of sand, having cut through peat earth to the depth of say $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

"At the time the peat began to grow, the outlet of the lake in which it was found must have been several feet deep. Previous to the peat formation, the inhabitants had formed an island of boulders, say 40 feet broad at the top, and from a rising ground made a narrow causeway with stones into their island.

"The broken sword was found 25 to 30 feet away from the island, as if thrown from it into the lake. *Now*, the outlet I have deepened, and it is perhaps 20 feet, yet not more than enough to make the land about the island quite dry."

Mr MacGillivray, in a note to Mr Anderson, adds :—

"When I visited Coll two years ago, I found that there were two existing lakes which had old forts in them similar to the one in the drained lake to which Mr Stewart refers. These forts were rudely built of stone, without cement, and have a rough causeway leading to them from the land. I visited and inspected one of them, and found that it had consisted of two separate chambers about 10 or 12 feet, by about 6 or 8 each. It occurred to me that if the adjoining parts of the lakes could be searched, interesting remains of the ancient occupants might be found.

"I also found that there were various other matters of antiquarian interest in Coll, and in particular an old burying-ground, and a series of

shell mounds along the shore ; but to enable you the better to understand the position of these, I should explain that a great part of the western shore of the island is covered by a wilderness of sand hills to the extent of hundreds of acres. The old burying-ground is situated amongst these. It is on a low sand hill or mound in a small secluded valley surrounded by higher ones. The wind has been gradually encroaching on it, and various rude stone coffins with their contents of human bones have been exposed and scattered through the little valley. I saw nothing but the stones which had composed the coffins and the bones, but possibly an examination of some of the graves not yet exposed might result in interesting discoveries. My antiquarian knowledge was insufficient to enable me to form any conjecture as to the time when this burying-ground had been in use, but one circumstance which to some extent indicated its great antiquity, was the fact that at the distance of little more than a mile from it there is another burying-ground still used, with the ruins of an old church on it, which appeared to be of the earliest style of pointed architecture in Scotland.

“The shell mounds which I saw are partly among the sand hills and partly on the level sand between the hills and the sea. There were vast quantities of shells—consisting of limpets, cockles, clams, whelks, &c., mixed with sand, peat, ashes, fragments of rude pottery, flint, and other hard stones. Without much searching I found some arrow-heads, mostly rude and unfinished, but one or two were beautifully formed. I also found a stone hammer, still unperforated, of a hard black volcanic rock, and other pieces of stone which appeared to have been artificially—although rudely—formed for implements of some kind. The fragments of pottery indicated that it must have been of a very primitive character—although some of these fragments show traces of beautiful ornamentation.

“I send you the best specimens of the articles to which I have referred, that you may present them to the Society.

“There are enormous boulders in some parts of Coll, occasionally to be seen beautifully balanced on pedestals of smaller stones ; and although they greatly puzzled Dr Johnson a hundred years ago, when he was a castaway on the island for a week, and led him to propose theories to account for them not less superstitious than the stories of the natives

about the giants whose playthings they were, still I do not doubt that



Stone Hammer found in Coll ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length).

their character and position—at least in the case of all that I saw—could easily be accounted for by the geologist.”

This being the last meeting of the Session, the usual votes of thanks were given to the Office-bearers at the conclusion of the meeting; and the Society then adjourned to St Andrew's Day, 30th November 1878.

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